Dolan
Consulting Group

Community Policing & Problem Solving

"Winning Back Your Community"

One-Day Program

2019

WORKBOOK

Presented by:
Chief Harry P. Dolan, (Ret.)

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Harry P. Dolan is a 32-year police veteran who brings 25 years of public safety executive experience to his courses. He retired in October 2012 as Chief of Police of the Raleigh Police Department and is now the CEO of Dolan Consulting Group LLC, an organization of public policy experts who address issues related to public service provision organizations, such as law enforcement agencies, corrections agencies, fire departments, emergency medical services, hospitals, and school districts.

Chief Dolan began his law enforcement career in 1980 as a deputy sheriff in Asheville, North Carolina, and served there until early 1982 when he joined the Raleigh Police Department. In 1987, he was appointed Chief of Police for the N.C. Department of Human Resources Police Department, located in Black Mountain. He served as Chief of Police in Lumberton, N.C. from 1992 until 1998 when he became Chief of the Police of the Grand Rapids, Michigan Police Department. Chief Dolan led the Grand Rapids Police Department for nearly 10 years before becoming Chief of the Raleigh Police Department in September 2007.

Chief Dolan has lectured throughout the United States and has trained thousands of public safety professionals in the fields of service excellence, leadership & management, communications skills, and community policing. Past participants have consistently described Chief Dolan's presentations as career changing, characterized by his sense of humor and unique ability to maintain participants' interest throughout his training sessions.

Chief Dolan is a graduate of Western Carolina University and holds a Master's Degree in Organizational Leadership and Management from the University of North Carolina at Pembroke.

Training Objectives

1. Develop a general understanding of the history of policing in America.
2. Understand the significance of the various policing strategies established throughout the decades as well as the importance of brining everything into congruence to focus on effective evidence-based policing principles.
3. Define community policing and review Sir Robert Peel's "Nine Principles of Policing" in light of today's challenges, understanding the importance of focusing on fundamentals.
4. Define "Police Legitimacy" and how the concept is integral to developing and maintaining police and community trust.
5. Discuss the national concern surrounding the question "does de-policing exist."
6. Utilize the "Pareto Principle" (80/20 Rule) to identify high priority challenges facing American policing and develop strategies to improve the public perception of the police.
7. Review the facts and dispel the myths associated with police use of lethal force.
8. Recognize academically sound data collection efforts required to respond to citizen's requests for biased-based policing reports and overall transparency.
9. Understand the concept of "Implicit Bias," facts and misconceptions.
10. Review what experience and empirical research evidence reveals about what citizens want from their police and what police can do to improve citizen satisfaction.
11. Discuss what organizational structures work best for community police service: *generalist vs. specialist*

Community Policing & Problem Solving

"Winning Back Your Community"

Presentation Outline

Section 1: Overview the History of Policing in America

Introduction: *Opening Statement*

The three distinct eras of policing

Problem Oriented Policing

Defining community policing: *the relevance today of Sir Robert Peel's "Nine Principles of Policing"*

Today's Movement into the "Intelligence Led/Evidence Based Era"

Section 2: Building and Maintaining Police-Community Trust

Police legitimacy and Procedural Justice: *How does it apply to both the community and their police*

Proactive Policing in America

Dispelling the Myths of Police Use of Lethal Force

Biased-Based Policing Reports Are Failing the Police and the Community: *Why Agencies Need to Stop Using Census Data*

What are the academically sound data collection efforts required to respond to citizen's requests for biased-based policing reports

Implicit bias: *the facts*

Section 3: What Does Experience, and Empirical Research Evidence Reveal about what Police can do to Improve the Public Perception

Confronting today's media industry crisis

Actual Crime in the United States: *Perceptions of neighborhood crime and disorder*

The Public's Confidence in the Police Might Be Better Than You Think

Predictors of general citizen satisfaction with the police

Negative contacts with the police officers

What policing tactics decrease citizen fear of crime and increase satisfaction with the police

Reducing Actual Crime: *What Works*

Section 4: Community Policing & Problem-Solving in Practice

Community Policing is *NOT* Soft on Crime: *The Evidence*

Community Oriented Government: *Establishment of Community Oriented Government Teams*

Prioritizing with Pareto: *(80/20 Rule)* focusing on what's important

The "Out of Car Experience": *Confronting the national disconnect between the law enforcement and members of racial and ethnic minority groups*

Problem-Solving Overview & Case Studies

What is the "crime funnel": *What does it tell us about relying solely on the criminal justice system to solve problems?*

Remember the People between the Dots

Section 5: Course Take-A-Ways and Closing Comments

Together develop a list Actionable Take-A- Ways

Closing thoughts

Section 6: Community Policing: *Articles for Student Review*

1. Johnson, R. R. (2018). *The Public's Confidence in the Police Might Be Better Than You Think*. Raleigh, NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
2. Johnson, R.R. (2018). *Community Policing is Not Soft on Crime the Evidence*. Raleigh NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
3. Johnson, R. R. (2017). *Improving Police-Minority Relations: The Out-of-Car Experience.* Raleigh NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
4. Johnson, R. R. (2017). *Remember the People Between the Dots.* Raleigh NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
5. Johnson, R. R. (2016). *Dispelling the Myths Surrounding Police Use of Lethal Force.* Raleigh NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
6. Johnson, R. R. (2017). *What Effects do School Resource Officers Have on Schools?* Raleigh NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
7. Johnson, R. R. (2017). *Examining the Facts on Implicit Bias***.** Raleigh NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
8. Johnson, R.R. (2016). *Reducing Fear of Crime and Increasing Citizen Support for Police.* Raleigh, NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
9. Johnson, R.R. (2018). *Improving Police-Minority Relations: The Out of Car Experience.* Raleigh, NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
10. Johnson, R. R. (2018). *Public Perceptions of Police Profanity*. Raleigh, NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
11. Johnson, R.R. (2016). *Biased Based Policing Reports Are Failing the Police and the*

Community. Raleigh, NC: Dolan Consulting Group.

12. Dolan, H. P. (2017). *"Why?" is Not Always a Form of Disrespect*. Raleigh, NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
13. Dolan, H. P. (2017). *Don't Lose the Agreeable People!* Raleigh, NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
14. Dolan, H. P., & Johnson, R. R. (2017). *The 'Language of the Street' Fallacy*. Raleigh, NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
15. Dolan, H. P. (2016). *Don't get "Rope-a-Doped!"* Raleigh, NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
16. Dolan, H. P. (2018). *Verbal De-escalation Techniques: How They Actually Work*. Raleigh, NC: Dolan Consulting Group.
17. Dolan, H. P. (2017). *Verbal Contact and Cover: Protecting Your Colleagues and Your Profession*. Raleigh, NC: Dolan Consulting Group

Section 1: Overview the History of Policing in America

A. Introduction: *Opening Statement*

Police-community relations are, by all accounts, the most critical issue facing law enforcement in America today. Recently U.S. law enforcement officers and agencies have experienced a period of public hostility and lack of support not seen since the 1960s. This program will provide law enforcement professionals with evidence-based recommendations about how to regain and improve local citizen satisfaction and confidence in their local police.

This training utilizes the findings from social scientific research to identify what factors influence citizen satisfaction with the police, then provides real-life case study examples to illustrate each of the solutions identified by the research. The course utilizes classroom instruction, analysis of videotaped police-citizen interactions, and practical exercises to train attendees how to win back your community and improve the public perception of the police. The course instructors are experienced law enforcement officers who have practiced these skills over countless hours in the field in real police-citizen encounters.

Two important points to remember as we move forward improving the public perception of the police:

1. 50% of the problem is eliminating the negative police contact (unprofessional, verbally abusive, and no use of verbal de-escalation).
2. The other 50% is creating opportunities for non-enforcement, face-to-face contact with citizens, especially in areas and people of greatest need.

HAVE AN OUT OF CAR EXPERIENCE

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B. Three Historical Eras of Policing in America

1. Political Era (1840-1930) *Up Close and Personal*

Sir Robert Peel's "Nine Principles of Policing"

1) The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.
2) The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions.
3) Police must secure the willing co-operation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public.
4) The degree of co-operation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force.
5) Police seek and preserve public favour not by catering public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law.
6) Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient.
7) Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
8) Police should always direct their action strictly towards their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary.
9) The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it.

Peel Principle #7 and the "Posse"

Political Era Overview

- Early American police, unlike their English counterparts, lacked the powerful central authority of the crown. They instead were authorized by local municipalities where local ward politicians often wielded corrupt influence over the local police.[1]

- Police focused on crime prevention, order maintenance, and a wide variety of social services. "In the late 19th century, municipal police departments ran soup lines; provided temporary lodging for newly arrived immigrant workers in station houses and assisted ward leaders in finding work for immigrants, both in police and other forms of work."[2]

- Police were integrated within neighborhoods and received support and were viewed positively.

- Police officers exercised discretion in handling their individual beats.

- "Demand for police services came primarily from two sources: ward politicians making demands on the organization and citizens making demands directly on beat officers. Police focused on maintaining citizen and political satisfaction with police service as a primary goal of the department. The demand for police services was received, interpreted, and responded to at the precinct and street levels."[3]

- "The lack of organizational control over officers resulting from both decentralization and the political nature of many appointments to police positions caused inefficiencies and disorganization. The image of Keystone Cops-police as clumsy bunglers-was widespread and often descriptive of realities in American policing."[4]

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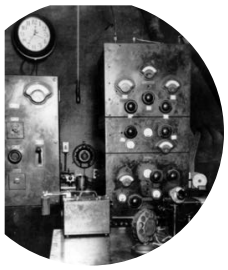
[1] The Evolving Strategy of Policing in America: George L. Kelling and Mark H. Moore Perspectives on Policing NIJ November 1988

[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

One-way police radio communication (1928)



April 7, 1928 the Detroit Police Department commenced regular one-way radio communication with its patrol cars. Developed by personnel of the department's radio bureau, the system was the product of seven years of experimentation under the direction of police commissioner, William P. Rutledge. Their work proved the practicality of land-mobile radio for police work and led to its adoption throughout the country.[5]

The receivers picked up signals, but not very consistently. Frequently, broadcasts would fade out as the car passed large buildings or under railroad bridges. Also, police had no designated band on which to broadcast, so the system operated like any radio station. The station was appropriately called KOP.[6]

Samuel J. Battle, the NYPD's first black police officer, in 1911.

"I bought a book, "How to Become a Patrolman," purchased from "The Police Chronicle" for fifty cents. I used every available moment of free time for study. I carried my books in my pocket while on duty at Grand Central and I spent most of my lunch hour concentrating on them. After I had swept up behind the horses at the cabstand and finished my other cleaning duties, I read while waiting trains. By the time I got home in the evenings it would often be after eight o'clock. As soon as supper was over, I would tackle my studies again. I sometimes fell asleep in my chair after a hard day's work." – Lt. Samuel J. Battle NYPD

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[5] http://ethw.org/IEEE_Southeastern_Michigan_Section_History
[6] Ibid.

2. **Reform-Professional-Era (1930-1970's)** ***Incident Driven Policing***

- The widespread corruption and inefficiency exhibited during the political era was called into question by police leaders calling for reform and the professionalization of the police. Police reformers worked to end the close ties between local political leaders and police.

- Police began to measure effectiveness based on crime reports (crime rate), numbers of arrest, response time, frequent patrol.

- The reform era resulted in the police narrowing their focus toward crime control and apprehending law violators.

- "Their principal means was the use of criminal law to apprehend and deter offenders. Activities that drew the police into solving other kinds of community problems and relied on other kinds of responses were identified as social work and became the object of derision."[7]

- The role of the police in the "Reform Professional-Era": Trail them, nail them, and jail them

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[7] Ibid. p. 5 & 6

Berkeley California Police Chief, August Vollmer (1876-1955), promoted the concept of the professional educated officer. He championed:

- Vehicle patrol
- Basic records management system. Reviewed police reports and mapped crime locations with colored pins
- Through his role at the IACP, August Vollmer, was instrumental in developing uniform crime reporting 1922, later adopted by the FBI as *Uniform Crime Reports*
- Radio communication
- Scientific investigation
- Fingerprint system
- College educated Cops & The Police Academy
- Created patrol districts based on call information, population and crime statistics.

"On the assumption of regularity of crime and similar occurrences, it is possible to tabulate these occurrences by areas within a city and thus determine the points which have the greatest danger of such crimes and what points have the least danger." – August Volmer

In 1943, policewomen were issued a black shoulder bag with space for a holster but also a makeup kit.

"Use the gun as you would your lipstick," Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia said. "Don't overdo either one."

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In 1948, Atlanta added eight black men to its police force.

This was at a time when, as author Thomas Mullen explains, a 1947 *Newsweek* article *"Estimated that one-quarter of Atlanta policemen were, in fact, members of the Ku Klux Klan"*

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Gertrude Schimmel, First Female New York Deputy Chief, Dies at 96 - The New York Times

"I myself never answered a call on the radio and ran up five flights of stairs and called the ambulance," she said. "When I was starting in the department, women didn't do that. And by the time they did it, I was already promoted. I'm sorry I missed that, but you can't have everything, right?"

"If you go to the Police Academy today and ask any young man or woman when you had promotion for women officers in the department, they'd probably think it was from time immemorial," she said. "I was in the department 24 years before I even got into the sergeant's test. I don't know how much the recruits today know about past history."

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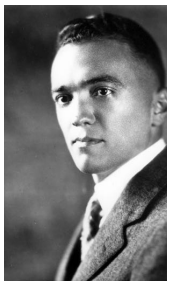
Orlando W. Wilson (1900-1972) Chief of Police in Fullerton, California (1925); Chief of Police in Wichita (1928-1939); Superintendent of Police in Chicago (1960-1971); and Dean of the School of Criminology at the University of California at Berkeley—a school that was founded by Vollmer.

- Groundbreaking books on police management: Police Records (1942), Police Administration (1950), and Police Planning (1957). Wilson was running the Chicago Police when he published his second edition of Police Administration in 1963. First police leader to use the term "Crime Analysis"

- *"Crime Analysis. The crime-analysis section studies daily reports of serious crimes in order to determine the location, time, special characteristics, similarities to other criminal attacks, and various significant facts that may help to identify either a criminal or the existence of a pattern of criminal activity. Such information is helpful in planning the operations of a division or district."*- Orlando W. Wilson

- O.W. Wilson "Preventive Patrol" promoted automobile as anticrime tactic. Police on random patrol create omnipresence to deter crime.

J. Edgar Hoover (1895-1972)- Director of the FBI 1924-1972



- Opposed any political influence into the law enforcement
- Merit promotions, not seniority.
- Uniform performance appraisals.
- Strict rules of conduct (no intoxicating beverages on the job)
- Strong emphasis on chain of command and span of control.
- Regular training for agents and establishment of the FBI National Academy.
- Scientific laboratory techniques.
- 1926 local law enforcement agencies sent fingerprint cards to FBI
- Public relations master- FBI was marketed throughout the country as the premier law enforcement agency in the world[8]

[8] http://biography.yourdictionary.com/john-edgar-hoover

St. Petersburg's Courageous 12[9]

- In 1965 12 St. Petersburg African-American police officers sued their employer for the right to performs police duties throughout the city.

- At the time black officers could not put a white person in jail nor could they patrol anywhere but in black neighborhoods.
- The demeaning practice prohibited black officers' careers by making it difficult to gain experience in duties which would make them eligible for choice assignments and promotions.

Police reformers practiced Frederick W. Taylor's *scientific Management Principles.*

Management arranges work to increase productivity and increase performance through financial rewards.

- Police leaders standardized police work, fight crime and little discretion.
- *"Trail them nail them and jail them*."
- When challenges arise, form a special unit.
- Strong multiple layer chain of command and narrow span of control.
- Centralization of control and command.

Police became distant from the community:

"Just the facts, Ma'am," - Sergeant Joe Friday

[9] Tampa Bay Times January 2018

Advent of 911 (February 16, 1968: The First 911 Call Made – Haleyville, Alabama)

"At the end of the 20th century, nearly 93% of the population of the United States was covered by some type of 9-1-1 service. Ninety-five percent of that coverage was Enhanced 9-1-1. Approximately 96% of the geographic US is covered by some type of 9-1-1."[10]

Citizens call the police and the professionals take it from there.

Served to further insulate the police from the general public and institutionalized:

"you call we haul that's all."

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INCIDENT DRIVEN POLICING: *(The Problem)*

- Incident driven
- Police response
- Reactive
- Limited Information
- Focus on single incidents
- Reliance on criminal justice system alone
- Efficiency driven

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[10] https://www.nena.org/page/911overviewfacts NENA The 911 Association

2. Community Policing Era (1970's-Today)

At the end of the Reform Era crime, and fear of crime, was rising and research called into question the police overreliance on motor patrol, centralized authority, rapid response to calls, and arrest and the measure of police effectiveness.

The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment[11]

- O.W. Wilson's "Preventive Patrol Model", the presence of officers patrolling the streets in police cars deters crime and increases the opportunity for police to detect crime, was tested.
- The study reduced levels of random patrol in one area and increased patrols in another. Citizens in the area with less preventive patrol did not see an appreciable difference.
- Random patrol did not have an impact on resident and commercial burglaries, auto thefts, larcenies involving auto accessories, robberies, or vandalism–crimes. Overall, marked patrol on random patrol has no impact on crime or the fear of crime
- Citizen reporting crimes to the police did not differ in the low patrol area and citizen fear of crime was not impacted. Citizen satisfaction with the police remained the same.
- Study observers noted that 60% of the time officers were on uncommitted time standing by for calls.
- "The overall implication is that resources ordinarily allocated to preventive patrol could safely be devoted to other, perhaps more productive, crime control strategies. More specifically, the results indicate that police deployment strategies could be based on targeted crime prevention and service goals rather than on routine preventive patrol."[12]

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[11] Kelling, G.; Pate, A.; Dickman, D.; Brown, C (1974). "The Kansas City preventive patrol experiment: A technical report". *Police Foundation*.

[12] Police Foundation website https://www.policefoundation.org/projects/the-kansas-city-preventive-patrol-experiment/

Increased *POLICE PRESENCE* not effective in reducing crime.

Faster *POLICE RESPONSE TIME* does not reduce crime.

RANDOM PATROLS do not reduce crime

Flint Michigan Foot Patrol Project

"The seeds of community policing were sewn with Trojanowicz's seminal Flint foot patrol study, which began in 1979. Through the project, funded by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Flint Police Department instigated foot patrols intended to get officers more integrated in the city's neighborhoods, improve citizen-police relations and reduce crime."[13]

- Flint citizens had a more positive perception of police, a reduced fear of crime and a better sense of community
- "The research led by Bob Trojanowicz became known as the community policing movement, which became a national and even international trend," McGarrell said. "When you think about the term community policing, the model really comes out of Flint."[14]
- 70 percent of the citizens interviewed during the final year of the study felt safer because of the Foot Patrol Program. Of the 280 residents interviewed during the third year, 42 percent said they knew exactly what the duties of the foot patrol officers were; additionally, more than 64 percent said they were satisfied with the program, and more than 61 percent said that protection for women, children, and the elderly had been increased. Finally, more than 90 percent of the 280 residents interviewed were aware of the Foot Patrol Program; most agreed that foot patrol officers were more effective than motorized officers.[15]

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[13] MSU Today February 25th 2018: MSU Helps Flint Fight Crime, Revive Neighborhoods
[14] Ibid
[15] Trojanowicz, R. (1986). Evaluating a neighborhood foot patrol program: The Flint, Michigan Project. In Dennis Rosenbaum (ed.) *Community crime Prevention: Does it work?* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Newark New Jersey Foot Patrol Experiment

Overall, foot patrols improved citizens' feelings of safety under the most difficult urban circumstances. While the findings do not warrant a wholesale return to foot patrols, they may serve as an important part of police strategies to cope with current problems in congested urban areas and also as a valuable tool in crime information gathering.[16]

"The foot patrol intervention did not have a significant impact on overall crime, arrests, or victimization. One exception to this was observed: resident respondents in the retained foot beats experienced a significantly greater reduction in the number of thefts that occurred in their neighborhoods while they were away from home. Additionally, the intervention did increase the citizen's perception of safety."[17]

Broken Windows Theory- James Q. Wilson and George Kelling in 1982

George Kelling

The theory links disorder and incivility within a community to subsequent occurrences of serious crime. Crime is the result of disorder; address disorder serious crimes decreases.

- "Their theory further posits that the prevalence of disorder creates fear in the minds of citizens who are convinced that the area is unsafe. This withdrawal from the community weakens social controls that previously kept criminals in check. Once this process begins, it feeds itself. Disorder causes crime, and crime causes further disorder and crime."[18]

James Q. Wilson

Physical disorder: vacant buildings, broken windows, abandoned vehicles, and vacant lots filled with trash.

Social Disorder: aggressive panhandlers, loud neighbors, and gangs. Both thought to increase fear among citizens.

"Broken windows theory had an enormous impact on police policy throughout the 1990s and remained influential into the 21st century.

[16] The Police Foundation. (1981*). The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment.* Washington, DC: Police Foundation.
[17] Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy George Mason University https://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/the-matrix/neighborhood/neighborhood-police-foundation-1981/
[18] Broken windows theory, Academic Theory: Adam J. McKee. Encyclopedia Britannica

Perhaps the most notable application of the theory was in New York City under the direction of Police Commissioner William Bratton. He and others were convinced that the aggressive order-maintenance practices of the New York City Police Department were responsible for the dramatic decrease in crime rates within the city during the 1990s. Bratton began translating the theory into practice as the chief of New York City's transit police from 1990 to 1992. Squads of plainclothes officers were assigned to catch turnstile jumpers, and, as arrests for misdemeanors increased, subway crimes of all kinds decreased dramatically. In 1994, when he became New York City police commissioner, Bratton introduced his broken windows-based "quality of life initiative."[19]

This initiative cracked down on panhandling, disorderly behavior, public drinking, street prostitution, and unsolicited windshield washing or other such attempts to obtain cash from drivers stopped in traffic. When Bratton resigned in 1996, felonies were down almost 40 percent in New York, and the homicide rate had been halved."[20]

IMPORTANT NOTE:

Researchers discovered fear of crime was related to disorder. Ironically the Reform Era moved police away from this function.

[19] Ibid
[20] Ibid

Problem-Oriented Policing

"In 1979 Herman Goldstein critiqued police practices of the time by noting that they were more focused on the "means" of policing than its "ends." He advocated for a paradigm shift in policing that would replace the primarily reactive, incident driven "standard model of policing" (Weisburd & Eck, 2004) with a model that required the police to be proactive in identifying underlying problems that could be targeted to alleviate crime at its roots. He termed this new approach "problem-oriented policing" to highlight the call for police to focus on problems instead of on single calls or incidents."[21]

In Boston Goldstein observed 60% of calls for service come 10% of locations. Today we effectively utilize approach to problem solve in "Hot Spots."

SARA model[22]

- *Scanning*: Identify and prioritize recurring problems.

- *Analysis*: Analyze problems using a variety of data sources.

- *Response*: Design response strategies based on what was learned from analyzing the problem. Implement response strategies

- *Assessment:* Assess the success of response strategies. Did the response solve the problem and/or to it reduce the harm?

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[21] Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy. George Mason University https://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/what-works-in-policing/research-evidence-review/problem-oriented-policing/

[22] Skogan, Wesley G., Susan M. Hartnett, Jill DuBois, Jennifer T. Comey, Marianne Kaiser, and Justine H. Lovig. On the Beat: Police and Community Problem Solving. Boulder, CO: Westview Publishing Co., 1999.

SARA, Al Capone, Elliot Ness, and Frank Wilson



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Defining Community Policing

"Community Policing is a new philosophy of policing, based on the concept that police officers and private citizens working together in creative ways can help solve contemporary community problems related to crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and neighborhood decay. The philosophy is predicated on the belief that achieving these goals requires that police departments develop a new relationship with the law-abiding people in the community, allowing them a greater voice in setting local priorities, and involving them in efforts to improve the overall quality of life in their neighborhoods. It shifts the focus of police work from handling random calls to solving problems."[23]

Chief Dolan's Questions to Ask Yourself if you Want to Know if you are Focused on Community Policing Fundamentals.

1) Are you out of your car more than you are in it?
2) Do you interact with other city departments, helping agencies and neighborhood associations in an attempt to solve contemporary community problems?
3) If you were promoted or reassigned off your beat, would you be missed? Would the law-abiding people on your beat know that you were there?

[23] Robert C. Trojanowicz, Bonnie Bucqueroux Community policing: a contemporary perspective Anderson Pub. Co., 1990 University of Michigan Digitized Sep 4, 2010

Factors that will Promote Community Oriented Policing

- Change the mindset that time on a call is “out of service”
- Try to remember that solving the problem may require more time on the front end but in time will reduce the demand for resources
- Spend time outside of the squad car, engaged in “informal contacts”
- Allow the community to play a role in setting police priorities
- Continuity, such as assigning officers to the same area on a regular basis.

The Importance of Door to Door Neighborhood Surveys

1. What are the problems in your neighborhood?
2. What can we do together to solve them, and/or reduce the harm?

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CPTED: Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

Code Enforcement Team

- “The atmosphere of any area gives off environmental cues that tell an individual whether he/she Is safe or unsafe”
- “The degree of attractiveness of any location says a lot about Its owners and the type of people who frequent the Place.”
- “Conversely, it may say a lot about mistakes that are made by public agencies and private developers which end up making victims *(And Sometimes Hostages)* out of residents.” – *Tim Crowe- Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design*

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Improving the public perception of police: Individual Officer Case Examples



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Community Oriented Policing

- Philosophy
- Broken Window's Theory
- Uses Officer's Expertise
- Customer Driven
- Improve PCR
- Citizens Voicing Concerns
- Variety of Tactics/Strategies
- Increased Accountability

GROUP DISCUSSION: *What organizational structures best support community policing initiatives and partnerships? The role of the generalist vs. specialist. What percentage of your sworn officer strength is actually assigned to the field?*

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Special Unit Form of Management

If the Argument within the agency is that "We don't have enough people to have out of car experiences and conduct neighborhood surveys", first look to your organizational structure. How many people are actually assigned to provide fundamental front-line service and how many are specialized.

Avoid "Special-Unit-itis"

- Generalize when you can, specialize when you must!
- How many people do you actually have assigned to work the beat?
- Where are you carrying your vacancies?

" ..it diverted attention away from the growing lack of productivity of the bulk of the organization- the operations division. It was simply easier to manage special units for special problems that it was to achieve compliance behavior or improved performance from the rest of the organization." - Timothy D. Crowe Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design 1991

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3. Today's Movement into the "Intelligence Led/Predictive Policing & Evidence Based Era"

Intelligence Led Policing: "Intelligence-led policing is a collaborative enterprise based on improved intelligence operations and community-oriented policing and problem solving, which the field has considered beneficial for many years. To implement intelligence-led policing, police organizations need to reevaluate their current policies and protocols. Intelligence must be incorporated into the planning process to reflect community problems and issues. Information sharing must become a policy, not an informal practice. Most important, intelligence must be contingent on quality analysis of data. The development of analytical techniques, training, and technical assistance needs to be supported."[24]

Predictive Policing: "Predictive policing tries to harness the power of information, geospatial technologies and evidence-based intervention models to reduce crime and improve public safety. This two-pronged approach — applying advanced analytics to various data sets, in conjunction with intervention models — can move law enforcement from reacting to crimes into the realm of predicting what and where something is likely to happen and deploying resources accordingly." "The predictive policing approach does not replace traditional policing. Instead, it enhances existing approaches such as problem-oriented policing, community policing, intelligence-led policing and hot spot policing."[25]

Evidence-Based Policing: "The use of the best available research on the outcomes of police work to implement guidelines and evaluate agencies, units and officers. Evaluation of ongoing police operations is important because it can link research-based strategies to improved public safety outcomes, allowing police agencies to move beyond a reactive, response-driven approach and get smarter about crime control."[26]

"Evidence-based policing leverages the country's investment in police and criminal justice research to help develop, implement and evaluate proactive crime-fighting strategies. It is an approach to controlling crime and disorder that promises to be more effective and less expensive than the traditional response-driven models, which cities

[24] Intelligence-Led Policing: The New intelligence Architecture U.S. DOJ OJP BJA September 2005
[25] Predictive Policing NIJ OJP June 2014
[26] Sherman, Lawrence W., Evidence Based Policing (pdf, 16 pages), Ideas in American Policing Series, Washington, DC: Police Foundation, 1998:2.

can no longer afford. With fewer resources available, it simply does not make sense for the police to pursue crime control strategies that science has proven ineffective. [27]

GROUP DISCUSSION: *How do we bring all the ERA's into congruence to provide police service today?*

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Policing Strategies Throughout the Decades

Political Era

Reform-Professional Era

Community Policing Era

Professional Policing

Neighborhood Policing

Team Policing

Problem Oriented Policing

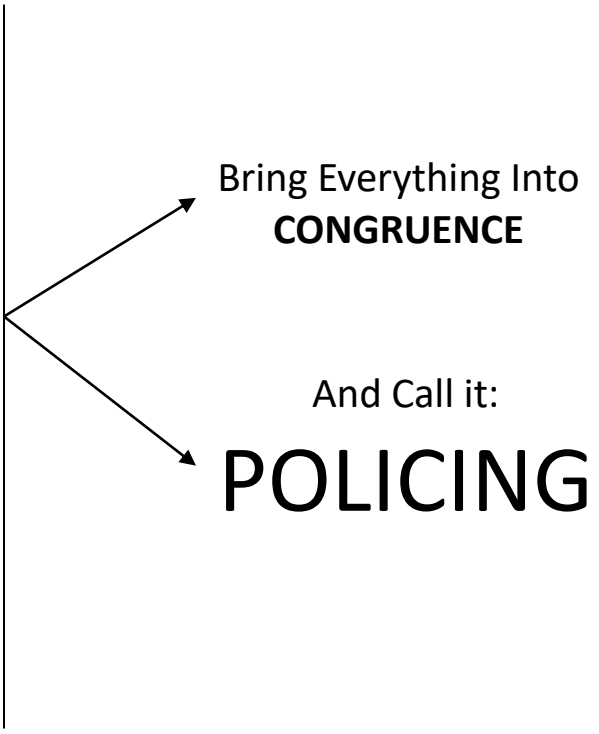
Quality of Life Policing

Zero Tolerance Policing

Community Policing

Data Driven Policing

Predictive Policing/Intelligence Led



What we call "Community Policing", Sir Robert Peel would call Policing.

[27] Being Smart on Crime With Evidence-based Policing, Chief Jim Bueermann (ret.) OJP NIJ March 2012

Section 2: Building and Maintaining Police Community Trust

A. Group Discussion: Do Americans *generally* fear their police?

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Would the same citizens act this aggressively towards people they fear?

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B. Police legitimacy and Procedural Justice

Police legitimacy: *Voluntary compliance is gained more through a person's perception of government/police legitimacy than fear of sanctions for non-compliance.* The three elements of legitimacy are:

1. *Respect*: People who are asked to obey authority have to feel like they have a voice--that if they speak up, they will be heard. Second, the law has to be predictable.
2. *Fairness*: Authority has to be fair, it can't treat one group differently from another.
3. *Trustworthy*: There has to be a reasonable expectation that the rules tomorrow are going to be roughly the same as the rules today.

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Police legitimacy means people have trust and confidence in the police, accept police authority and believe officers are fair. Officers build public confidence by:

- *Treating people with dignity and respect*
- *Making decisions fairly, based on facts, not illegitimate factors such as race;*
- *Giving people "voice," a chance to tell their side of the story; and acting in a way that encourages community members to believe that they will be treated with goodwill in the future.*[28]

"Procedural justice can be viewed as a means to attaining legitimacy and can be defined in terms of four issues.

- First, people want to have an opportunity to explain their situation or tell their side of the story to a police officer. This opportunity to make arguments and present evidence should occur before the police make decisions about what to do. People are interested in having an opportunity to tell their story or state their case; that is, they want to have a voice. This is true both when policies are being developed and when officers implement them on the street.
- Second, people react to evidence that the authorities with whom they are dealing are neutral. This involves officers making decisions based upon consistently applied legal principles and the facts of an incident, not an officer's personal opinions and biases. Transparency and openness about what the rules and procedures are and how decisions are being made facilitates the belief that decision-making procedures are neutral. This helps the police to be seen to be acting neutrally.
- Third, people are sensitive to whether they are treated with dignity and politeness, and to whether their rights are respected. The issue of interpersonal treatment consistently emerges as a key factor in reactions to dealings with legal authorities. People believe that they are entitled to treatment with respect and react very negatively to dismissive or demeaning interpersonal treatment.
- Fourth, people focus on cues that communicate information about the intentions and character of the legal authorities with whom they are dealing (their "trustworthiness"). People react favorably when they believe that the authorities with whom they are interacting are benevolent and caring and are trying to do what is best for the people with whom they are dealing. Authorities communicate this type of concern when they listen to people's accounts and explain or justify their actions in ways that show an awareness of and sensitivity to people's needs and

[28] Tom Tyler, Subject to Debate, Newsletter of the Police Executive Research Forum, Vol. 28, No. 1, January/February 2014.

concerns."- Dr. Tom Tyler Macklin Fleming Professor of Law and Professor of Psychology Yale Law School. [29]

GROUPD DISCUSSION: Police legitimacy and Procedural Justice: How do these concepts apply to the police? Can the police state that they have concerns with the legitimacy of those calling for de-policing?

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"It just takes being fair and treating every citizen with respect, regardless of the offense," Sgt. Horace Nero, right, was one of the Courageous 12 - Times (1992)

"Police must secure the willing co-operation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public."- Sir Robert Peel Principle #3

GROUP DISCUSSION: *"De-Policing, does it Exist? Are some of America's Police Officer's "Standing Down?"*

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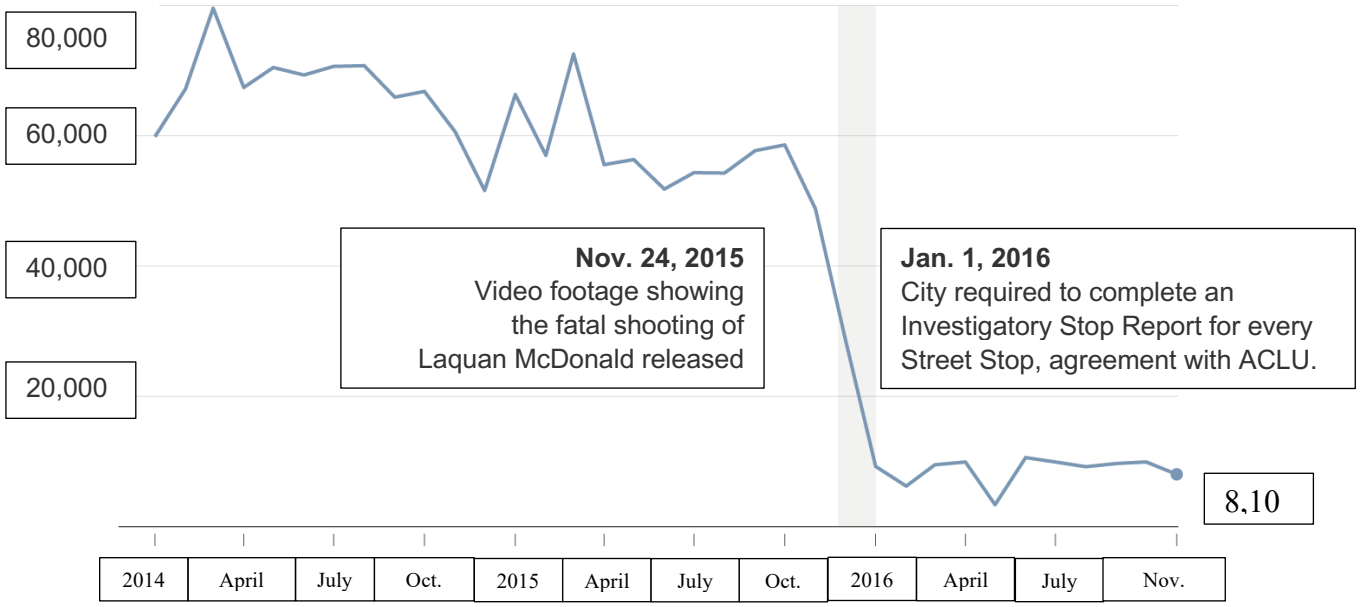
[29] Legitimacy and Procedural Justice: A New Element of Police Leadership, A Report by the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) March 2014

C. Proactive Policing in Chicago

Street Stops by Chicago Police[30]

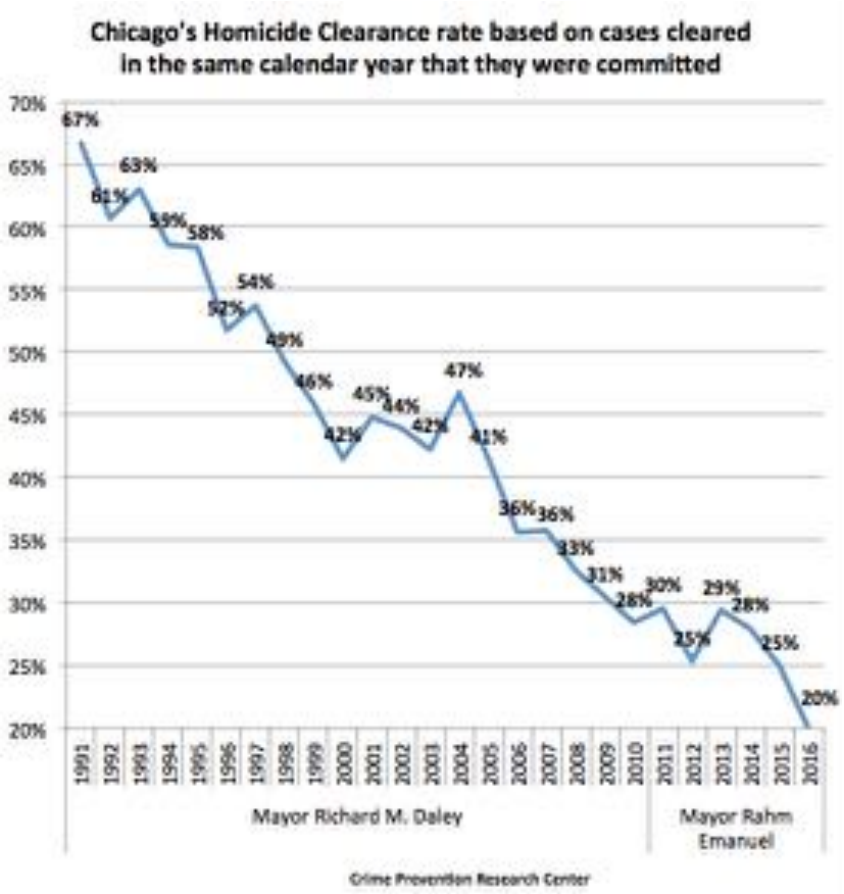


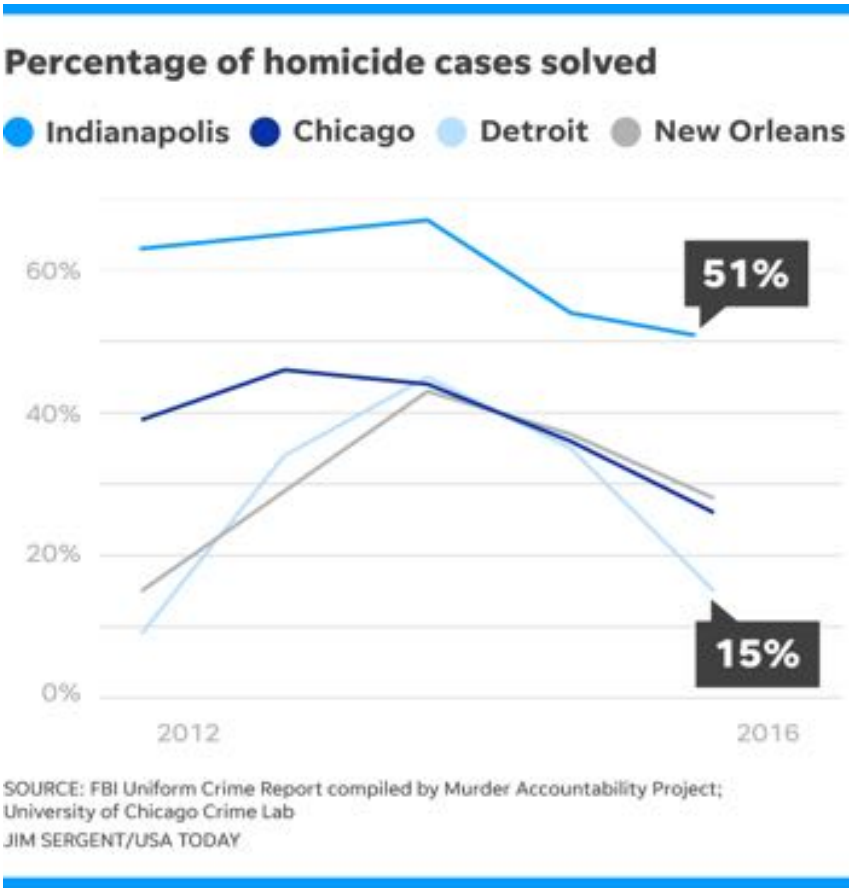
Homicide clearance rate in big cities becoming more concerning.

- "The national murder clearance rate – the calculation of cases that end with an arrest or identification of a suspect who can't be apprehended – fell to 59.4 percent in 2016, the lowest since the FBI has tracked the issue. The data tells a grim story of thousands of murders in which no one is held accountable."[31]
- "In Memphis, Tennessee, where Adcock is based, the city saw its homicide clearance fall to 38 percent in 2016. The same city cleared more than 99 percent of its 126 homicides in 1972. The Memphis Police Department has more than 1,500 cold cases on the books. Detroit, which last year had the third-worst per capita homicide rate in the nation, managed to clear less than 15 percent of homicides in 2016, down from about 35 percent the prior year."[32]

[30] Deconstructing the 'Ferguson Effect - The New York Times
https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/us/politics/ferguson-effect.html
[31] "Unsolved murders: Chicago, other big cities struggle; murder rate a 'national disaster'
USA Today August 10, 2018

[32] Ibid

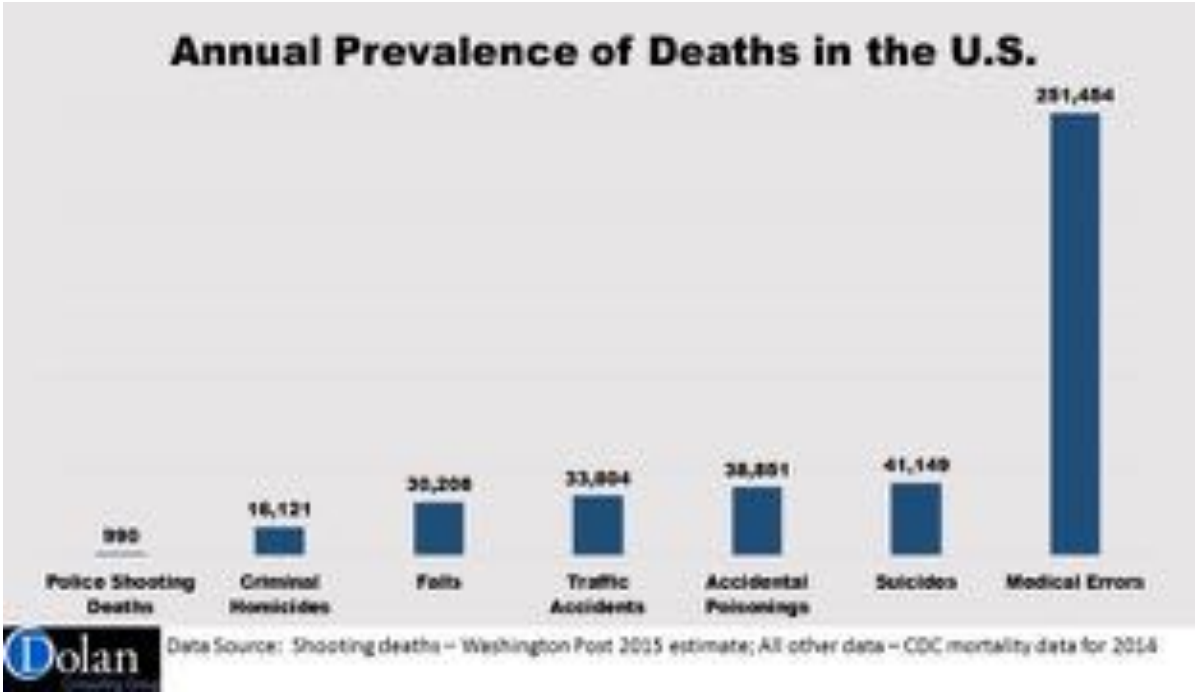




D. Dispelling the Myths of Police Use of Lethal Force

In the public discussion around the topic of police use of force, many disturbing claims have been made by civil rights groups, the news media, and even government leaders. However, as President Obama stated in his October 27, 2015 address to the International Association of Chiefs of Police, *"too often law enforcement gets scapegoated for broader failures of our society."*[1] Let's address (4) pressing questions concerning police use of lethal force:

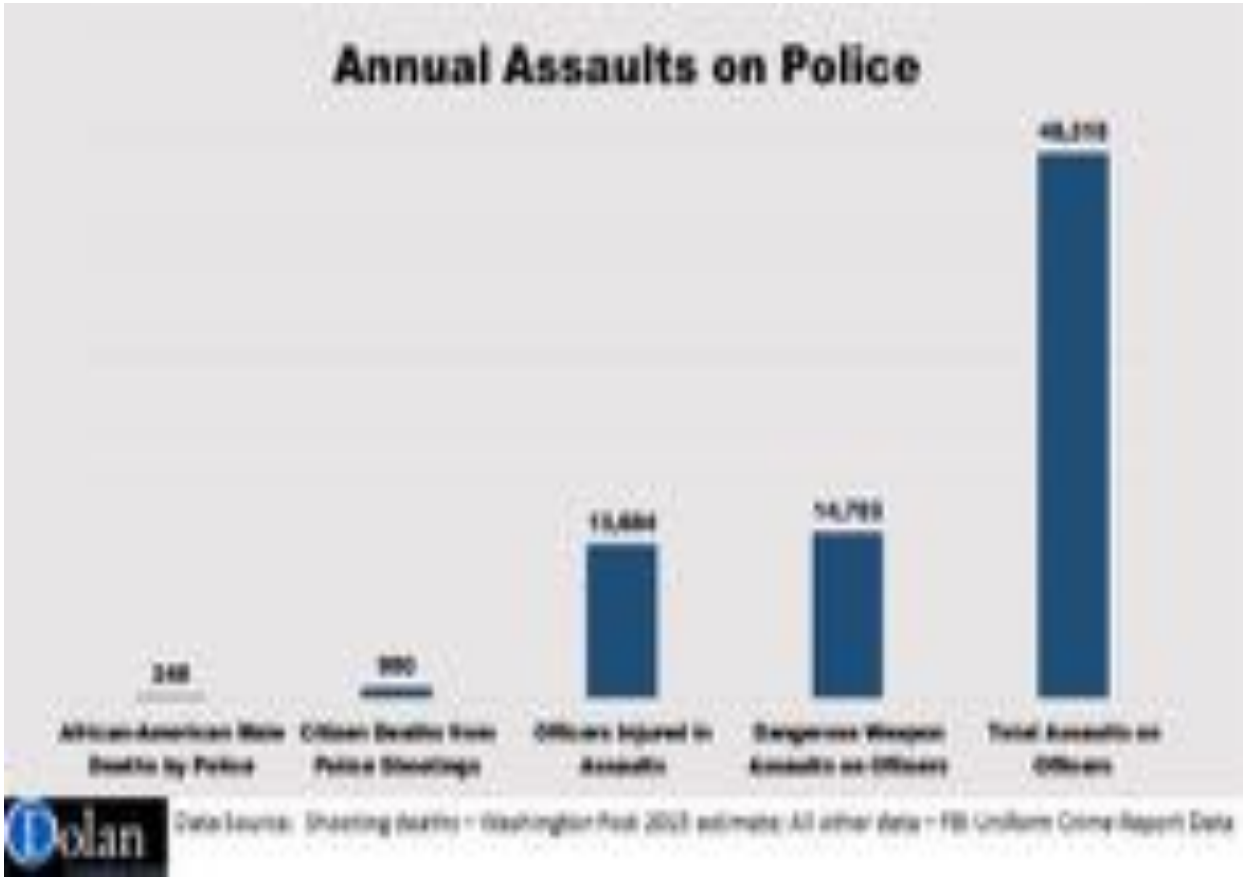
Many suggest that deaths from police use of force in the U.S. are widespread and have reached epidemic levels.



Regardless of how many deaths occur annually from police use of force, the true measure of concern should be how often the police are *unjustified* in their use of deadly force. If the police are properly using their legal authority to use lethal force, then they cannot control how many deaths occur as that is dependent on the number of people causing or threatening imminent serious bodily injury (i.e., broken bone, punctured flesh, etc.) to an officer or third party.[13] In order to determine if the police are killing "too many" people each year, we need to take into consideration the number of people who are violently assaulting police officers.

Police Use of Lethal Force is on the Rise

Suggestions that police use of deadly force today is higher than in past decades tend to demonstrate a failure to have a grasp of history. Prior to 1985, few judicial decisions limited police use of force, and it was the law of the land that police officers could shoot someone simply for fleeing the commission of a felony, such as a burglary, drug dealing, or auto theft.

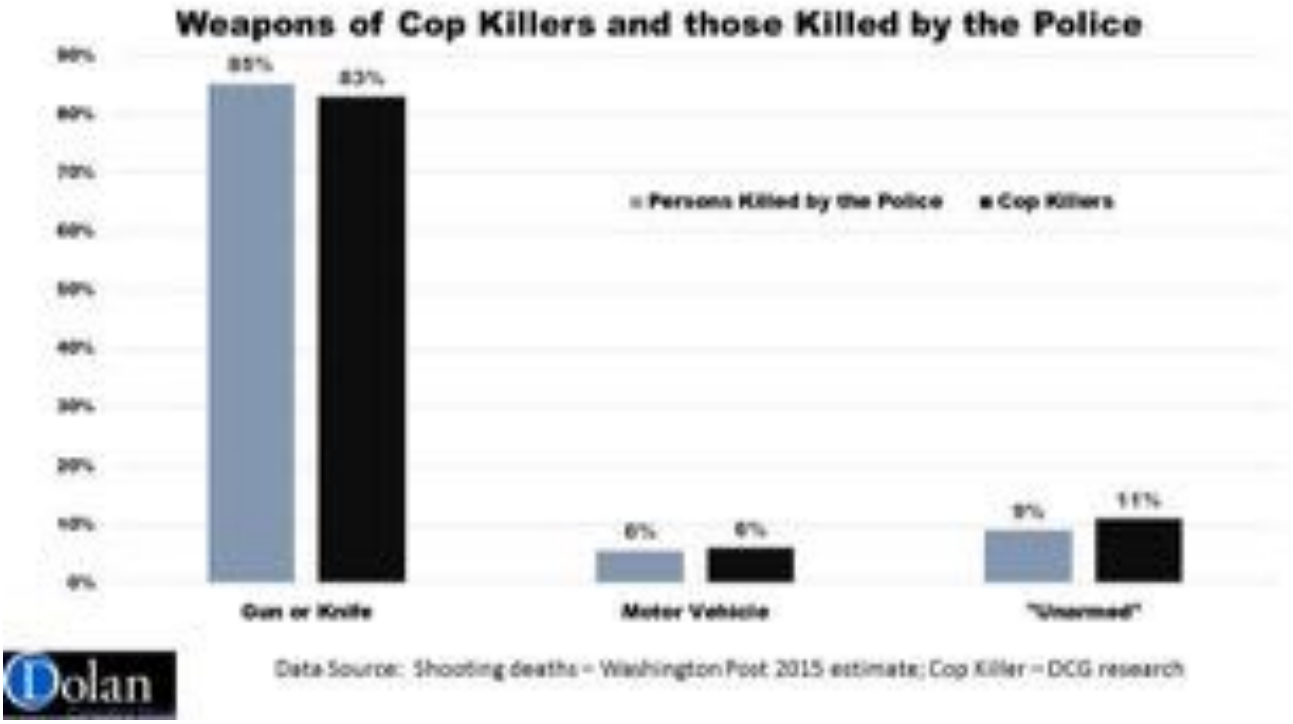


Most police departments back then lacked a written use of force policy. As a result, officer- involved shootings were far more prevalent three or four decades ago. In 1971, the New York City Police Department alone had 1,562 officer-involved shootings (4.2 per day), and the Philadelphia Police Department had 78 shootings (1.5 per week), even though the U.S. population was 36% smaller than it is today.[16] Comparing these numbers to the *Washington Post* estimate of just 990 deaths from police use of force nationwide in 2015, with a third larger U.S. population, reveals that police use of lethal force is only a fraction of what it was in previous decades.

The Police Are Killing Defenseless Unarmed People

In the minds of some, when the police use lethal force against anyone not armed with a knife or gun, the use of lethal force is illegitimate. This assumes that people armed with a motor vehicle, club, brick, or their bare hands do not pose a serious risk to officers' lives.

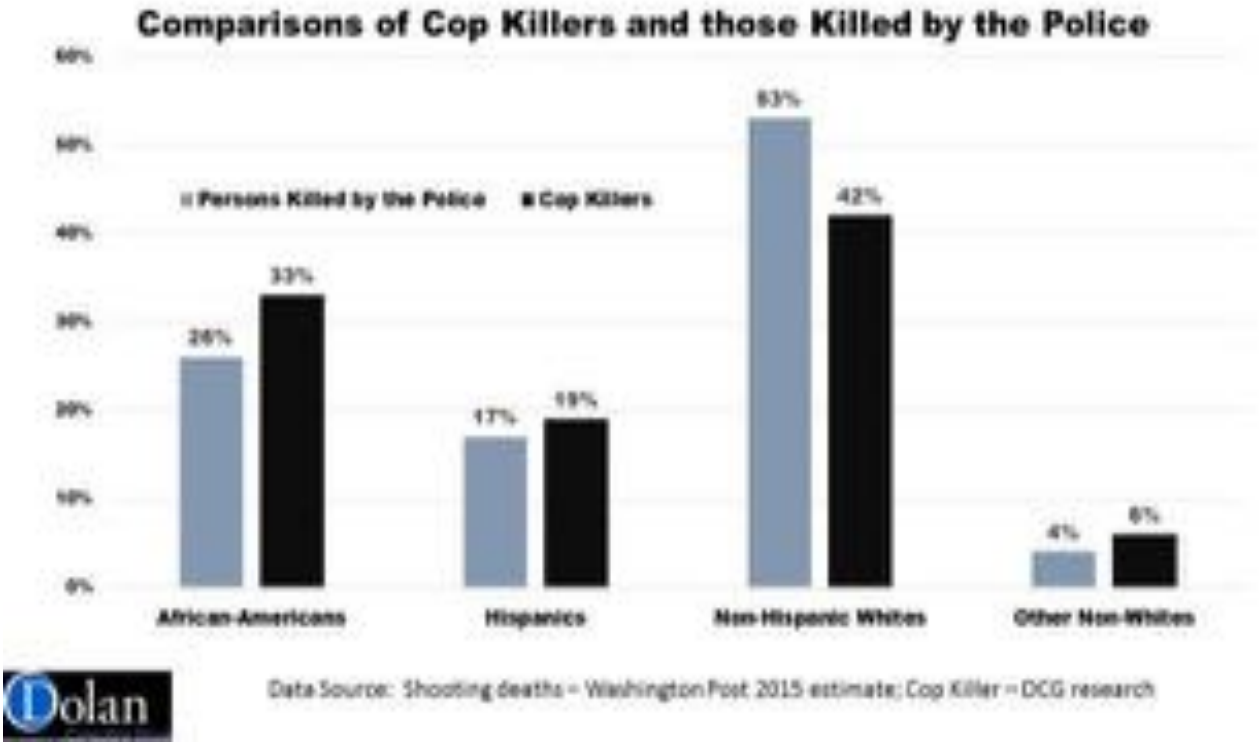
Some also argue that an assault with anything other than a knife, gun, or car does not justify a lethal force response from the police. According to the Washington Post data, 9.3% of those shot and killed by the police (or 93 individuals) were classified as "unarmed." The Washington Post called individuals "unarmed" not only when the citizen had only his fists as weapons, but also when he had a blunt force weapon such as a club. According to CDC data, of the 15,809 homicides that year, 3,121 of the homicide victims were beaten, strangled, or forcibly drowned. "Unarmed" assailants kill more than 3,000 people each year.

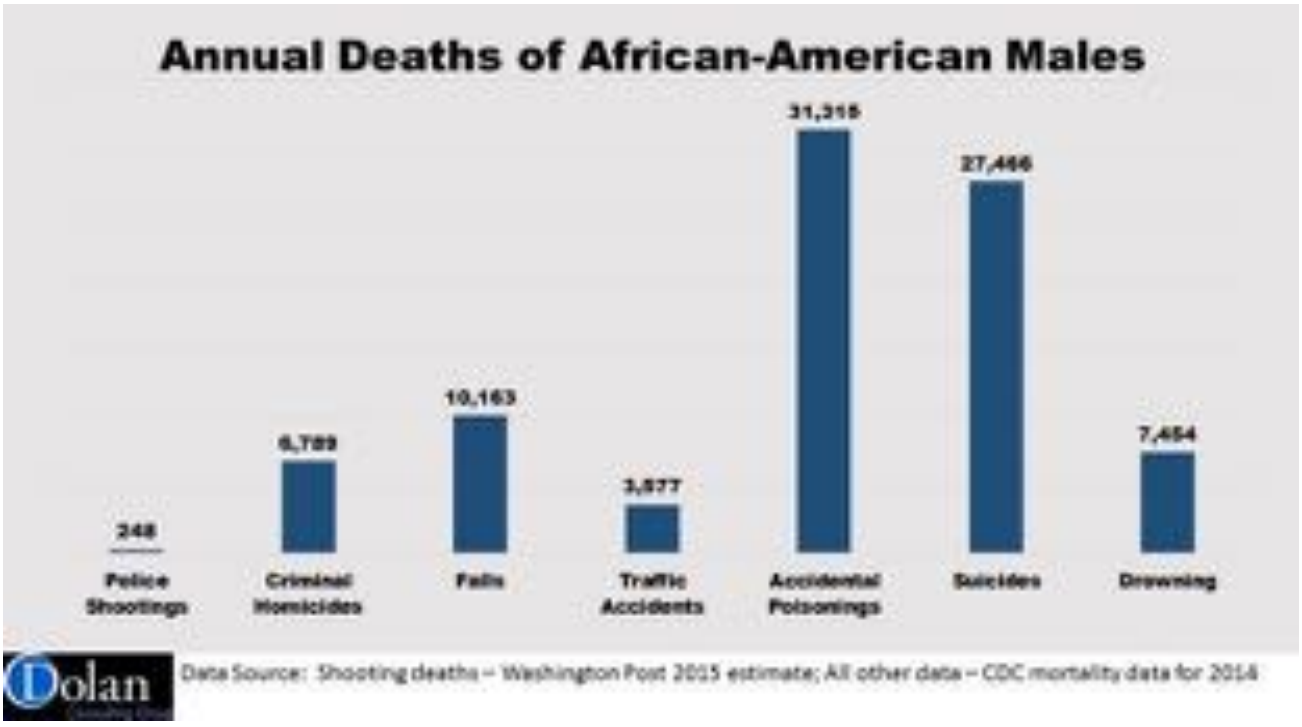


The data reveal that "unarmed" assailants kill many police officers (and thousands of private citizens) every year. Nevertheless, the data reveal that **law enforcement officers shoot and kill "unarmed" assailants at lower proportions than officers themselves are killed by "unarmed" assailants.**

Police Use of Lethal Force Disproportionately Targets African-American Men

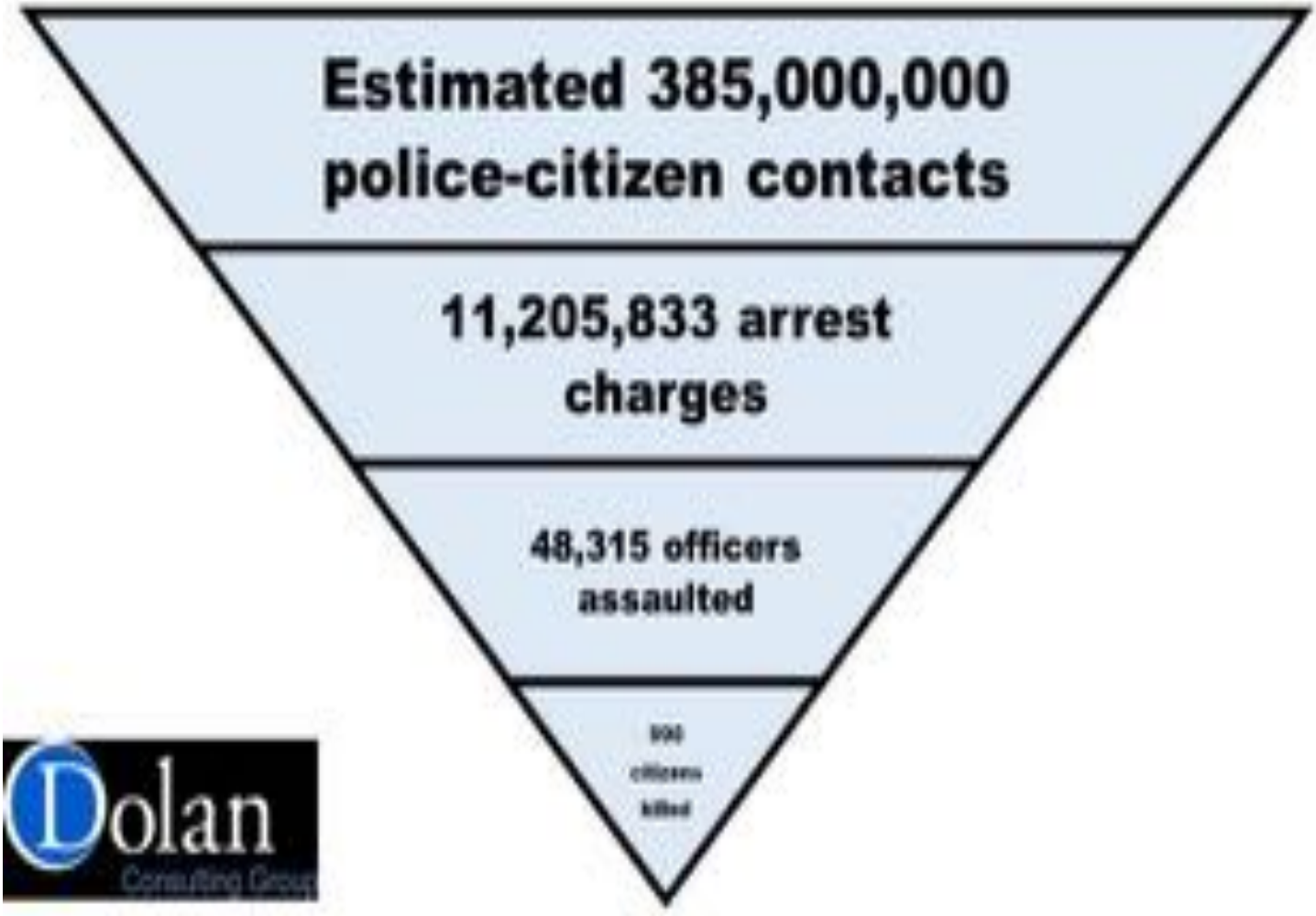
The *Washington Post* reported that there were 248 deaths of African-American males by the police, and the U.S. Census estimated that there were 21,213,642 African-American males in the U.S. in 2015.





African-American men may make up 6.6% of the U.S. population, but they account for 33% of those who have murdered police officers in the last three years. In other words, African-American men are 5 times more likely to kill a police officer, but only 3.7 times more likely to be killed by the police. As the U. S. Department of Justice did not think it appropriate to collect data on the race of assailants who assault the police, it would seem highly likely that, in keeping with statistical data relating to deadly assaults upon officers, 33% of the 17,703 deadly force assaults police officers experienced in 2014 were perpetrated by African-American men.

The evidence suggests that the police do not disproportionately target African-American men for use of lethal force. The evidence also suggests that the police are only responding to the rate of deadly force assaults they are experiencing.



Dispelling the Myths Surrounding Police Use of Lethal Force: **Summary**

While it is unknown how many police-citizen contacts occur every year, studies that examined three cities and three small towns found that the number of calls for service the police handle averages out to 0.6 calls per year for every person in the community. As there are 321,418,820 people residing in the U.S., this means the police across the nation handle about 192,851,292 calls for service each year.

As this does not include proactive stops by officers, and informal citizen contacts unrelated to a call for service, we can double this figure to estimate the average number of official police-citizen contacts across the nation each year. Out of these 385 million estimated police-citizen contacts, officers made 11,205,833 criminal arrest charges according to the FBI Uniform Crime Reports. Out of these 11,205,833 arrest charges, officers were assaulted roughly 48,315 times, but only 990 deaths of citizens occurred. These deaths occurred in only 0.0003% of all police-citizen contacts, only 0.009% of all arrest situations, and in only 2.1% of assault on officer situations. Deaths from police use of force are very unfortunate, often unavoidable, and extremely rare.

[Note to Student: Refer to research brief: Johnson, R. R. (2016). *Dispelling the Myths Surrounding Police Use of Lethal Force.* Raleigh NC: Dolan Consulting Group. in Section 6 and read it at your convenience.]

E. Biased-Based Policing Reports Are Failing the Police and the Community: *Why Agencies Need to Stop Using Census Data*

Recent public opinion surveys have revealed that the vast majority of Americans believe that use of racial profiling by the police is widespread. This is deeply disturbing for two reasons. First, it is disturbing because it undermines police legitimacy among the vast majority of our citizens. Second, it is disturbing because the vast majority of law enforcement officers I have known do not engage in bias-based policing. While racial profiling likely occurs among a small number of individual officers acting outside the bounds of their oath to uphold the Constitution, it is unlikely that racial profiling is systemic to law enforcement in the United States.

This begs the question, then, why do so many people perceive that racial profiling is widespread? We could blame individual members of the news media that seek to raise their ratings by stoking the flames of controversy, or certain protest organizations that seek to capitalize on distrust of the police. To be sure, these sources have contributed to the problem. **Another factor that has also contributed to the problem, however, is the fundamentally flawed information that many law enforcement agencies have given the public through their biased-based policing data that was gathered and reported incorrectly.**

Many law enforcement agencies gather data on the race and gender of the individuals their officers stop, search, and arrest. They report these data to the public in a biased-based policing report. Agencies produce these reports for a variety of reasons, such as statutory requirements, as part of their compliance with CALEA Standard 1.2.9.d, or simply out of a sincere desire to embrace transparency. While most law enforcement agencies, and individual officers, claim they do not racially profile, the vast majority of these reports show members of minority groups, especially African-American men, are disproportionately stopped, searched, and arrested. Why? One factor at work is the use of incorrect research methodologies and measures that are biased (often unintentionally) against officers from the start. One of the most damaging of these incorrect methodologies is the use of U.S. Census data as a benchmark comparison.

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Benchmarks:

In order for any racial profiling data collection activity to be meaningful, the racial composition of police stops, searches, and arrests need to be compared to something. A benchmark is generally defined as a point of reference from which measurements may be made; something that serves as a standard by which others may be measured or judged; or a standardized problem or test that serves as a basis for evaluation or comparison. In the context of biased-based policing evaluations, a benchmark is the percentage of a racial or gender group that one would expect to be encountered if officers were not biased.

For example, imagine that 20% of the people speeding down a particular stretch of roadway were male and Hispanic. This makes 20% our benchmark for speeding stops of male Hispanics. We would expect that unbiased stops by police for speeding in this area would show that only about 20% of those stopped for speeding were male Hispanic drivers. However, where do we get these benchmarks? Unfortunately, most of the benchmarks used are fatally flawed. These flawed benchmarks consistently suggest officer bias, regardless of what officers are actually doing. The most common flawed benchmark is U.S. Census data.

Census Data

The U.S. Census Bureau collects data on the social and demographic characteristics of the individuals who live within the U.S. This data is freely and easily accessible from the U.S. Census Bureau website and can be analyzed within different geographic regions, down to the zip code and census block levels. Many have used Census data as their benchmark for police activity because of its ease of access. The problem, however, is that **the demographic characteristics of the people living at any one location have nothing to do with the driving population there, nor who is breaking the law in any specific area.** We use our vehicles to travel to places away from our homes, as people generally do not work, shop, or recreate in their homes. Two studies illustrate this well.

The first study, conducted by sociologists Albert Meehan and Michael Ponder at Oakland University, examined the racial composition of drivers across one suburb in the Detroit area. According to the U.S. Census, the suburb they studied had a population that was 3% African-American, but the city also contained a popular shopping district and a major auto factory. The researchers placed pairs of observers at major intersections across the three police beats in the city, and the observers recorded the races of 3,840 drivers who stopped at these intersections. Despite the city Census population of 3% African-American, in the police beat that bordered the city of Detroit, 49% of the drivers were African-American. The other two beats revealed 11% and 3% of the drivers were African-American.

Think about that. What if the officers working these different beats stopped African-American drivers as the exact rates that African-Americans drove in these beats? Any study of this particular suburb using 3% African-American as its benchmark would falsely claim that officers working in two of the beats were racially profiling. When the stops from all three beats are combined as department-wide data, the whole department would incorrectly appear to be racially profiling because more than 3% of their stops were of African-American drivers, despite the fact African Americans actually made up far more than 3% of the drivers on the road.

Another example was a study, of which I was a part, that was conducted by a research team headed by criminologist Robin Engel at the University of Cincinnati. This study examined 315,705 traffic stops conducted by troopers of the Pennsylvania State Police. These stops occurred on interstate highways, U.S. highways, state routes, county roads, and village and city streets. An examination of these stops revealed that 96% of drivers stopped by the police were stopped outside of their home zip codes. Furthermore, 66% were stopped outside of their home county, and 27% were stopped outside of their home state. This study went on to conduct observations of the races of 66,741 drivers along various roadways in 27 counties of Pennsylvania. When compared to the Census

statistics for each township where these observations were made, the Census statistics on race never matched the racial composition of the drivers that were observed.3 Census data is no reflection of who is driving in a given area.

Not only are Census statistics inaccurate measures of who is driving in any given area, Census data also fail to identify the racial and ethnic composition of who should actually be stopped by the police. Just because 49% of the drivers in a police beat are African-American, that does not mean 49% of the people stopped by officers should be African-American. If African-Americans were stopped just because they are driving in an area, without having done anything wrong, this would amount to stops for "driving while black." Instead we need a measure of the racial composition of the drivers who are driving poorly by breaking traffic laws and driving unsafe vehicles (equipment violations). It is traffic law violators who should be at risk of traffic stops if no bias is present. The Census data in no way measures driving behavior.

Alternative Benchmark

So what should be used as a proper benchmark for these types of reports and studies? Hiring a group of researchers to go out and record the races and traffic violations of drivers across your jurisdiction is usually too time-consuming and expensive for most law enforcement agencies. A simple solution, however, is to collect race and ethnicity data on all traffic crashes in your jurisdiction and use this data as your driver benchmark. While no state currently collects race data on its state vehicle crash form, if your agency starts collecting race data in-house, your agency will eventually have a benchmark of bad drivers across the various beats of your jurisdiction.

Using traffic crash data as a traffic stop benchmark has a number of advantages. First, it identifies the drivers most likely to be stopped because crashes result from moving or equipment violations of the law. While there are some people who are blameless for their crash (such as the person waiting at a red light who is hit from behind), all crashes had at least one driver or equipment error at fault, and many had multiple drivers at fault. Second, officers investigating traffic accidents can verify the race and ethnicity of the driver when they complete their report, as opposed to a researcher trying to determine a driver's race in a passing car. Third, as traffic crashes occur almost everywhere (even off of public roadways in parking lots and driveways) they are good samples of the bad driver or poorly maintained vehicle population throughout a district or beat. Research observers tend to focus just on certain thoroughfares. Finally, crash data come from the citizenry who report crashes to the police, so no suggestion can be made that there was bias by the police in gathering this data.4

If you agency is currently using Census data as your benchmark, it is imperative that you stop immediately and find a valid benchmark like the alternative discussed here. Using Census data is rigged against your officers as it almost always suggests disproportionate stops of minority group members, even when no officer bias occurred. If some outside individual or organization proposes to analyze your officers' stops using Census data as their benchmark, oppose it vehemently, using the studies cited here to support your argument. If your state collects statewide data, as does Illinois, Missouri, and Texas, lobby your state lawmakers to stop using Census data as the benchmark comparison and begin to collect valid benchmark comparison data by modifying the state vehicle crash form to include race and ethnicity information.

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Biased Based Policing Reports Summary

The overwhelming majority of racial profiling studies done by academics, and biased-based policing self-examinations by police departments, have produced results that people of color, especially African-Americans, are disproportionately stopped by the police.5 It is likely, however, that the majority of these findings are in error as most relied on methodological errors that were guaranteed to show bias even when there was none. Using Census statistics as a benchmark, that in no way resemble the driving population or the traffic violator population, is just one of these many methodological errors.

The Dolan Consulting Group offers a training workshop that addresses these many errors and offers suggestions on how to correct them. Biased-Based Policing Reports: Best Practices is a one-day course that teaches personnel from law enforcement agencies how these studies should be conducted, and their reports written. It explains how to collect, analyze, and present your information in a manner that creates the least chance of misinterpretation or manipulation by the media, and presents the work of your agency in a fair manner. The information offered in this workshop is crucial to the creation of a data collection effort and report that is truly unbiased against the hard-working and principled officers who are policing their communities in a fair and impartial manner.

F. What are the academically sound data collection efforts required to respond to citizen's requests for biased-based policing reports?

The Problem of Racial Profiling

- Definitions Vary.
- Narrow definition: officer actions based solely on the basis of the person's race or ethnicity.
- Broad definition: officer actions consider race or ethnicity in any way, including suspect descriptions.

What does the public think? *National survey of 1,792 persons*[33]

- 80% of those surveyed disapproved of racial profiling.
- 73% of whites disapproved.
- 77% of Hispanics disapproved.
- 90% of African-Americans disapproved.

81% of those surveyed believed that the "use of racial profiling by the police is widespread."

- 70% of whites (non-Hispanic)
- 83% of Hispanics
- 92% of African-Americans

Fair or not, the majority of the U.S. population believes that police officers engaging in racial profiling.

- Most police officers believe they do not.
- Biased-based policing reports is where the police provide evidence, if it exists, is presented.

What Does the Profession Think?

- IACP has a statement against racial profiling.
- CALEA has a statement against racial profiling.
- Many states have a statute against racial profiling.

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[33] Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. A. (2005). Racially-biased policing: determinants of citizen perceptions. *Social Forces, 83(3)*, 1009-1030

GROUP DISUCSSION: What can your agency do to confront this challenge?

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What are Biased-Based Policing Reports?

- Reports intended to examine proactive police officer activities to determine if "racial profiling" exists.
- What is the definition of racial profiling? Do you have a policy defining it?
- Required by state statute in some states.
- Required by local ordinance in some communities.
- Required by lawsuit of consent decree in some cases.
- Completed in response to some community demand.
- Completed out of proactive desire to be transparent.
- Completed as a way to meet CALEA standard 1.2.9.

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Biased-Based Policing Reports Are...

- A self-examination of the proportions of various racial and ethnic groups affected by police agency actions.
- Explorations of evidence suggesting racial or ethnic minority groups are disproportionately affected.
- Evidence that is circumstantial, not prima facie proof of biased policing

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Biased-Based Policing Reports ISSUES

- Consider Your Audience.
- Sensitive to issues of race, force, & civil liberties
- Already holds a biased opinion that profiling is occurring
- You need to assure community that:
  - ✓ You are sensitive to their concerns
  - ✓ Efforts are taken to protect liberties
  - ✓ Bias-based behavior is not occurring
  - ✓ If it does occur, it will be punished

Tone of Your Report

- Begin by expressing concern about racial profiling and biased treatment of citizens.
- The REAL reason for the report – not because of a state law, consent decree, or CALEA requirement.
- Proof read many times for words or statements that may be considered offensive to specific constituent groups.
- This is NOT a standard police report (Not "Just the facts ma'am"). This report IS a persuasive argument *(Think rational debate)*
- Using facts and persuasive language, your goal is to convince your audience that your agency is concerned about this issue

Provide EVIDENCE that your agency takes this issue seriously

- Cultural diversity or biased-based policing training officers receive.
- Written policies prohibiting biased-based policing.
- Proscribed disciplinary action when bias-based policing is discovered.
- Any community relations efforts, especially with racial minority communities.
- Agency diversity statement or policy.
- Agency diversity hiring plan.
- Biased-based policing data collection.

[Note to Student: Refer to Research Brief: *Biased Based Policing Reports Are Failing the Police and the Community* in your course materials Section 6:]

G. Implicit Bias: *The Facts…*

What is implicit bias?

In recent years the concept of implicit bias has received a great deal of attention in the United States. Implicit bias is an idea that suggests that regardless of our conscious thoughts and feelings, we each hold biased judgements in our subconscious against people that are different than us. For example, it has been argued that Caucasian people who make a concerted effort to avoid discriminating against African-Americans still hold untrue racist stereotypes and opinions about African-Americans in their subconscious mind which cause them to unintentionally act in a discriminatory way toward African-Americans. The implicit bias concept was further expanded in 1998 with the development of psychological tests that have claimed to reveal one's hidden racial and ethnic implicit biases (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998).

Since then, implicit bias has received a great deal of media attention and has found its way into public policy. The U.S. Department of Justice has embraced the concept and has argued that it is a major contributing factor for explaining the disproportionate involvement of African-Americans and Hispanics as clients within the criminal justice system. This argument suggests that police officers, jailers, prosecutors, victim advocates, judges, corrections officers, treatment counselors, and probation and parole agents all have subconscious biases that cause them to unconsciously profile and discriminate against African-American and Hispanic defendants (Fridell, 2016). Numerous trainers have now sprung up to offer implicit bias training to criminal justice professionals, where trainees are taught to expose and address their hidden, subconscious biases. Even the final report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, under Pillar 5, recommends the expansion of implicit bias training for law enforcement personnel (President's Task Force, 2015).

What does the evidence suggest?

Research was conducted in 2013 by a neutral, independent team of five researchers from five major universities across the U.S. (Oswald, Mitchell, Blanton, Jaccard, & Tetlock, 2013). These researchers examined studies which looked at racial and ethnic bias, excluding studies that examined gender bias, sexual-orientation bias, or other biases. (46 studies which involved about 5,600 persons tested.) These studies they found that, after controlling for one's overt racist views, implicit bias test scores had little or no influence on actual racial discriminatory behavior. They found that in the majority of the 46 studies examined, a person's implicit bias score had no influence on their perceptions of persons of another race / ethnicity, their nonverbal behaviors toward the other race / ethnicity, their choices regarding someone of another race /

ethnicity, or their physiological responses when encountering someone of another race / ethnicity. They even found that in the police shooting scenario study, implicit bias did not matter after controlling for one's overt racial attitudes.

Two important law enforcement points to take away from these findings:

1. First, overt stereotypes and racist views do influence people's behavior. The research findings here strongly suggest that if an officer consciously holds negative views and stereotypes toward African-Americans or Hispanics, his or her behaviors will be influenced by these prejudiced attitudes in a negative way.
2. However, the findings also strongly suggest that persons who do not hold overt racist attitudes do not have to worry about some deeply-hidden, unknown, unconscious racist attitudes influencing their work decisions. These findings reveal the need to aggressively weed out officers who hold conscious racial stereotypes and biases in order to avoid biased-based policing.

[Note to Student: Refer to Research Brief: *Examining the Facts on Implicit Bias* in your course materials Section 6:]

Section 3: What Does Experience, and Empirical Research Evidence Reveal about what Police can do to Improve the Public Perception of the Police

A. **Confronting Today's Media Industry Crisis***: Actual Crime in the United States & Perceptions of Neighborhood Crime and Disorder*

The Dolan Group Reviewed 27 studies focused on citizens' fear of crime, perceptions about neighborhood disorder and if crime rates influenced citizen overall satisfaction with all police.

- The more fearful a person is about crime in his or her neighborhood, the less likely that person is to be satisfied with the police.
- Regardless of the crime reality, the more fearful the person, the lower their perceptions of the police.
- Likewise, citizen perceptions about neighborhood disorder and incivility also influence satisfaction with the police.

The more run-down the person perceives his or her neighborhood to be, the less general satisfaction the person has with the police.

- Perception versus Reality
- *Actual* neighborhood crime rates and citizen fear levels of crime are unrelated.
- While actual crime in America has ***deceased*** steadily since 1994, citizen fear of crime has been ***increasing*** since 1999.
- The decreases in citizen fear of crime in the 1990s correspond with the national proliferation of community policing strategies and tactics.
- The increases in fear of crime since 1999 correspond with the national shift away from community policing activities in favor of intelligence-led, problem-oriented policing strategies.

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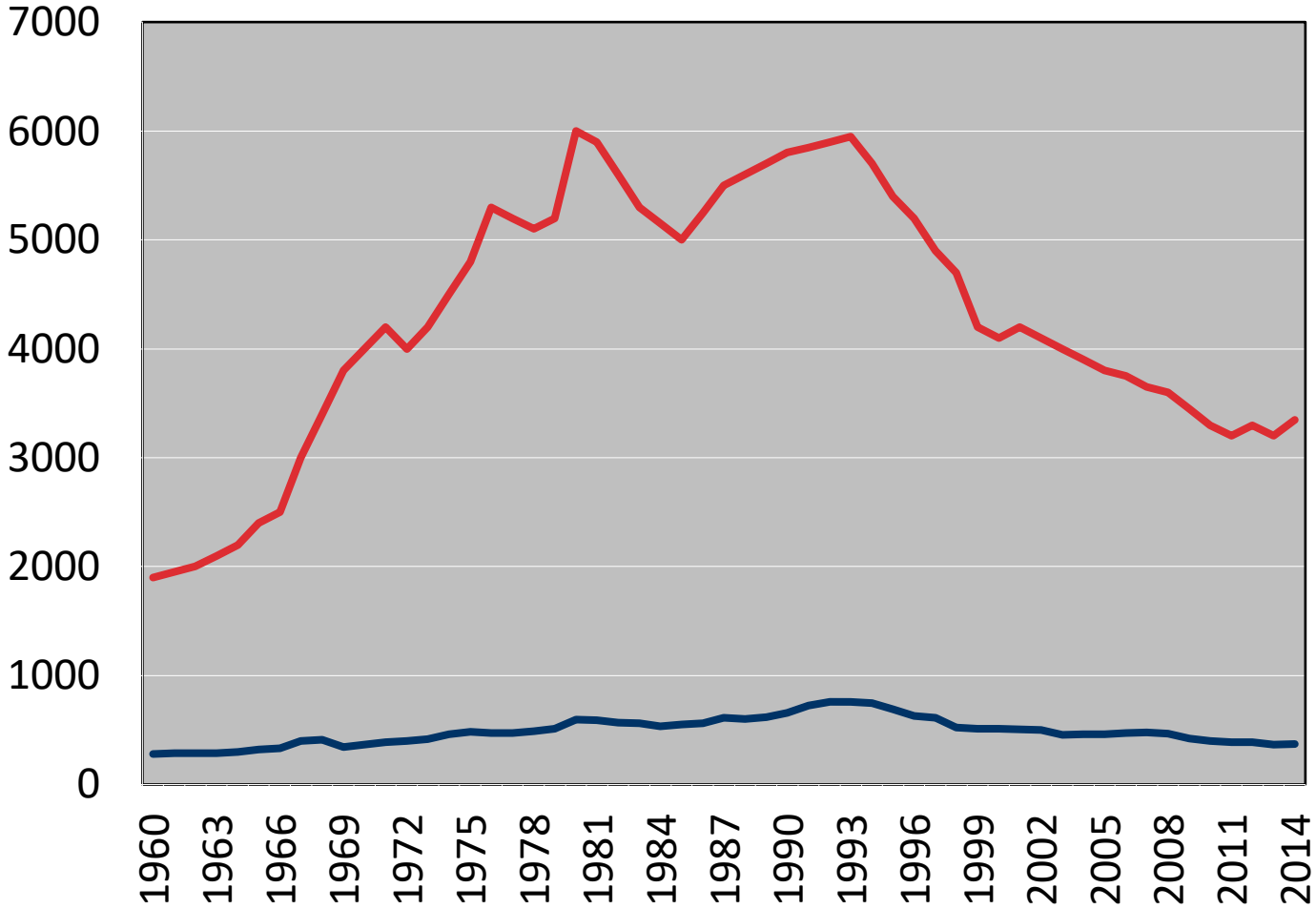
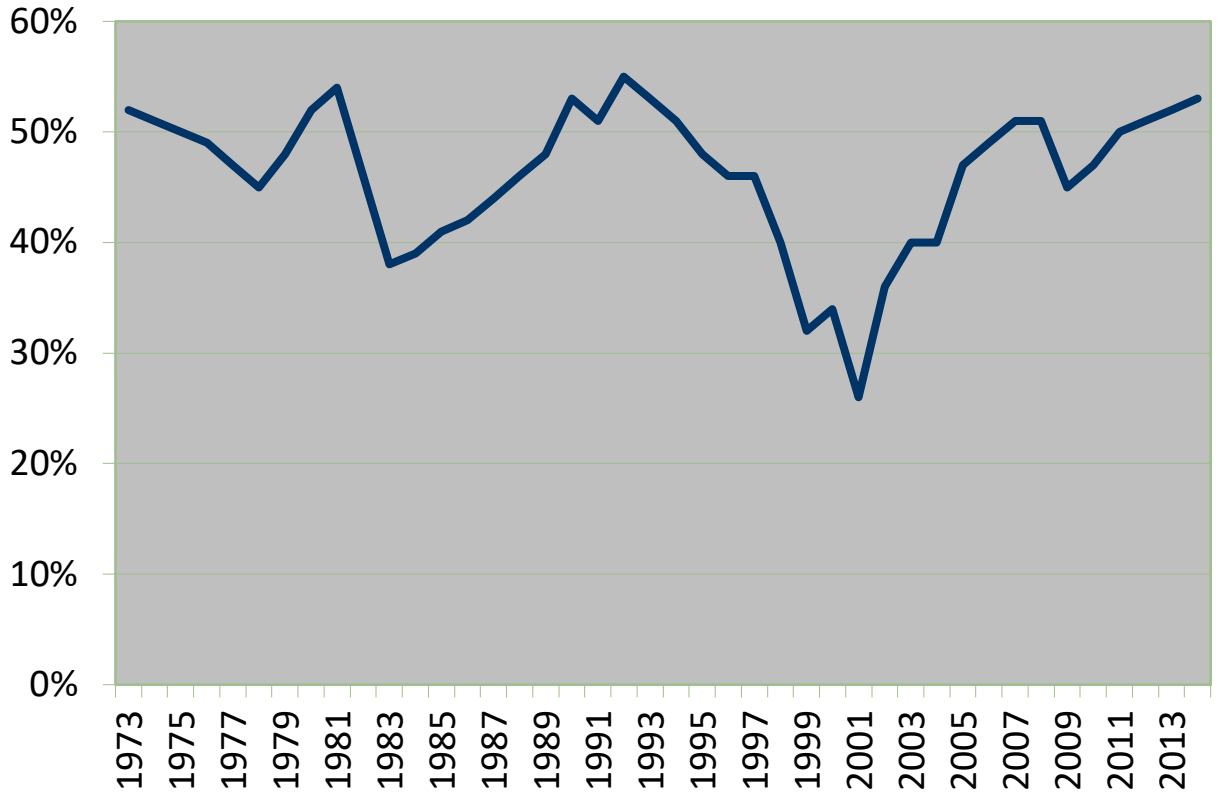
Actual U.S. Crime Rates



"Is crime in your neighborhood worse than last year?"



The Dolan Group Reviewed 27 studies focused upon citizens' radio and television media exposure which has been found to help predict their attitude toward the police

- As media exposure increases, satisfaction with the police decreases.
- While media representations of the police produce unrealistic expectations about the capabilities of the police and news programs tend to concentrate on sensational crimes, this only partially explains the media exposure effect.
- Regardless of the media content, higher media exposure reduces citizen satisfaction (and also increases fear of crime).
- It would be safe to assume that those with the highest levels of media exposure (the unemployed, the retired, and the disabled) are persons who tend to be socially isolated from others in their community.

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Print, radio and television news sources are at an all-time low for revenues and readership/viewership. As a result, they:

- Must sensationalize stories to get attention
- Have fewer resources (reporters) in the field to gather stories
- Tend to print news releases verbatim or with only mild commentary

Recent research has revealed that the majority of Americans today receive their news from Twitter and Facebook posts, NOT directly from the media sources. As a result, by emphasizing releasing information directly to YOUR public via Facebook, Twitter, and your webpage, you can bypass the misinterpretation filter of the news media.

- Release well-crafted information to the public and news media together. Much of the public will get the information without accessing a news site and if enough details and video are provided to make a story, the news sources will publish your information as their own. However, if your response is "no comment," the news media will be forced to "make a story" on their own.

Case Study Reviews: Discuss positive case examples where police agencies are effectively responding to the media industry crisis

Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department Case Example

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Raleigh Police Department Case Example

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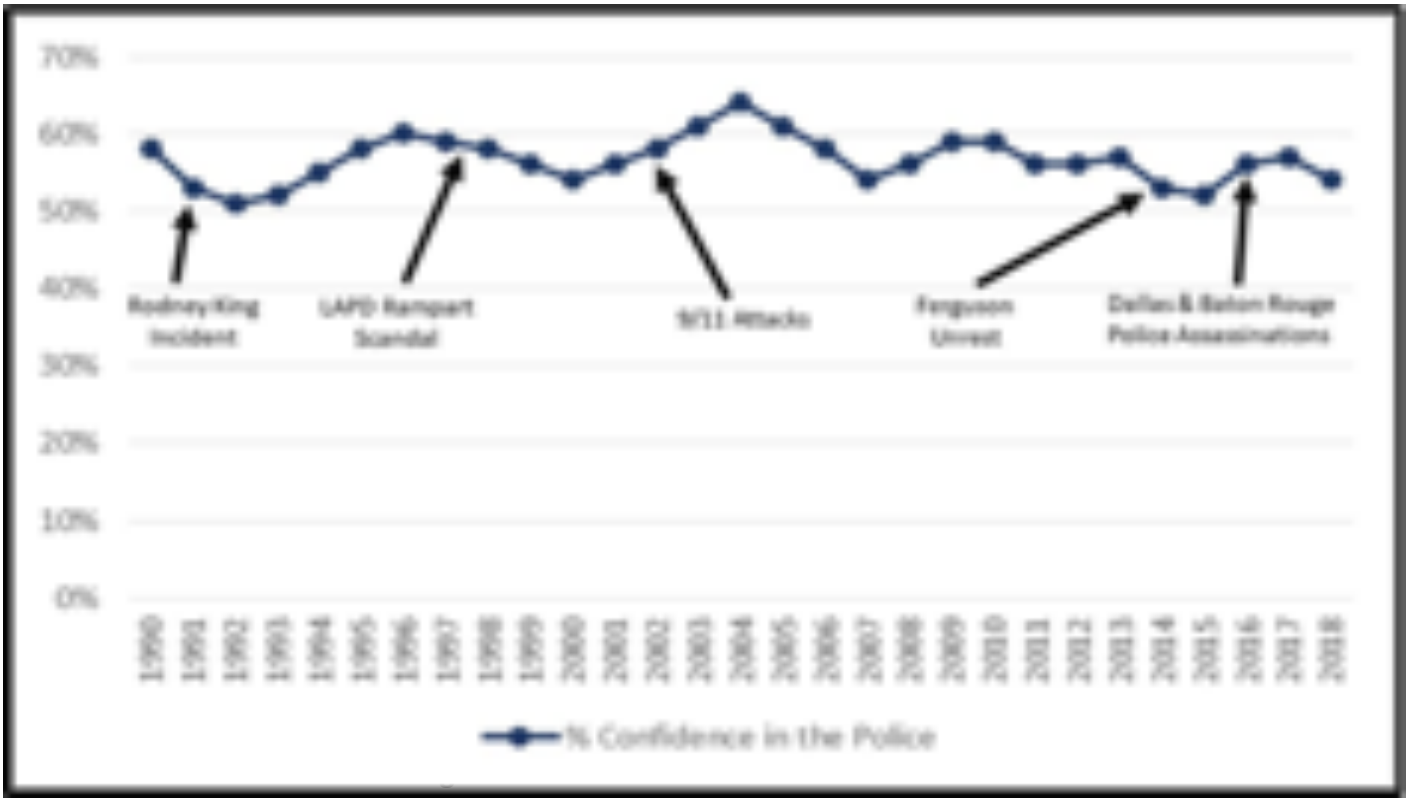
B. The Public's Confidence in the Police Might Be Better Than You Think

How does public confidence in law enforcement stack up against public confidence in other institutions, especially in recent years?

The graph below shows the trend in Gallup Poll data on public confidence in the police from 1990 through the first half of 2018. This is a graph of the percentage of Americans surveyed by the Gallup Organization who indicated that they had "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in their local police, year by year. As one can see, since 1990, confidence in the police has fluctuated back and forth from about 50% to about 65%. When a sensational case of police use of force or corruption gets widespread national media attention, such as the Rodney King Incident (1991), the Rampart Scandal (1997), or the Ferguson Shooting (2014), public confidence in the police declines to near 50%. When national media attention lauds the police as heroes, such as in the aftermath of the 9/11 Attacks, or the mass assassinations of police officers during 2016, public confidence rises above 60%. Nevertheless, for the last 28 years, public confidence in the police bounced back and forth, but never fell below 50%, or rose above 65%.

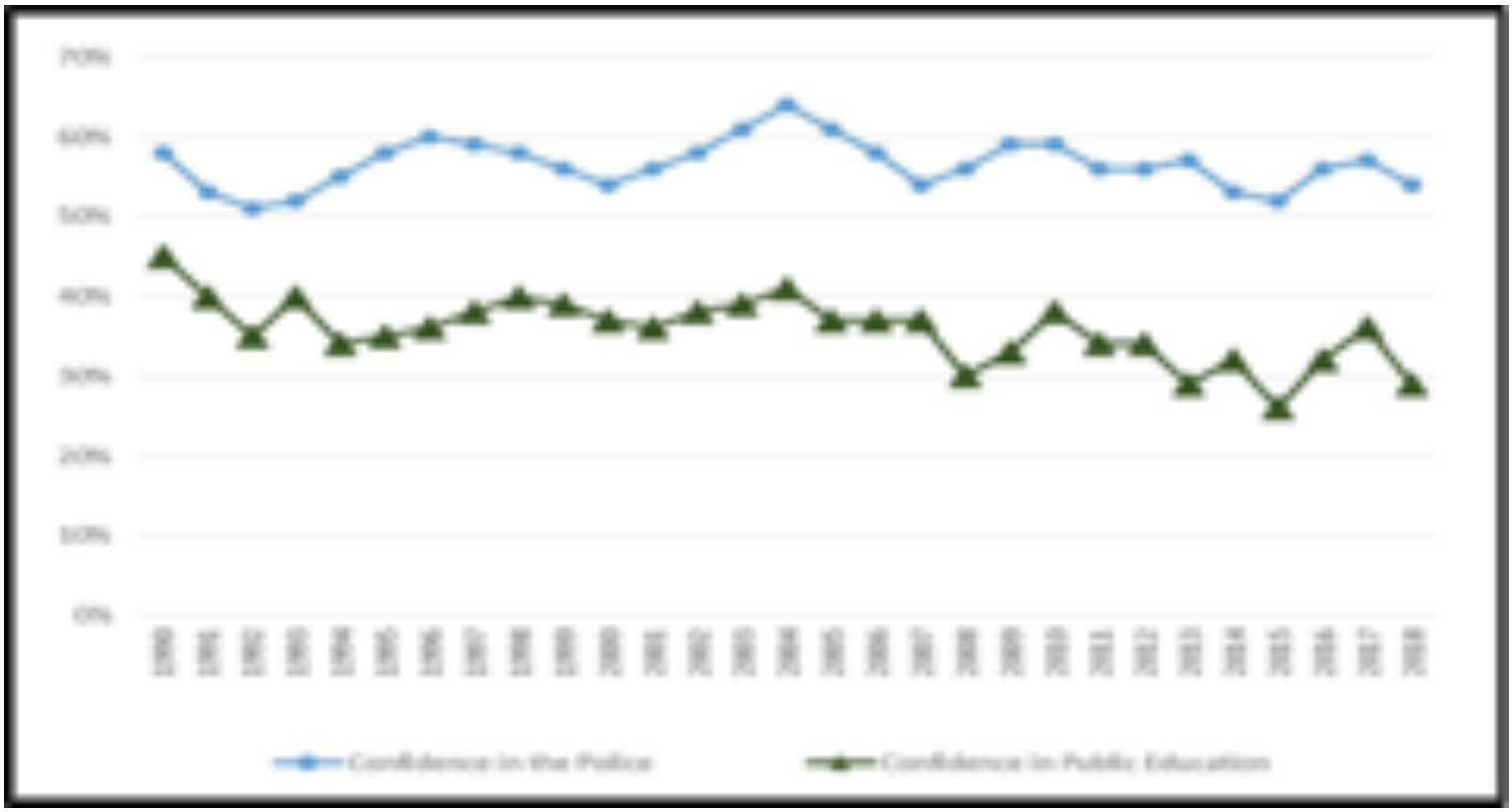
Gallup Poll Data on Public Confidence in the Police (1990-2018)



The graph below compares the trend in public confidence in the police, with public confidence in public education, from 1990 through the first half of 2018. As this graph reveals, public confidence in public education has been below 50% since before 1990. Like law enforcement, public confidence in public education was in the 70% range during the late 1960s, but began to decline after 1973, and by 1990 had dropped below 50%.

While the national news media has remained relatively silent on these poll results, public confidence in public education has averaged 15 to 20 percentage points lower than that of public confidence in the police. This gap has also widened over time to the point where, for the first half of 2018, public confidence in public education is 36 percentage points lower than public confidence in the police. While public confidence in the police over the last 28 years has fluctuated between two points (50% and 65%), public confidence in public education has been much lower and continues a slow decline.

Gallup Poll Data on Public Confidence in Police and Public Education (1990-2018)

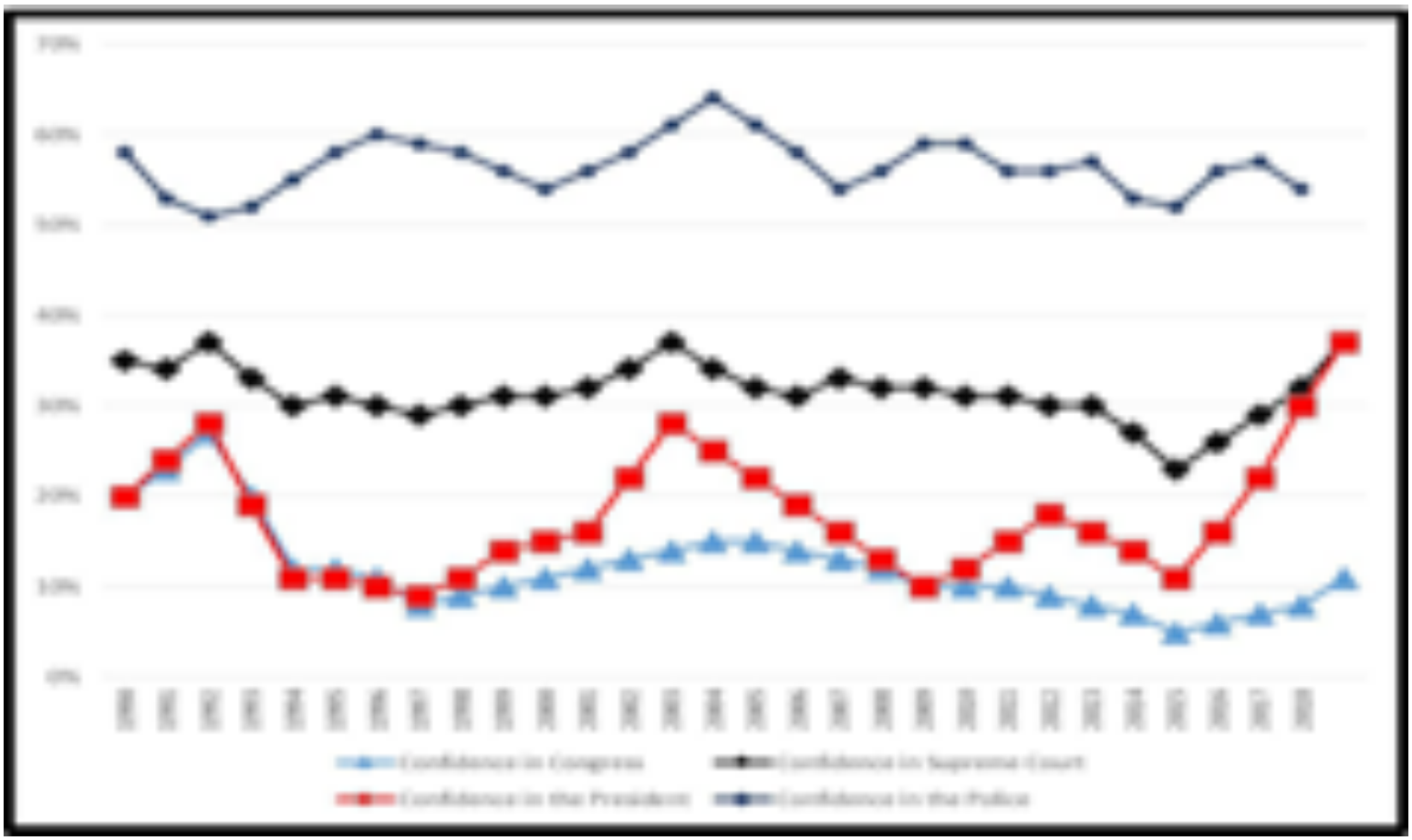


What about other government institutions?

The graph below reveals the levels of public confidence in the police alongside the levels of public confidence in Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court. As this graph reveals, since 1990, public confidence in law enforcement has remained much higher than the level of public confidence in the three pillars of the federal government. Even at its worst, public confidence in the police has been 12 percentage points higher than public confidence in the Supreme Court or the President at their best.

Undoubtedly the law enforcement profession should continue to work hard to improve the public image of the police. Nevertheless, compared to other government institutions at the local and national level, it appears that the law enforcement profession is doing pretty well in terms of public confidence.

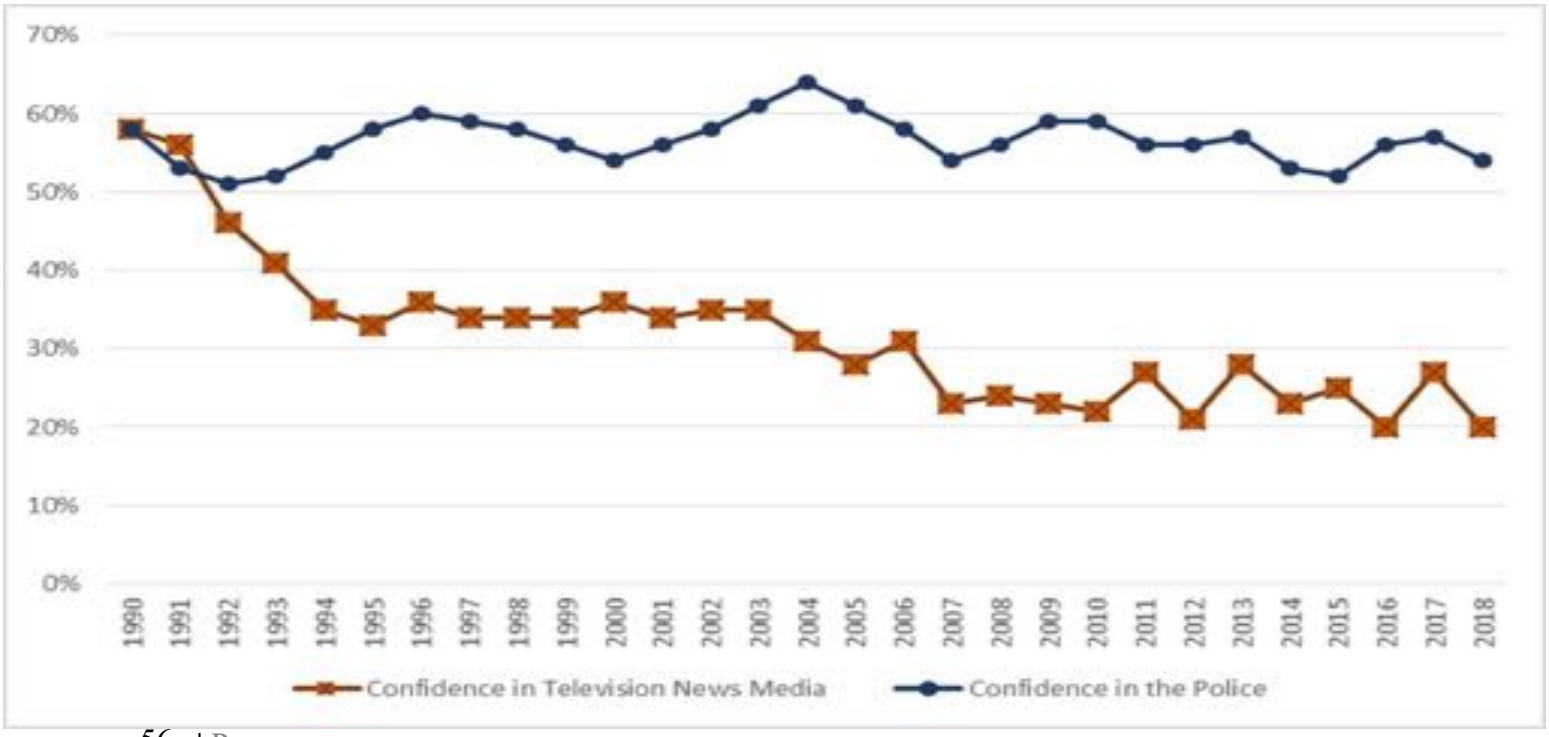
Gallup Poll Public Confidence in Police and Federal Government (1990-2018)



Regardless of the cause of the media's focus on the perceived lack of confidence in the police, there is an irony in this focus—the level of confidence in the media itself is dismally low among the American people.

- The last graph below, compares the Gallup Poll data on public confidence in the police, with Gallup Poll data on public confidence in the television news media. In 1990 and 1991, law enforcement and the television news media had similar levels of public confidence – between 55% and 60%.
- After that, public confidence in the television news media took a major nose dive, dropping far below public confidence in the police, even in the midst of the Rodney King trial and riots that hurt law enforcement's public image. Public confidence in television news media fell from 58% in 1990, to 33% in 1995. After its initial plummet in the early 1990s, public confidence in the television news media has never recovered.
- After 1995, public confidence in television news has slowly declined further. Over the last 10 years, public confidence in the television news media has fluctuated between 20 and 28% - about 22 to 30 percentage points lower than the lowest recorded level of public confidence in the police. According to the Pew Research Institute, since 1990, newspaper readership (including online editions of newspapers) has been cut in half, declining by 51%. Network television news viewership has also declined by 43% since 1990.

Gallup Poll Public Confidence in Police and Television News (1990-2018)



Public confidence in the police has remained fairly stable over the last 28 years, fluctuating between 50 and 65% from year to year. Nevertheless, confidence in the police has remained much higher than public confidence in other institutions with the isolated exceptions of the military and small business.

- Finally, for almost three decades, public confidence in the television news media (the prominent voice in public discourse decrying lack of public trust in the police) has been falling and is actually substantially lower than the level of public confidence in law enforcement.
- These statistics demonstrate something fundamentally important: law enforcement officers are members of one of the most trusted institutions in our country—more than our news media, our public schools or our elected political bodies. There is a clear majority of the public that supports you and trusts in your work. That confidence is something to be protected through the professional execution of your duties as officers.

[Note to Student: Refer to Research Brief: *The Public's Confidence in the Police Might Be Better Than You Think* in your course materials Section 6:]

C. Predictors of General Citizen Satisfaction with the Police

The Dolan Group Reviewed 27 Examined research studies published 2000 – 2015 on general police satisfaction with the police

- 55,421 total people surveyed
- National samples, statewide samples, and samples of specific communities ranging in size from Monroe, NC (population 33,975) to New York City
- Examined what factors most consistently predicted general citizen satisfaction with the police across the majority of these studies
- No differences found by state, community size, urban, or rural
- Findings were also consistent with previous findings of similar studies conducted in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s

Top 5 Predictors: *Overall Satisfaction with the Police*

- Recent Negative Contact with the Police
- Personal Fear of Crime / Perceptions of Neighborhood Crime and Disorder
- Perceptions of Police Resources Devoted to My Neighborhood
- Level of Media Exposure
- Immigrant Status / Proportion of Immigrants in Neighborhood

(Note: All 5 of these factors influenced overall citizen satisfaction in every study that measured them.)

What were not strong predictors?

- Citizen race
- Citizen age
- Citizen sex
- Citizen income level
- Citizen marital status
- Citizen education level
- Actual neighborhood crime rates
- Recent positive contact with the police

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Police Presence in the Neighborhood; *How often Do Citizens Contact the Police? Bureau of Justice Statistics police-citizen contacts*

- 50% report a crime, disturbance, or emergency
- 40% vehicle or pedestrian stop
- 1% casual face-to-face interaction with a law enforcement officer that was not a family member or friend
- 9% other

When Does Police Presence Reduce Fear and Increase Satisfaction?

- Increased presence of vehicle patrols can actually increase fear of crime
- Increased presence of foot patrols decreases fear of crime and increases overall citizen satisfaction with the police.
- Citizens want to see police resources in their communities, but they specifically want to see resources that they can approach and talk to.

Perceptions of Police Resources Dedicated to My Neighborhood.

(All of the 27 studies found perceptions of police resources in the neighborhood is tied to the citizen's overall satisfaction with the police.

Regardless of actual neighborhood crime rate, persons who felt the police rarely patrolled their neighborhood or did not like handling calls in their neighborhood, were more fearful of crime and held more negative views of the police.

When citizens knew the officers, who patrolled their neighborhood by name, they were less fearful of crime and had more positive attitudes toward the police.

What Increases Satisfaction from Traffic Stop Encounters?

- The officer introduced him/herself
- The officer explained the reason for the stop
- The officer listened to my excuse and verbally empathized
- The officer explained options for handling the citation
- The officer answered my questions
- The officer helped me merge back into traffic
- The officer was courteous and polite; or the officer was businesslike
- The officer was fair (i.e., the enforcement action fit the severity of the offense)

- The officers called me “sir” or “ma’am” or by my last name (i.e., “Mr. Smith”)

What Decreases Satisfaction from Traffic Stop Encounters?

- Officer yelled or spoke in an angry tone
- Officer was sarcastic
- Officer called me by my first name
- Officer swore or called me by a slang term (i.e., “dude” or “bro”)
- Officer remained mostly silent
- I received a citation

What Increases Satisfaction from Non-Crime Calls for Service?

- The officer listened and paid attention to me
- The officer was courteous and polite
- The officer helped explain the cause or solution to the problem
- The officer tried to help me
- The officer arrived in a reasonable amount of time

What Increases Satisfaction of Crime Victims?

- The officer was courteous and polite
- The officer appeared to want to help
- The officer listened to me
- The officer searched the crime scene and collected evidence
- The officer looked for and questioned witnesses
- The officer politely gave safety advice to help prevent future victimization
- The officer explained insurance compensation options
- The officer gave contact information and contacted later with follow-up information
- The officer arrived quickly
- The offender was apprehended and / or property was recovered

No Influence on what Increases Satisfaction of Crime Victims?

- Income level
- Sex

- Homeowner
- Education
- Race
- Age
- Severity of victim injury
- Number of officers on scene
- Value of property stolen
- Extent of property damage

D. Negative, Positive and Vicarious Police Contact

(In the 27 studies on citizen satisfaction with the police, every single one of these studies found that having had a recent negative contact with the police significantly reduced overall satisfaction with all police.)

Vicarious Negative Contact: *Knowing a friend or family member had a specific negative contact with the police*

- 100% of studies found vicarious negative police contact reduced overall satisfaction with the police

Negative Police Contact: *(20 of the 27 studies measured "recent negative police contact")*

- Having had a recent negative contact with the police was the strongest predictor found regarding general citizen satisfaction with the police.
- Several studies also asked about vicarious police contact, described as having a friend or family member who had contact with the police within the last 12 months. 100% of these studies found that having a friend or family member with a recent negative contact with the police decreased overall satisfaction with the police.
- Positive contacts with the police, however, failed to have a strong influence.
- Only 22% of the studies found a positive contact influenced overall citizen satisfaction, and even in these cases the overall influence was weak.
- Likewise, only 8% of the studies found that recent vicarious positive contact influenced people's general attitudes toward the police.

Strongest predictor

- All things being equal, recent negative contact reduces overall satisfaction by 29% - 54%
- To summarize, negative contacts between an officer and a citizen not only decreases that citizen's respect and support for the police, but it also diminishes respect and satisfaction for the police among that person's relatives, friends, and any other bystanders who witnessed it.
- Very positive contacts, on the other hand, do not do much to improve a citizen's satisfaction with the police.

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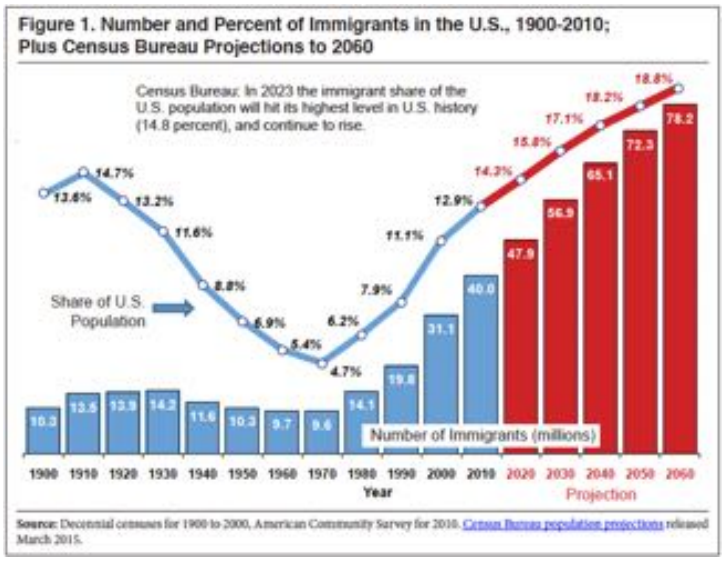
E. Immigrant Status

- Seventy percent of the 27 studies revealed that immigrant to the United States were found to be less satisfied with the police, even after controlling for fear of crime and recent contact with the police.
- These attitudes were consistent whether the person was an immigrant from Latin America, Asia, or Africa.
- 7 of the 27 studies examined the influence of percentage of immigrants in the neighborhood, or immigrant status *(Asia, South America, or Central America)*
- 86% of these studies found that being an immigrant, or being a resident of a neighborhood with a large immigrant population, reduced citizen satisfaction with police



Why would immigrants have less satisfaction with the police?

Considering the fact that most recent immigrants come from third world countries with police agencies connected to oppressive government regimes and known for human rights violations, this should not be surprising.

People who grew up in a nation where the police officers were routinely uneducated, violent, and corrupt would understandably have unfavorable perceptions of the police everywhere unless their new police experiences repeatedly reveal something different.

Immigrants bring with them their attitudes about the police from their home country

Immigrants (legal or not) have concerns about deportation as a result from police contact

No published studies to date have evaluated the effects of police immigrant education programs on overall neighborhood satisfaction with the police.

- Even so, what would these types of programs be accomplishing?
  - ✓ Informal, face-to-face contact with police
  - ✓ Positive contact with the police
  - ✓ Vicarious positive contact with the police
  - ✓ Perceptions of police resources for their community

Common Themes For Officers to Consider

- Being polite and courteous whenever possible matters
- All human beings wanted to be treated with dignity and respect
- Citizens want us to listen to them and actually hear what they say
- Citizens feel satisfied when we demonstrate that we tried to help and did what we could
- Identify yourself in interactions
- Explain reasons for contacts
- Explain reasons for enforcement actions
- Refer to the citizen with a term of respect (sir, ma'am, Mr. Jones, etc.)
- Do not call citizens by first names, "bro", "dude", or other terms that are less than respectful
- Do not use abusive language
- Get out of the car and engage in non-enforcement contact with citizens daily

Are you Approachable?

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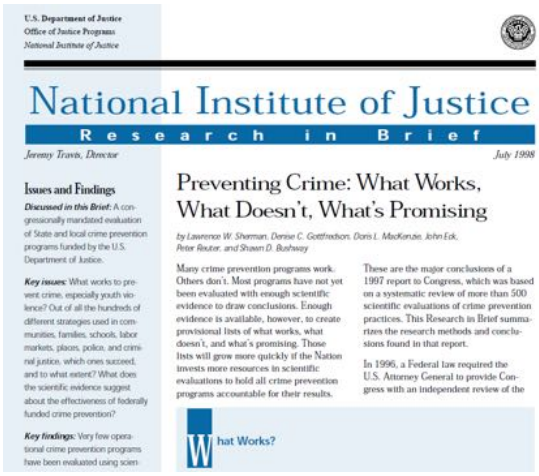
Common Themes for Organizations to Consider

- Establish specific written policies on officer verbal conduct in public (The U.S. military does it)
- Enforce these policies (The U.S. military does it)
- Mandate non-enforcement citizen contact and measure it (What gets measured gets done)
- Re-institute community meetings, especially problem-solving ones
- Consider the need / feasibility of a substation in certain minority neighborhoods
- Consider immigrant education programs
- Take control of your agency's public image via the internet, social media outlets, and information sharing

F. What Policing Tactics Decrease Citizen Fear of Crime *and* Increase Satisfaction with the Police?[34]

Fear of crime is unrelated to actual crime *(perception does not match reality*

- National increases in fear of crime in the 1960s-1970s and 2000s-2010s coincided with national decreases in community policing



U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
National Institute of Justice

National Institute of Justice

Research in Brief

Jeremy Travis, Director

July 1998

Issues and Findings

Discussed in this Brief: A congressionally mandated evaluation of State and local crime prevention programs funded by the U.S. Department of Justice.

Key issues: What works to prevent crime, especially youth violence? Out of all the hundreds of different strategies used in communities, families, schools, labor markets, places, police, and criminal justice, which ones succeed, and to what extent? What does the scientific evidence suggest about the effectiveness of federally funded crime prevention?

Key findings: Very few operational crime prevention programs have been evaluated using scien-

Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising

by Lawrence W. Sherman, Denise C. Gottfredson, Doris L. MacKenzie, John Eck, Peter Reuter, and Shawn D. Bushway

Many crime prevention programs work. Others don't. Most programs have not yet been evaluated with enough scientific evidence to draw conclusions. Enough evidence is available, however, to create provisional lists of what works, what doesn't, and what's promising. Those lists will grow more quickly if the Nation invests more resources in scientific evaluations to hold all crime prevention programs accountable for their results.

These are the major conclusions of a 1997 report to Congress, which was based on a systematic review of more than 500 scientific evaluations of crime prevention practices. This Research in Brief summarizes the research methods and conclusions found in that report.

In 1996, a Federal law required the U.S. Attorney General to provide Congress with an independent review of the

What Works?

- Fear of crime (not actual crime) is also a strong predictor of satisfaction with the police
- Violent crime on the rise in urban, suburban, and rural areas since 2014
- Property crime is starting to plateau
- Fear of crime has been on the rise since 1999

Important points to remember

- The tactics that reduce fear of crime generally have little impact on actual crime
- The tactics that reduce actual crime have little impact of fear of crime and may sometimes increase citizen hostility

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[34] Zhao, J., Scheider, M., & Thurman, Q. (2002). The effect of police presence on public fear reduction and satisfaction: a review of the literature. *The justice Professional, 15(3)*, 273-299.

What does not reduce the fear of crime or improve general satisfaction with police

- Open houses
- Citizen police academy
- Neighborhood watch
- Identi-kit, McGruff
- Citizen patrols

Perceived police presence: *The police interventions that most reduce citizen fear of crime all increased face-to-face contact between officers and law-abiding citizens*

- Greatest impacts occurred in areas of greatest areas of neighborhood disorder
- Feelings of safety improved when any uniformed person was walking on the street
- Feeling of safety were highest with uniformed officer
- Motorized Patrol does not increase satisfaction or reduce fear
- Citizens want to be able to see and approach officers, not cars
- Citizens want to know their officers and have informal contact

Community policing strategies serve the purpose of reducing fear of crime and increasing citizen support for the police

- Intentional, non-enforcement citizen beat contact
- Proactive contacts on patrol
- Systematic door-to-door contacts
- Community meetings. Get to know the citizens and vice versa
- Community problem-solving meetings: Listen to concerns and respond
- Neighborhood substations: Be more accessible in most challenging areas

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Study of people on a busy commuter rail platform: Winkel (1986) On days when uniformed police foot patrols were present: Less fearful of crime

- Less concerned about personal victimization
- Higher satisfaction with the police

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A large city study measured how often citizens saw: vehicle patrols, foot patrols, and had casual face-to-face police contact Salmi, Gronroos, & Keskinen (2004):

- Fear of crime was least, and satisfaction with the police was highest, among those with casual police contact, followed by those who saw foot patrols.
- Seeing vehicle patrols had no influence on fear of crime or satisfaction with police.

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Portland P.D. Example

- Officers assigned by CAD to "park, walk, & talk (PWT)" at "hot spot" locations at "hot times."
- Officer's must make CAD entry disposition narrative after every assigned PWT.
- CAD Disposition Entries
  - ✓ *"I handed out sunshine, rainbows, and unicorns to everyone. I played games with the children and brought harmony to the community. I can't believe they actually pay me to do this!"*
  - ✓ *"I tagged and towed three illegally parked cars at citizen's request"*
  - ✓ *"Assisted woman with advice about her runaway daughter."*
  - ✓ *"I noticed most of the complaints focused on the McDonalds so I did a walk-through and talked to several employees and customers."*

Houston Example

- "While conducting routine motor patrol, officers stopped during their shift to meet residents at their homes, or business people at their stores or offices. During these brief contacts (usually 3-10 minutes), the officer would introduce him or herself, say the purpose of the visit was simply to get acquainted and learn whether there were any problems in the area the citizen felt the police should know about.
- Patrol officers averaged 1.7 contact cards per shift
- Biggest improvements were in areas with lowest attitudes toward police

G. Reducing Actual Crime: *What Works*

(Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy in the department of Criminology, Law, and Society George Mason University – U.S. Department of Justice Collaboration Reviewed and summarized numerous rigorous scientific studies to determine the strongest evidence for what strategies do, and do not, reduce crime. http://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/the-matrix/)

Individuals: *Examples: burglars, robbers, drug dealers, etc.*

Restorative justice conferences

- Pre-trial diversion program
- Involve offender who has admitted to the offense
- Conference with the victim, the victim's supporters, and offender's support system
- A moderator leads discussion of the offense and its impact.
- The discussion produces an outcome that the offender is expected to fulfill, often involving apologizing to the victim, financial restitution, and community service work
- Re-arrests declined by up to 35% or 46% for 24 months after intervention
- Greatest declines were among:
  - ✓ Juvenile offenders
  - ✓ Violent offenders
  - ✓ First-time offenders

Individuals – Specific: (*Examples: a repeat DV relationship, a repeat burglar, etc.)*

Reactive arrests / prosecution

- Arrests tended to reduce re-offending by 9% to 11% on average over a year
- Arrests with follow-up by a DV unit reduced recidivism by 50% over 2 years

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Proactive surveillance and apprehension

- Target most active or dangerous repeat offenders
- Reoffending declined 11% to 44% among targeted individuals over 2-3 years
- Most effective with:
  - ✓ Adult offenders
  - ✓ Property offenders
  - ✓ Notification

Groups: *Examples: gangs, youth gatherings, etc.*

Focused deterrence

- Group call-ins, confronted by police, prosecutor, community leaders
- Offered services (GED, addiction treatment, job training, relocation assistance)
- Maximum prosecution of the group under RICO for the actions of individual members
- Homicide declines 30%-63% over several years
- Overall violent crime declines 25%-35%
- Curfew enforcement
  - ✓ Proactive patrols around high crime locations for youth violating curfew
  - ✓ Overall declines in violent crime 19%-55% in those areas
- Gang prevention education
- GREAT program (or DARE with a significant anti-gang component)
- 30%-40% less likely to join a gang during ages 12-24

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Focused Micro-Place Locations: *Examples: specific addresses*

Directed patrols at hot spots

- Police presence at high-crime addresses during peak high-crime times reduces offenses and calls for service by 11%-50%
- Works with motor patrol, foot patrol, standing posts, and even community service officers
- No evidence of significant displacement ever found

Crime prevention by environmental design

- Physical modifications to the environment that make it harder to commit crime or provide social cues that discourage crime
- Improvements in visibility, access, and authority are most common.
- Social cues involve "Broken Windows" Theory

Problem-Oriented Policing- Area Locations: Examples: neighborhoods or beats

- Directed patrols for specific offenses: *(curfew, DUI, gun violence, gang violence, etc.)*
  - ✓ Needs to be focused on one crime and is NOT zero tolerance or general enforcement
  - ✓ Reduced the specific crime by 10%-37%

[Note to Student: Refer to Research Brief: *Reducing Fear of Crime and Increasing Citizen Support for Police.* Raleigh, in your course materials Section 8:]

GROUP DISUCSSION: What common themes did you notice?

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IMPORTANT NOTES:

Tactics that reduce actual crime (such as directed patrols at hot spots and times, CPTED, focused deterrence, etc.), do not tend to reduce citizen fear of crime and disorder.

Tactics that reduce fear of crime (face-to-face non-enforcement contacts, community meetings, and neighborhood substations) do not reduce actual crime.

H. What DOES NOT Work/What Can Work/What Works Somewhat/What Works Best

Increased Random Patrol Does Not Work

Motorized patrol
Foot patrol
Bicycle patrol

- 100% failed to reduce fear of crime
- 100% failed to improve satisfaction with police

What ***CAN*** Work Combined with Random Patrol

Motorized patrol
Foot patrol
Bicycle patrol

When combined with ***"Out of Car Experiences"***, all three:

- *REDUCE* the fear of crime
- *REDUCE* crime

VS.

"Keeping Each Other Company"

What Does Not Work

Community Relations Events

Open houses/citizen police academies
Booths at community events & Newsletters
School programs, Identi-kit, McGruff, etc.

- 100% failed to reduce fear of crime
- 100% failed to improve satisfaction with police

What Works Somewhat

Directed patrols/investigations

Directed patrols at hot spot locations
Stops targeting specific crimes: (guns, drugs, etc)
Zero-tolerance enforcement at targeted locations
Buy-bust operations at targeted locations

- 82% reduced fear of crime
- 33% improved satisfaction with police

What Works Somewhat
Neighborhood Substations

24- hour substation

Day and evening substation

Mobile substation

- 100% reduced fear of crime
- 100% improved satisfaction with police

Section 4: Community Policing & Problem-Solving in Practice

A. **Community Policing is *NOT* Soft on Crime:** *The Evidence*

The Dolan Consulting Group is committed to the principles of community-oriented policing. Unfortunately, we sometimes encounter push back from attendees in our courses that suggest community-oriented policing strategies are some form of a "hug-a-thug" philosophy that is soft on crime and criminals. We are often baffled when we encounter such views as we struggle to understand how community-oriented policing strategies, designed to include law abiding citizen input to determine crime priorities and responses, could be considered soft on crime.

The community-oriented policing strategies we advocate focus on the targeting of crime and criminals. These strategies involve officers getting out of their patrol cars and actively engaging the community in a way that builds relationships that lead to intelligence-gathering and crime prevention and prosecution. Including citizens in the processes of alerting the police about crime and identifying criminals is designed to lead to the successful prevention and prosecution of criminals preying upon communities.

Dr. Robert Trojanowicz, one of the founders of modern community-oriented policing, defined it this way:

> *"Community Policing is a philosophy of policing, based on the concept that police officers and private citizens working together in creative ways can help solve contemporary community problems related to crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and neighborhood decay. The philosophy is predicated on the belief that achieving these goals requires that police departments develop a new relationship with the law-abiding people in the community, allowing them a greater voice in setting local priorities, and involving them in efforts to improve the overall quality of life in their neighborhoods. It shifts the focus of police work from handling random calls to solving problems*."

How is that soft on crime? A careful examination of American policing prior to the 1950s will reveal that this "community policing" is what regular policing was like in both rural and urban environments for decades. And yet it is hard to imagine, for all the imperfections of policing in the early 20th Century, criticizing police officers of that era as being soft on crime.

A research study has just been published that provides strong evidence that community policing is not soft on crime but actually leads to higher arrest rates for violent crimes. In May of this year, the research journal *Justice Quarterly* published a study by Dr. Rob Tillyer of the University of Texas at San Antonio. This study examined violent crime arrest rates across a nationwide sample of 603 law enforcement agencies.[2] Professor Tillyer specifically looked at 402,786 reports of violent crimes across these 603 jurisdictions to determine the percentage of these cases that were cleared by an arrest. He examined whether or not agencies engaged in community-oriented policing had lower arrest rates.

Professor Tillyer measured each agency's level of community-oriented policing (COP) activity as the total number of community policing tactics / policies the agency employed. These tactics / policies included COP as part of the agency's mission statement, a formal COP unit, use of the SARA problem solving process by patrol officers, a written COP plan, development of formal partnerships with the community, conducted community surveys, and used of technology in the COP process. Some agencies in the study had none of these COP tactics / policies, and a few engaged in all of them. The average agency employed between two and three of these policies / tactics**.**

After accounting for the influences of situational characteristics (i.e., crime type, victim characteristics, witnesses present, etc.), and organizational characteristics (i.e., agency size, crime rate, call for service workload, etc.), **the study revealed that agencies that engage in community-oriented policing had slightly *higher* overall arrest rates than did agencies that engaged in none of the stated COP activities. In fact, the more COP tactics / policies an agency had, the *higher* its overall arrest rate for violent crimes**. Each additional COP tactic or policy increased the agency's arrest rate, but the greatest arrest rate increases—the biggest bang for the buck—resulted from having COP as part of the agency mission statement, and having formal partnerships with the community.

This wide-reaching, rigorous study is just one more piece of research evidence supporting the importance of community-oriented policing. In earlier research briefs we have cited research articles that analyzed numerous published studies of community-oriented policing strategies. These studies revealed overwhelming evidence that some community policing tactics (neighborhood substations, general community meetings, problem-solving community meetings, foot patrols, and intentional informal face-to-face police-citizen contacts) consistently reduce fear of crime and increase confidence / satisfaction with the police.

IMPORTANT NOTES:

All these tactics share one thing in common: face-to-face contact between law enforcement officers and law-abiding citizens within neighborhoods of greatest need. This can be achieved through the daily and intentional of out-of-car experiences with law-abiding citizens by all in law enforcement.

The available evidence demonstrates that community-oriented policing can clearly bridge the gap between the police and law-abiding citizens while still holding offenders accountable for criminal activity. **In fact, the available evidence shows that *community-oriented policing is tough on crime*— leading to more arrests as officers increase their "out of car experiences" to build relationships, gather intelligence and successfully apprehend the criminals preying upon the community**.

[Note to Student: Refer to Research Brief: *Community Policing is Not Soft on Crime the Evidence*, in your course materials Section 6:]

B. Community Oriented Government: *Establishment of Community Oriented Government Teams*

"Community oriented government rests on the philosophy that the people in the jurisdiction and their public servants must work together as partners toward the goal of enhancing the overall quality of life in the community. The philosophy requires a management style and organizational culture that promotes mutual trust and interaction among departments and with the community. It must also be structured to provide decentralized, personalized, and equitable service to all areas of the jurisdiction, tailored to specific needs." –Bucqueroux, 1998

- Serve as a conduit of communication for City staff and departments
- Coordinate providing services to citizens
- Partner with neighborhood organizations, business associations and other community stakeholders
- Become a mechanism to monitor the effectiveness and efficiency of City services and programs

C. Prioritizing with Pareto: *(80/20 Rule)* focusing on what's important!

19th century Italian economist, Vilfredo Pareto stated that 80% of the wealth of the country was held by 20% of the population.

Law of Diminishing Returns: "A law affirming that to continue after a certain level of performance has been reached will result in a decline in effectiveness"

"Prioritize and do the most important things first: To live a more balanced existence, you have to recognize that not doing everything that comes along is okay. There's no need to overextend yourself. All it takes is realizing that it's all right to say no when necessary and then focus on your highest priorities." - Put First Things First is *Habit* # 3 of Stephen Covey's book *7 Habits of Highly Effective People*

The Pareto Principle: "80/20 Rule" Applied Toward Community Quality of Life

EXERCISE

List two of the most significant challenges facing American policing today.

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Case Study: *Employing the Pareto 80/20 Rule (6/60) to first provide the community with an opportunity to set local police priorities. And second, provide the organization with an opportunity to establish a "Community Oriented Government Response)*

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D. The "Out of Car Experience": *Confronting the national disconnect continues to exist between the law enforcement profession and members of racial and ethnic minority groups.*

There is extensive evidence that when officers get out of their patrol cars and intentionally focus on getting to know minority citizens on their beats, these informal interactions can also reduce biases for both the officers and the citizens. A review of 13 studies of foot patrols in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia found in every case that foot patrols reduced fear of crime and increased satisfaction with the police among the residents in the neighborhoods where the foot patrols were deployed.

Research studies have consistently revealed effectiveness in helping reduce biases between members of different groups, so it makes sense that law enforcement officers and minority citizens interacting in partnership to solve a specific problem can reduce bias and animosity on both sides. Consider, for example, community meetings with African-American residents of a particular apartment complex dealing with a crime problem where the meetings involve breaking into groups consisting of 4-8 citizens and one officer per group, for the purposes of collaboratively developing a response to the crime problem. Based on the research discussed above, it is likely that such an activity requiring officers and citizens to work together will see some preconceived prejudices reduced on both sides. The officers will likely develop a greater understanding of the citizens, and the citizens will develop a greater appreciation for the officers. In fact, research has revealed this type of activity actually does increase citizen satisfaction with the police.

One study, conducted in three neighborhoods in Baltimore, involved officers conducting targeted community problem-solving meetings with neighborhood residents to address crime and disorder. This study surveyed neighborhood residents before these meetings

occurred, and then again six months after the meets started occurring. The study revealed that citizen fear of crime had decreased, and citizen satisfaction with the police had increased, after these working meetings began occurring between officers and citizens.[i] Similarly, another study within several neighborhoods of Chicago found that when these types of collaborative community meetings took place, overall citizen satisfaction with the police increased within these neighborhoods.[ii]

Likewise, another article reviewed 6 studies where patrol officers were required to engage in intentional, non-enforcement contact with average citizens on their beat. While conducting routine motor patrol, officers were required to stop during their shifts to meet residents at their homes, or business people at their stores or offices. During these contacts the officers were expected to introduce themselves and say the purpose of the visit was simply to get acquainted or learn whether there were any problems in the area the citizen felt the police should know about. In all 6 studies, these types of contacts increased overall citizen satisfaction with the police among the residents of the neighborhoods targeted.[iii] The Princeton University research on breaking down racial and other barriers suggests that when officers are out of their cars, experiencing life with the people of color in their beats on a daily basis, it will help break down cultural barriers between the police and African-American and Hispanic communities.

A national disconnect continues to exist between the law enforcement profession and members of racial and ethnic minority groups. The recent Gallup poll data continues to reveal that African-Americans and Hispanics express less satisfaction or confidence in the police than do Whites.

- Nationwide, non-whites are still 20% to 40% less likely than whites to have confidence in the police. In fact, less than 50% of African-Americans surveyed by Gallup in 2016 had confidence that police officers would treat them fairly.
- Think about that. One out of every two African-Americans has a mistrust of law enforcement. **This is a national problem in law enforcement that needs to be addressed. But how do we address it?**

The most common recommendations from civil rights leaders, politicians, and other policy makers is multicultural training for law enforcement officers. In fact, it was a major recommendation in the *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing*. In this report, under Pillar Five – Training and Education, the Task Force stated that police officer training should include, "implicit bias, fair and impartial policing, historical trauma, and other topics that address capacity to build trust and legitimacy in diverse communities."[iv] Many individual states and communities have recently formed commissions that have made similar recommendations.

- Is there research evidence that requiring officers to go through multicultural of implicit bias training has any effect on the attitudes and behaviors of officers, or the attitudes and behaviors of citizens? Is there any evidence that these things will "improve understanding and effectiveness in dealing with all communities" as the President's Task Force has claimed?[v] After all, similar recommendations have been made by many commissions on law enforcement over the last half century, yet relations between the law enforcement profession and minority communities, especially the African-American community, still remain strained.

Multicultural Awareness Training:

The underlying theory behind multicultural awareness training (also known as cultural diversity training) is that if law enforcement officers have greater knowledge of the experiences, histories, and cultural norms of groups other than white males of European descent, they will become "enlightened," more sensitive to the experiences and cultural norms of others, hold fewer prejudiced opinions, and behave in a less prejudicial manner toward citizens they encounter that are not white males of European descent.[vi] These types of training experiences often involve a combination of video clips, lectures, discussions, and field trips that seek to educate officers. More recently, training in "implicit bias" has arisen. This training informs officers about the prevalence of their unconscious biases and their unconscious racist actions.

Unfortunately, even though such training has been going on for decades, the published research provides no evidence that this sort of training has any effect on attitudes or behaviors of the attendees. The majority of the existing research on police multicultural training simply discusses the amount or type of training conducted, or how the training was perceived by the officers.[vii] Mostly this training is perceived negatively by law enforcement officers and recruits, even among officers who are members of racial minority groups.[viii] Only three studies could be found that examined the effects of this sort of training on officer prejudicial attitudes.

The first study, conducted in 1975 in three police academy classes of the Detroit Police Department, involved diversity training in which white and African-American recruits discussed problems associated with human relationships and responded to role-play scenarios regarding issues of racial diversity.[ix] Compared to control groups of academy cadets who did not receive the training, white recruits who completed the training exhibited more prejudiced attitudes toward African-Americans, but African-American recruits developed more positive attitudes toward whites. More recently, a 2013 study was conducted among police academy recruits in Illinois who completed a block of training on multicultural diversity.[x] Attitude surveys of the recruits before and after the

training revealed that the training had no influence on the racial attitudes of the recruits. After learning the results of the study, this police academy changed their multicultural diversity training curriculum, but a second study still found that the new training still had no influence on recruit racial attitudes.[xi] While the research is limited to only three studies, all three of these studies agree that police multicultural diversity training has no positive influence on officer attitudes.

These findings are also consistent with the research on multicultural training more broadly. One article reviewed 13 studies that evaluated the influence of multicultural education on attitudes among grade school students. Eight of the studies (62%) showed the education had no influence at all on student racial attitudes, and the remaining five only showed limited results, such as only improving attitudes about Asians or Jewish persons, but not African-American or Hispanics.[xii] Even among the studies showing limited results, surveys 6 months after the program showed the students' attitudes had returned to the same levels as before the training. Many more recent studies continue to demonstrate the same results, that multicultural training has no impact on attitudes or behavior.[xiii] **It is safe to say that there is no evidence that traditional multicultural training has any significant positive influence on attitudes or behavior.**

What Actually Breaks Down Racial Barriers?

Princeton University Psychologist Elizabeth Paluck has recommended that multicultural education and training be dropped as the method for reducing prejudice, and replaced with programs that foster intergroup contact. Her research has revealed that when people of different backgrounds (be it a difference in race, ethnicity, sex, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, etc.) are required to work cooperatively on a project, or engage in leisure activities together, the biased attitudes of all involved decline. Furthermore, the decline remains consistent for long periods after the experience.[xiv]

Dr. Paluck and her team of researchers at Princeton University have conducted numerous experiments in which research subjects of various races are brought together in small groups and given tasks to work on as a group. These tasks, ranging from party games to sports to complex puzzles, all require the team members to cooperate with one another in order to successfully complete the task. Each of the participants in these experiments also consented to complete surveys on their conscious racial biases before the experiments. After participating in many hours of these tasks, these research subjects were tested again about their conscious racial biases. Time after time, in experiment after experiment, it has been revealed that many months after the experiment, participants still show reduced levels of racial animus against people of other races. They also tend to reveal greater racial diversity among their actual friends and friends on Facebook. Some studies even revealed physiological differences, such a

lower heart and respiration rate, when around people of other races after the experiments.

In fact, psychologists Thomas Pettigrew of the University of California, and Linda Tropp of Boston College, examined 515 separate research studies on inter-group contact experiments and found overwhelming support for the argument that these experiences consistently reduce prejudicial attitudes and behaviors, with the effects lasting for months or years.[xv] **This evidence clearly reveals that situations that cause people of differing groups – blacks and whites, men and women, gay and straight – to cooperatively work together on a common cause, decreases biased attitudes between members of these groups.** As people spend quality time with members of different groups, they begin to develop empathy toward one another and they are confronted with experiences that contradict some of the false stereotypes they may have been holding.

"Out of Car Experience": Summary:

The research evidence suggests that multicultural awareness or diversity training generally has no lasting impact on people's racial attitudes. The research evidence is clear that biases and stereotypes are reduced in people when they spend quality time cooperating on a project with people of different groups. There is also substantial evidence that when police officers work closely with citizens on their beat in community problem-solving meetings, and through informal contacts with average citizens on the beat, overall citizen satisfaction with the police increases. Therefore, perhaps the best way to improve police-minority relations is not to send officers to multicultural or implicit bias training, but rather to send them out to engage in activities that bring them into close contact with average citizens in neighborhoods populated by members of racial minority groups. The available research evidence indicates that law enforcement resources would be put to better use engaging in intentional activities that bring officers and minority citizens in closer contact for the purposes of getting to know each other and working together to solve neighborhood problems.

[Note to Student: Refer to Research Brief: *Improving Police-Minority Relations: The Out of Car Experience*, in your course materials Section 6:]

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E. Problem-Solving Overview

An approach to policing in which officers seek to identify, analyze, and respond on a routine basis, to the underlying circumstances that create the incidents that prompt citizens to call the police

Problem with "Incident Driven Policing.":

- Reactive
- Limited data
- Canned response
- No feedback

Benefits of Problem-Oriented Policing

- Proactive
- Use of multiple resources
- Variety of agencies respond
- Effectiveness over efficiency

Frequent Offenders and repeat victimization

- 6% of offenders account for 60% of crime
- Optimal Forager Theory[35]: Familiarity with the target is a significant factor in the decision-making process of burglars. Targets are generally selected because:
    - The offender has "Inside knowledge".
    - The offender has an enhanced ability to calculate risk vs. gain
    - Offenders often pick locations they are most familiar with and often offend near their own home or daily migratory path

Crimes Against the Same Person and Place[36] (repeat victimization)

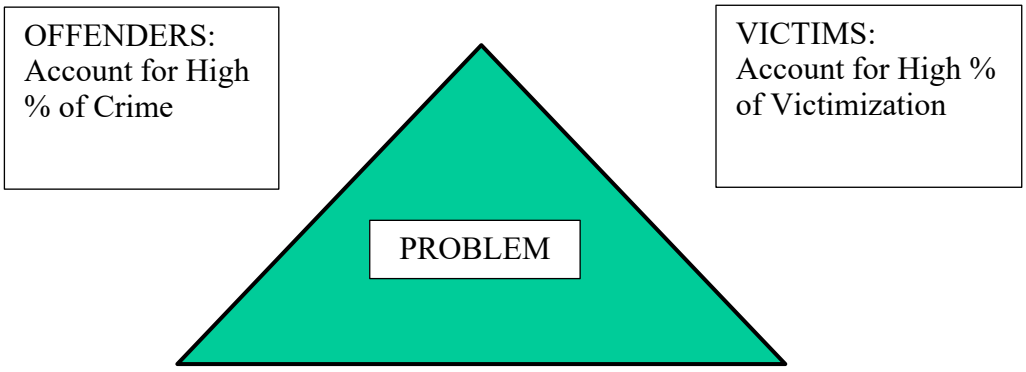
- Being the victim of a burglary is the single most reliable predictor of future victimization
- One study found that 76% of the burglars interviewed returned to the same place two to five times

[35] Fielding, Matthew, and Vincent Jones. "Disrupting the Optimal Forager." International Journal of Police Science and Management. Vol. 14. No. 1 (2012): 31-33. Print.
[36] Everson, Steve , and Ken Pease. "Crime Against the Same Person and Place." Crime Prevention Studies. 12. 200.

Measuring the Right Things:

Increased engagement may result in increased reporting. This may have the appearance of an increase in crime, especially in areas where crime had been under-reported. This will require new ways of looking at data which include sources other than reported crime.

"Offender Triangle"



LOCATION

- Before a crime may occur, all Three must be present.
- Take away one and we will prevent crime

Traumatic events and their impact on neighborhoods

As seen through the eyes of a citizen, what are some examples of traumatic events?

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_____

_____

What are 2 possible outcomes of traumatic events on neighborhoods?

1. _____
   _____
2. _____
   _____

Informal Social Control: *"willingness of neighborhood residents to actively engage in behaviors aimed at preventing criminal and deviant behavior in the local area."* [37]

GROUP DISUCSSION: What is **social capital** and how can it help your agency endure controversy?

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SARA

SCANNING:

- Two or more similar incidents
- Causing harm
- Concerning to public and police

ANALYSIS:

- What do I know?
- Who can provide information?
- Identify harms
- Do your HOMEWORK!

RESPONSE:

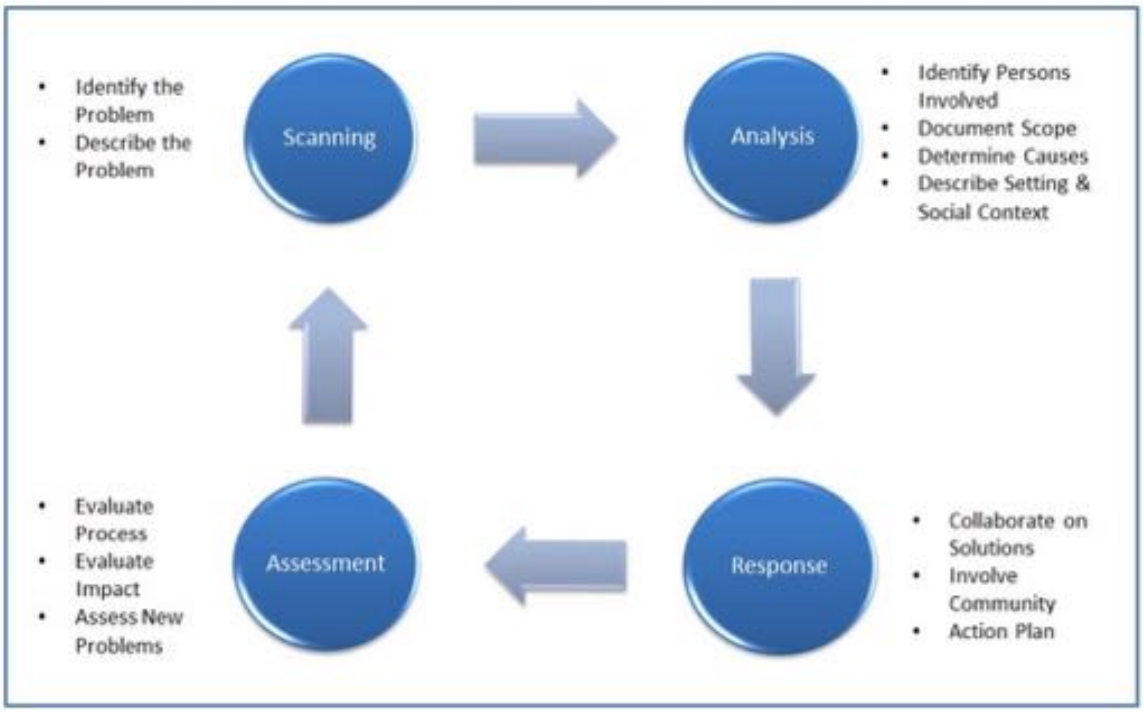
- Consider a variety of possible actions
- Eliminate the problem
- Reduce the problem
- Reduce the harm
- Deal with the problem more effectively
- Remove the problem from consideration

[37] Silver, E. and Miller, L.L. (2004) 'Sources of informal social control in Chicago neighborhoods', Criminology vol 42, no 3, pp 551-83.

ASSESMENT

- Did the response work
- Is more analysis needed
- Why did it work?
- Monitoring stage

The Sara Model[38]



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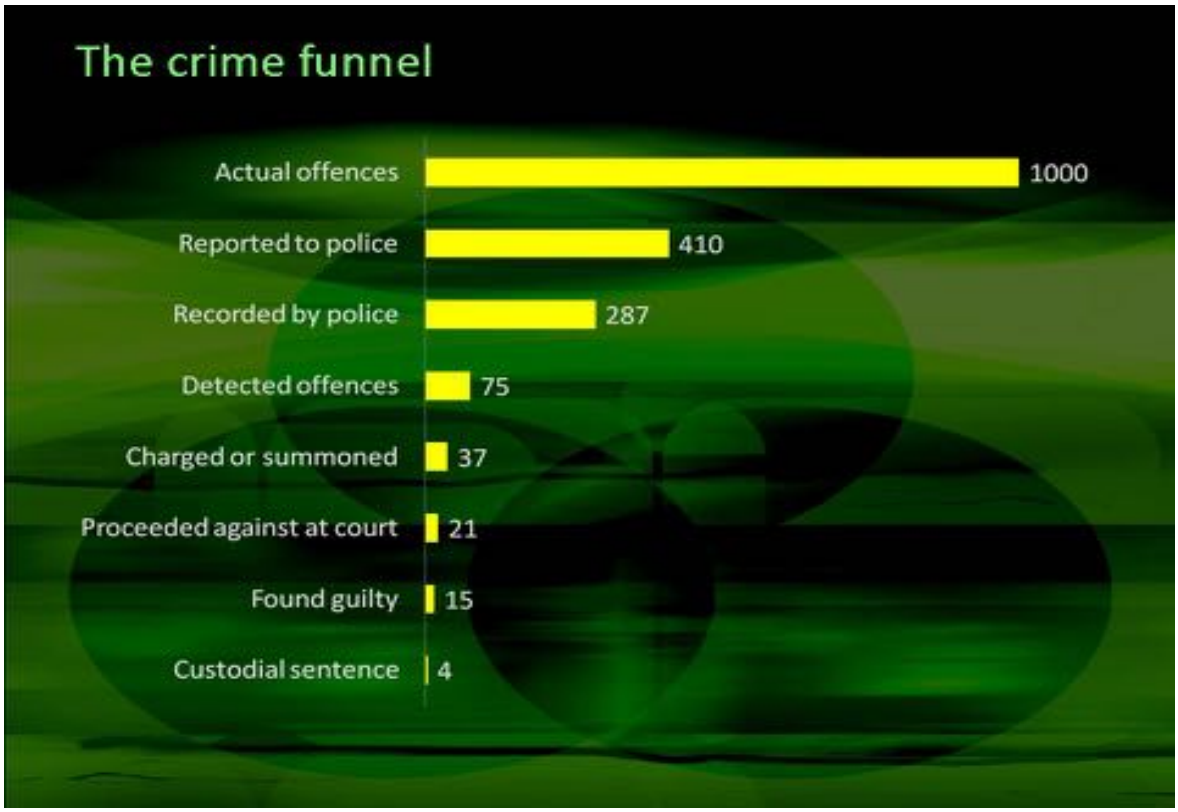
[38] What Works in Community Policing? A Best Practices Context for Measure Y Efforts
The Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy University of California, Berkeley School of Law
November 2013

The "Crime Funnel": *What does it tell us about relying solely on the criminal justice system to solve problems?*



Ratcliff, J. (2008), 'Intelligence Led Policing'[39]

[39] Ratcliff, J. (2008), 'Intelligence Led Policing'

F. Problem-Solving Case Studies

G. Remember the People between the Dots

Criminologists have documented that as young law enforcement officers progress through their careers, there is a tendency to develop cynical views toward the general public. **The public primarily calls the police when things have gone wrong and, therefore, officers are over-exposed to negative events and to bad citizen behavior.**

Intelligence-led policing strategies may have also exacerbated this phenomenon as an unanticipated side effect of these policing strategies. Intelligence-led policing, sometimes referred to as "putting cops on dots," emphasizes proactively deploying law enforcement officers to high crime locations at peak times for criminal offending. The aim of this strategy is deterring crime before it occurs. It is indisputable that intelligence-led policing strategies have been very successful at reducing actual crime.

One negative side effect, however, is that since officers are deployed directly to locations where criminal offenders operate at times when these offenders are most likely to engage in crime, officers increase their exposure to the bad guys. Additionally, the fact that crime hot spots tend to be clustered nearby each other in specific neighborhoods makes it very easy for officers to stereotype everyone found in the area as a criminal.

This phenomenon can be reversed, however, if officers take proactive steps to familiarize themselves with the law-abiding citizens that frequently live in between these hot spot locations. **Between these hot spot dots live many law-abiding people who suffer the effects of the crimes occurring nearby**. These unfortunate people live in fear of the criminal element within their neighborhood, frequently become victims of crime and disorder, and are sometimes subjected to police stops and searches because officers have difficulty differentiating between the criminal and the law-abiding residents of the neighborhood.

They Are There: Some extremely cynical officers may argue that there are very few law-abiding people living within the most high-crime neighborhoods, especially on blocks with multiple crime hot spots.

The evidence, however, suggests otherwise. Consider, for example, Beat 1011 in Chicago. This small patrol beat is composed of about 50 blocks, is less than a square half mile in area, and is estimated to have a population of around 6,000 residents. According to the *Chicago Sun Times*, Beat 1011 has the highest violent crime rate in Chicago for the first half of 2017. According to statistics from the Chicago Police Department, 1,815 criminal offenses were reported within this beat during 2016, and 4,537 calls for police services were generated from this beat. In the first six months of 2017, gunfire in Beat 1011 produced 10 murders and 19 non-fatal gunshot victims. **This is an example of a**

neighborhood experiencing some of the most extreme amounts of crime imaginable, and it would be easy to think that everyone in this beat is a criminal – *but that would be incorrect*.

The photo below is a Google Earth image of the largest portion of Beat 1011. Superimposed over this photo are red dots that indicate the addresses of all of the crimes reported to the police in this area for a period of two-and-a-half years. At first glance the seriousness of the crime problem is obvious, but a closer examination reveals that the crime is concentrated at specific addresses – hot spots. **There are numerous homes visible that have not been the scene of a crime of any sort over the last three years, despite the high level of overall neighborhood crime.**

While almost every block has at least one crime hot spot, there are many, many homes and apartments between the dots where no crimes have been reported. Even at the red dot locations, there are still law-abiding people. One example is an incident that occurred within this beat in 2016 when a 59-year-old woman, flanked by her 25-year-old daughter and 19-year-old nephew, attempted to get a group of gang members to leave her porch. Gunfire erupted, the woman's windows were shot out, and she was wounded after being hit in the head by a bullet.[4] Not in a financial position to be able to sell her home and buy a new one, she must remain living amidst this neighborhood. She wishes someone would help make her block safer.

Another example of the level of law-abiding people within these neighborhoods comes from a study presented this year at an economics conference at the University of

Chicago. This interesting study involved intentionally making a delivery error of a letter to 180 impoverished addresses and 180 wealthy addresses in one large city, to see who was more likely to return the letter to the post office. The letter was made to look like it had been mailed to a young man by his grandfather and contained either $15 or $60 in cash, or a gift card. The note and the envelope were thin enough that one could see there was cash or a credit card-like object inside when held up to the light.[5]

The letter, addressed to someone else, was intentionally delivered to 180 residential addresses in a neighborhood with a median household income of $25,000, and another 180 addresses in a neighborhood with a median household income of $2.5 million. To give perspective on these two neighborhoods, the median household income of the entire city was about $52,000 and the median home value was about $300,000. While the researchers did not report the crime statistics of these two neighborhoods, one can easily assume that the poor neighborhood (at less than half the city average household income) experienced significantly more crime, especially when compared to the neighborhood of millionaires.[6]

The researchers found that 80% of the letters delivered in the rich neighborhood were returned to the post office or forwarded to the rightful addressee. Approximately 40% of the letters in the poor neighborhood were returned to the rightful addressee. While this is far below the rate for the wealthy neighborhood, its significance should not be overlooked. Four out of every ten people in this very poor neighborhood, people who could desperately use an additional $15 or $60, did the right thing and returned the letter to the correct addressee.[7]

Over the last half century, criminologists have demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of crimes and calls for police services (about 80%) occur at a very small proportion of addresses (about 5%).[8] Further research has revealed that the primary thing that makes these hot spot locations concentrations for crime and disorder is that they are commonly frequented by the small number of individuals that generate the vast majority of crime. [9] One study in Toledo, Ohio revealed that 347 individuals (0.1% of the city's population) accounted for all robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary arrests in the city over a three-year period. Additionally, only 1.5% of all Toledo residents were cited or arrested for any traffic or criminal offense over a three-year period, suggesting that 98.5% of the city's population routinely avoids police enforcement contacts.[10]

Research indicates that the criminal element in any community is relatively small, but very active, making it appear as though a whole neighborhood is crime infested.

Reaching the People between the Dots

Even in Chicago's Beat 1011 there is time between calls and enforcement action to reach out and get to know the law-abiding folks that live between the dots. Beat 1011 had 4,537 calls for service in 2016, which is 12.4 calls for service per day, or about one call every other hour. This means that even in this highest of crime beats there is still time to spend 30 minutes or so every shift getting to know a law-abiding citizen or two on that beat.

Ten studies have found that proactive, non-enforcement, contacts with average citizens reduces fear of crime and increases public satisfaction with the police.[11] These contacts are not public relations fluff, but rather real police work activities focused on maintaining order, detecting crime, and making citizens feel safe.[12] In Houston, for example, police targeted a couple of high crime blocks and required patrol officers to stop twice during their shift to meet residents at their homes, or business people at their stores or offices. During these brief contacts (usually less than 10 minutes), the officer introduced him or herself, said the purpose of the visit was simply to get acquainted and learn whether there were any problems in the area the citizen felt the police should know about. The officer then left a business card. Neighborhood citizen satisfaction surveys that were conducted before and after officers were ordered to make these contacts revealed that fear of crime fell substantially in the neighborhoods targeted, and citizen satisfaction with the police rose.[13]

The Portland Bureau of Police in Oregon has mated this strategy with its intelligence-led policing efforts. The computer-aided dispatch system assigns officers to conduct these non-enforcement contacts at specific crime hot spot locations at specific hot crime times. If officers see illegal activity while at the hot spot, they take appropriate legal action. If they do not see illegal activity, they use that time to talk with people in the area and get to know them better.

Additionally, researchers in one large city surveyed 977 residents of public housing apartments. The survey contained questions about a variety of different city services, but included questions about fear of crime, satisfaction with the police. These residents were surveyed about how often they saw police cars, foot patrols, or had informal face-to-face contact with police officers. The residents who reported having had informal face-to-face contact with the police in the last six months had the lowest fear of crime and the highest satisfaction with the police.[14]

Regardless of the picture the mainstream media tries to portray, the evidence strongly indicates that most of the people living between the dots want help and appreciate police protection. They do not appreciate being stopped and treated like a suspect because of where they live, but they want the police to address the crime on their block. **They live in fear and need your help, but most do not know you by name, and it is**

likely you do not know them either. Maybe it is time to have some out-of-car experiences and get to know the people living between the dots.

[Note to Student: Refer to Research Brief: *Remember the People Between the Dots*, in your course materials Section 6:]

Section 5: Course Take-A-Ways and Closing Comments

Together develop a list Actionable Take-A- Ways:

Closing Comments:

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ATTITUDE

"The longer I live, the more I realize the impact of attitude on life. Attitude, to me, is more important than facts, it is more important than the past, than education, than money, than circumstances, than failures, than successes, than what other people think or say or do. It is more important than appearance, giftedness or skill. It will make or break a company…a church…a home. The remarkable thing is we have a choice every day regarding the attitude we will embrace for that day." - Charles Swindoll

Always Remember That You Are In The Arena!

"It is not the critic who counts, not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled, or where the doer of good deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena: whose face is marred by the dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly, who errs and comes up short again and again…who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions and spends himself in a worthy cause; who, at the best, knows in the end the triumph of high achievement; and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls know neither victory nor defeat."

-Teddy Roosevelt

Section 6: Community Policing: *Research Brief's and Articles for Student Review*

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RESEARCH BRIEF

The Public's Confidence in the Police Might Be Better Than You Think

Richard R. Johnson, Ph.D.

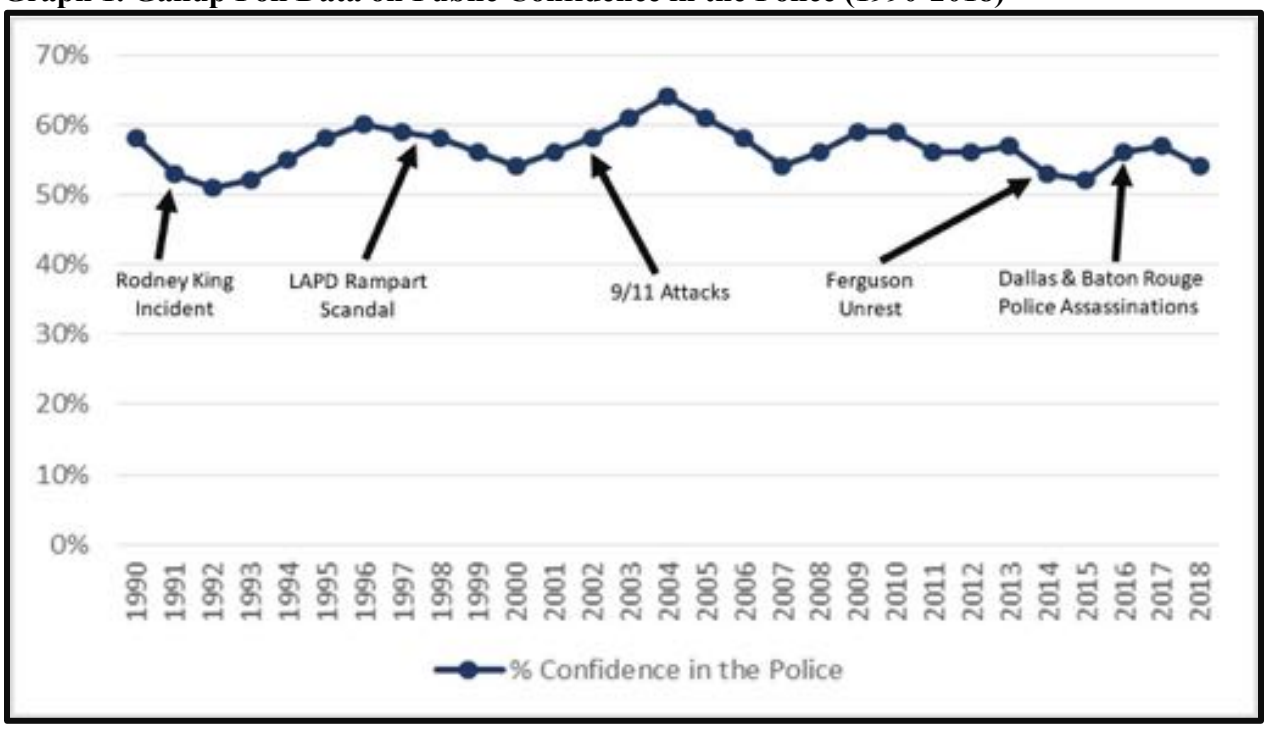
July, 2018

We frequently see stories in the national news media about the public's lack of trust in the police. When these stories move beyond anecdotal accounts, they often cite Gallup Poll data regarding public confidence in the police. For instance, much media attention was paid to the fact that public confidence in the police dipped to about 50% at the time of the unrest in Ferguson, Missouri in late 2014.[1]

To be sure, a public confidence rate in which one out of every two Americans lacks confidence in the police is nothing to celebrate within our profession. Obviously, we wish for a higher confidence rate, like law enforcement had during the late 1960s when 7 out of 10 Americans had confidence in the police.[2] **But how does public confidence in law enforcement stack up against public confidence in other institutions, especially in recent years?**

Graph 1 below shows the trend in Gallup Poll data on public confidence in the police from 1990 through the first half of 2018. This is a graph of the percentage of Americans surveyed by the Gallup Organization who indicated that they had "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in their local police, year by year. As one can see, since 1990, confidence in the police has fluctuated back and forth from about 50% to about 65%. When a sensational case of police use of force or corruption gets widespread national media attention, such as the Rodney King Incident (1991), the Rampart Scandal (1997), or the Ferguson Shooting (2014), public confidence in the police declines to near 50%. When national media attention lauds the police as heroes, such as in the aftermath of the 9/11 Attacks, or the mass assassinations of police officers during 2016, public confidence rises above 60%. **Nevertheless, for the last 28 years, public confidence in the police bounced back and forth, but never fell below 50%, or rose above 65%.**

Graph 1. Gallup Poll Data on Public Confidence in the Police (1990-2018)

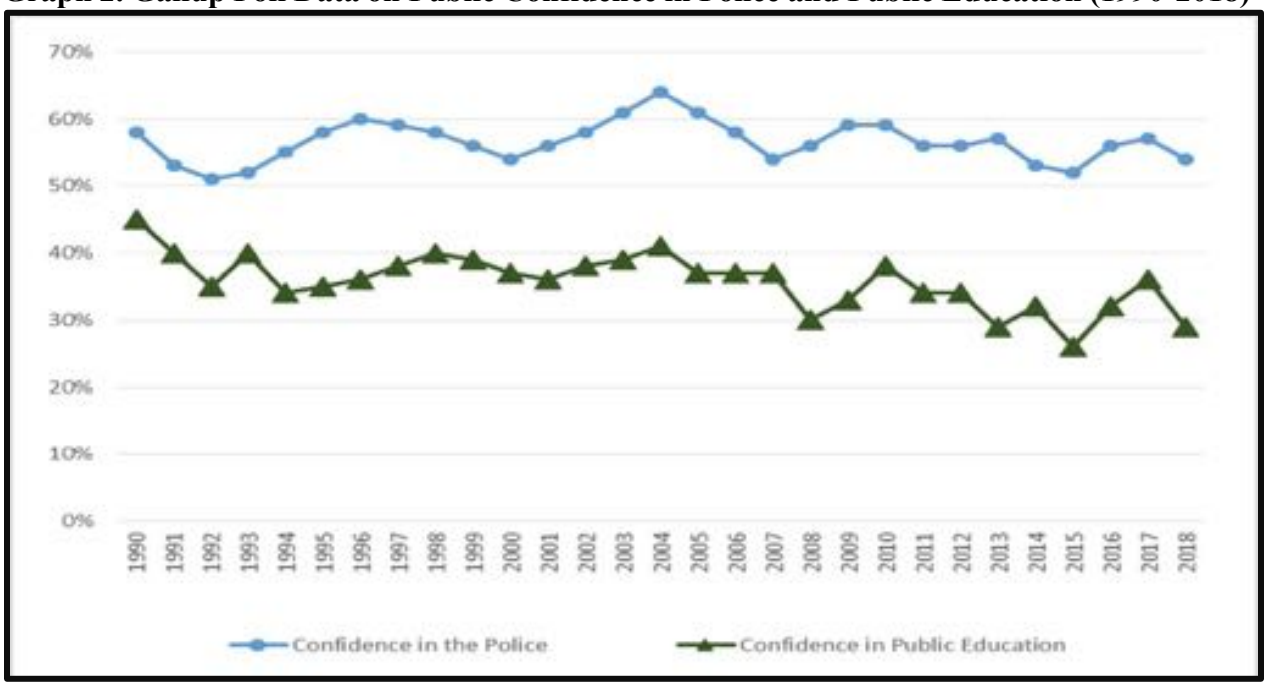


While we would all like to see these numbers go higher, Americans have an inherent mistrust of *all* government institutions. Numerous surveys that have compared American attitudes with those of other Western democracies, such as Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, and Japan, consistently reveal that Americans have the greatest cynicism towards government.[3] Americans have historically wanted a minimum of government interference in their lives and tend to be suspicious of government.

So how does public confidence in law enforcement stack up against public confidence in other government institutions? Law enforcement in the U.S. is overwhelmingly a local government function, with 90% of law enforcement officers employed at the municipal or county level.[4] The only other local government institution that the Gallup Poll has consistently included within its public confidence surveys has been public education. So how does public confidence in law enforcement compare to public confidence in public education since 1990?

Graph 2 compared the trend in public confidence in the police, with public confidence in public education, from 1990 through the first half of 2018. As this graph reveals, public confidence in public education has been below 50% since before 1990. Like law enforcement, public confidence in public education was in the 70% range during the late 1960s, but began to decline after 1973, and by 1990 had dropped below 50%.

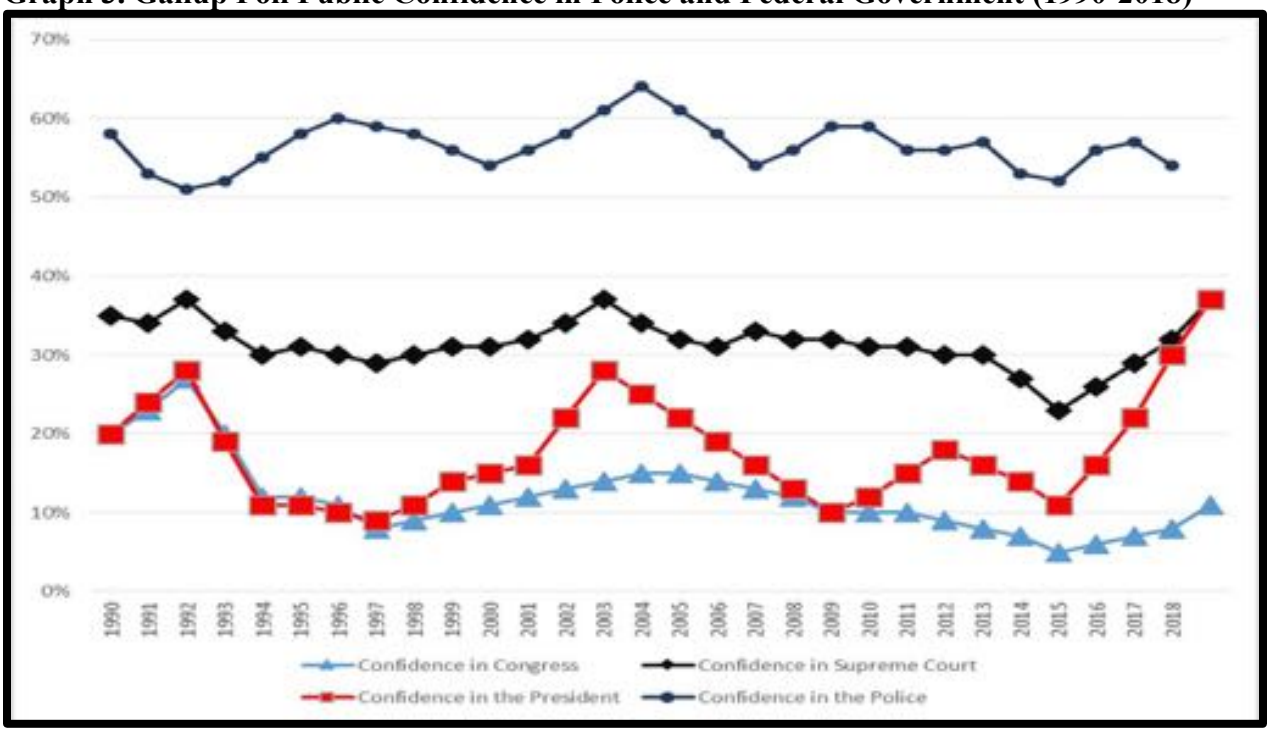
Graph 2. Gallup Poll Data on Public Confidence in Police and Public Education (1990-2018)



While the national news media has remained relatively silent on these poll results, public confidence in public education has averaged 15 to 20 percentage points lower than that of public confidence in the police. This gap has also widened over time to the point where, for the first half of 2018, public confidence in public education is 36 percentage points lower than public confidence in the police. **While public confidence in the police over the last 28 years has fluctuated between two points (50% and 65%), public confidence in public education has been much lower and continues a slow decline.**

What about other government institutions? Graph 3 below reveals the levels of public confidence in the police alongside the levels of public confidence in Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court. As this graph reveals, since 1990, public confidence in law enforcement has remained much higher than the level of public confidence in the three pillars of the federal government. Even at its worst, public confidence in the police has been 12 percentage points higher than public confidence in the Supreme Court or the President at their best. **The highest public confidence score Congress has received since 1990 is still 35 percentage points lower than the *lowest* public confidence score recorded for the police.** Depending on the candidates they would like to bolster or tear down, the national news media outlets devote some attention to these federal government public confidence scores, but never in comparison to how much higher public confidence is in the police.

Graph 3. Gallup Poll Public Confidence in Police and Federal Government (1990-2018)

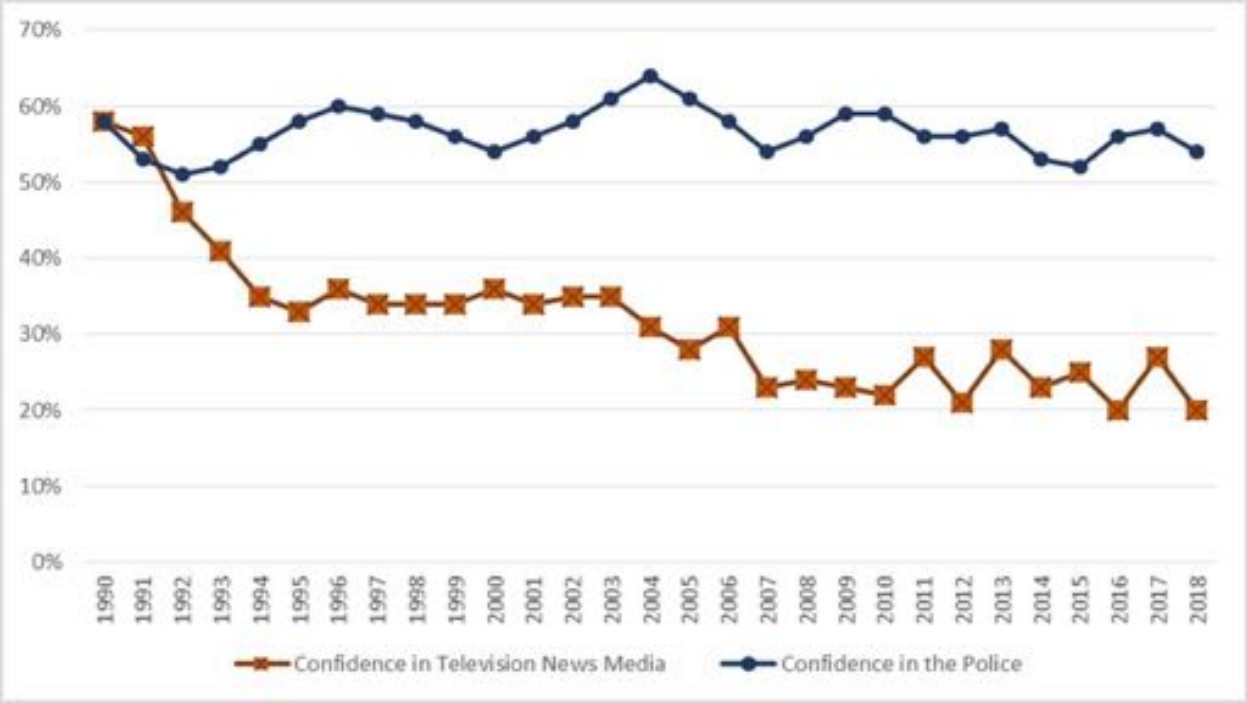


Undoubtedly **the law enforcement profession should continue to work hard to improve the public image of the police. Nevertheless, compared to other government institutions at the local and national level, it appears that the law enforcement profession is doing pretty well in terms of public confidence.**

So why would the media focus so much attention on the "low" level of public confidence in the police? Might it be an effort to create a sensational story as a way to increase viewer ratings? This is likely, as there are a number of former mainstream media journalists who claim this sort of business strategy is used routinely. Television news and newspaper editors are constantly pressuring their field reporters to find the next "big scoop," or to sensationalize boring, mundane stories.[5] Law enforcement has clearly received more than its fair share of this sensationalizing over the last few years.[6]

Regardless of the cause of the media's focus on the perceived lack of confidence in the police, there is an irony in this focus—the level of confidence in the media itself is dismally low among the American people. Our final graph, Graph 4, compares the Gallup Poll data on public confidence in the police, with Gallup Poll data on public confidence in the television news media. In 1990 and 1991, law enforcement and the television news media had similar levels of public confidence – between 55% and 60%. After that, public confidence in the television news media took a major nose dive, dropping far below public confidence in the police, even in the midst of the Rodney King trial and riots that hurt law enforcement's public image. **Public confidence in television news media fell from 58% in 1990, to 33% in 1995. After its initial plummet in the early 1990s, public confidence in the television news media has never recovered.**

Graph 4. Gallup Poll Public Confidence in Police and Television News (1990-2018)



After 1995, public confidence in television news has slowly declined further. Over the last 10 years, public confidence in the television news media has fluctuated between 20 and 28% - about 22 to 30 percentage points lower than the lowest recorded level of public confidence in the police. According to the Pew Research Institute, since 1990, newspaper readership (including online editions of newspapers) has been cut in half, declining by 51%.[7] Network television news viewership has also declined by 43% since 1990.[8]

In summary, public confidence in the police has remained fairly stable over the last 28 years, fluctuating between 50 and 65% from year to year. Nevertheless, confidence in the police has remained much higher than public confidence in other institutions with the isolated exceptions of the military and small business. **Finally, for almost three decades, public confidence in the television news media (the prominent voice in public discourse decrying lack of public trust in the police) has been falling and is actually substantially lower than the level of public confidence in law enforcement.**

These statistics demonstrate something fundamentally important: law enforcement officers are members of one of the most trusted institutions in our country—more than our news media, our public schools or our elected political bodies. There is a clear majority of the public that supports you and trusts in your work. That confidence is something to be protected through the professional execution of your duties as officers.

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Community Policing is Not Soft on Crime: The Evidence

Richard R. Johnson, Ph.D.

August, 2017

Dolan Consulting Group is committed to the principles of community-oriented policing. Unfortunately, we sometimes encounter push back from attendees in our courses that suggest community-oriented policing strategies are some form of a "hug-a-thug" philosophy that is soft on crime and criminals. We are often baffled when we encounter such views as we struggle to understand how community-oriented policing strategies, designed to include law abiding citizen input to determine crime priorities and responses, could be considered soft on crime.

The community-oriented policing strategies we advocate focus on the targeting of crime and criminals. These strategies involve officers getting out of their patrol cars and actively engaging the community in a way that builds relationships that lead to intelligence-gathering and crime prevention and prosecution. Including citizens in the processes of alerting the police about crime and identifying criminals is designed to lead to the successful prevention and prosecution of criminals preying upon communities.

Dr. Robert Trojanowicz, one of the founders of modern community-oriented policing, defined it this way:

Community Policing is a philosophy of policing, based on the concept that police officers and private citizens working together in creative ways can help solve contemporary community problems related to crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and neighborhood decay. The philosophy is predicated on the belief that achieving these goals requires that police departments develop a new relationship with the law-abiding people in the community, allowing them a greater voice in setting local priorities, and involving them in efforts to improve the overall quality of life in their neighborhoods. It shifts the focus of police work from handling random calls to solving problems.[1]

How is that soft on crime? **A careful examination of American policing prior to the 1950s will reveal that this "community policing" is what regular policing was like in both rural and**

urban environments for decades. And yet it is hard to imagine, for all the imperfections of policing in the early 20th Century, criticizing police officers of that era as being soft on crime.

A research study has just been published that provides strong evidence that community policing is not soft on crime but actually leads to higher arrest rates for violent crimes. In May of this year, the research journal *Justice Quarterly* published a study by Dr. Rob Tillyer of the University of Texas at San Antonio. This study examined violent crime arrest rates across a nationwide sample of 603 law enforcement agencies.[2] Professor Tillyer specifically looked at 402,786 reports of violent crimes across these 603 jurisdictions to determine the percentage of these cases that were cleared by an arrest. He examined whether or not agencies engaged in community-oriented policing had lower arrest rates.

Professor Tillyer measured each agency's level of community-oriented policing (COP) activity as the total number of community policing tactics / policies the agency employed. These tactics / policies included COP as part of the agency's mission statement, a formal COP unit, use of the SARA problem solving process by patrol officers, a written COP plan, development of formal partnerships with the community, conducted community surveys, and used of technology in the COP process. Some agencies in the study had none of these COP tactics / policies, and a few engaged in all of them. The average agency employed between two and three of these policies / tactics.[3]

After accounting for the influences of situational characteristics (i.e., crime type, victim characteristics, witnesses present, etc.), and organizational characteristics (i.e., agency size, crime rate, call for service workload, etc.), **the study revealed that agencies that engage in community-oriented policing had slightly *higher* overall arrest rates than did agencies that engaged in none of the stated COP activities. In fact, the more COP tactics / policies an agency had, the *higher* its overall arrest rate for violent crimes**. Each additional COP tactic or policy increased the agency's arrest rate, but the greatest arrest rate increases—the biggest bang for the buck—resulted from having COP as part of the agency mission statement, and having formal partnerships with the community.[4]

This wide-reaching, rigorous study is just one more piece of research evidence supporting the importance of community-oriented policing. In earlier research briefs we have cited research articles that analyzed numerous published studies of community-oriented policing strategies. These studies revealed overwhelming evidence that some community policing tactics (neighborhood substations, general community meetings, problem-solving community meetings, foot patrols, and intentional informal face-to-face police-citizen contacts) consistently reduce fear of crime and increase confidence / satisfaction with the police.[5]

All these tactics share one thing in common: face-to-face contact between law enforcement officers and law-abiding citizens within neighborhoods of greatest need. This can be achieved through the daily and intentional of out-of-car experiences with law-abiding citizens by all in law enforcement. **The available evidence demonstrates that community-oriented policing can clearly bridge the gap between the police and law-abiding citizens while still holding offenders accountable for criminal activity**.

In fact, the available evidence shows that *community-oriented policing is tough on crime*—leading to more arrests as officers increase their "out of car experiences" to build relationships, gather intelligence and successfully apprehend the criminals preying upon the community.

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RESEARCH BRIEF

Improving Police-Minority Relations: The Out-of-Car Experience

Richard R. Johnson, Ph.D.

January, 2017

In the wake of a significant increase in officer deaths from violent attacks and unceasing criticism by media outlets, political figures and other groups in 2016, citizen satisfaction and confidence in the police in America has actually rebounded from a pattern of decline that has been going on since the early 1970s. In 1968, Gallup Poll data showed 78% of Americans had "a great deal" of confidence and satisfaction with their local police. Since that year, confidence and satisfaction in the police has declined, bottoming out at 47% satisfaction in 2015. **In the latter half of 2016, however, citizen satisfaction and confidence in the police rebounded, with 76% of Americans indicating that they had "a great deal" of confidence in the police as of October, 2016**.[1]

A national disconnect continues to exist, however, between the law enforcement profession and members of racial and ethnic minority groups. The recent Gallup poll data continues to reveal that African-Americans and Hispanics express less satisfaction or confidence in the police than do Whites. Nationwide, non-whites are still 20% to 40% less likely than whites to have confidence in the police. In fact, **less than 50% of African-Americans surveyed by Gallup in 2016 had confidence that police officers would treat them fairly**.[2]

Think about that. One out of every two African-Americans has a mistrust of law enforcement. **This is a national problem in law enforcement that needs to be addressed. But how do we address it?**

The most common recommendations from civil rights leaders, politicians, and other policy makers is multicultural training for law enforcement officers. In fact, it was a major recommendation in the *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing*. In this report, under Pillar Five – Training and Education, the Task Force stated that police officer training should include, "implicit bias, fair and impartial policing, historical trauma, and other topics that address capacity to build trust and legitimacy in diverse communities."[3] Many individual states and communities have recently formed commissions that have made similar recommendations.

Is there research evidence that requiring officers to go through multicultural of implicit bias training has any effect on the attitudes and behaviors of officers, or the attitudes and behaviors of citizens? Is there any evidence that these things will "improve understanding and effectiveness in dealing with all communities" as the President's Task Force has claimed?[4] After all, similar recommendations have been made by many commissions on law enforcement over the last half century, yet relations between the law enforcement profession and minority communities, especially the African-American community, still remain strained.

Multicultural Awareness Training

The underlying theory behind multicultural awareness training (also known as cultural diversity training) is that if law enforcement officers have greater knowledge of the experiences, histories, and cultural norms of groups other than white males of European descent, they will become "enlightened," more sensitive to the experiences and cultural norms of others, hold fewer prejudiced opinions, and behave in a less prejudicial manner toward citizens they encounter that are not white males of European descent.[5] These types of training experiences often involve a combination of video clips, lectures, discussions, and field trips that seek to educate officers. More recently, training in "implicit bias" has arisen. This training informs officers about the prevalence of their unconscious biases and their unconscious racist actions.[6]

Unfortunately, even though such training has been going on for decades, the published research provides no evidence that this sort of training has any effect on attitudes or behaviors of the attendees. The majority of the existing research on police multicultural training simply discusses the amount or type of training conducted, or how the training was perceived by the officers.[7] Mostly this training is perceived negatively by law enforcement officers and recruits, even among officers who are members of racial minority groups.[8] Only three studies could be found that examined the effects of this sort of training on officer prejudicial attitudes.

The first study, conducted in 1975 in three police academy classes of the Detroit Police Department, involved diversity training in which white and African-American recruits discussed problems associated with human relationships and responded to role-play scenarios regarding issues of racial diversity.[9] Compared to control groups of academy cadets who did not receive the training, white recruits who completed the training exhibited more prejudiced attitudes toward African-Americans, but African-American recruits developed more positive attitudes toward whites. More recently, a 2013 study was conducted among police academy recruits in Illinois who completed a block of training on multicultural diversity.[10] Attitude surveys of the recruits before and after the training revealed that the training had no influence on the racial attitudes of the recruits. After learning the results of the study, this police academy changed their multicultural diversity training curriculum, but a second study still found that the new training still had no influence on recruit racial attitudes.[11] While the research is limited to only three studies, all three of these studies agree that police multicultural diversity training has no positive influence on officer attitudes.

These findings are also consistent with the research on multicultural training more broadly. One article reviewed 13 studies that evaluated the influence of multicultural education on attitudes among grade school students. Eight of the studies (62%) showed the education had no influence

at all on student racial attitudes, and the remaining five only showed limited results, such as only improving attitudes about Asians or Jewish persons, but not African-American or Hispanics.[12] Even among the studies showing limited results, surveys 6 months after the program showed the students' attitudes had returned to the same levels as before the training. Many more recent studies continue to demonstrate the same results, that multicultural training has no impact on attitudes or behavior.[13] **It is safe to say that there is no evidence that traditional multicultural training has any significant positive influence on attitudes or behavior.**

What Actually Breaks Down Racial Barriers?

Princeton University Psychologist Elizabeth Paluck has recommended that multicultural education and training be dropped as the method for reducing prejudice, and replaced with programs that foster intergroup contact. Her research has revealed that when people of different backgrounds (be it a difference in race, ethnicity, sex, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, etc.) are required to work cooperatively on a project, or engage in leisure activities together, the biased attitudes of all involved decline. Furthermore, the decline remains consistent for long periods after the experience.[14]

Dr. Paluck and her team of researchers at Princeton University have conducted numerous experiments in which research subjects of various races are brought together in small groups and given tasks to work on as a group. These tasks, ranging from party games to sports to complex puzzles, all require the team members to cooperate with one another in order to successfully complete the task. Each of the participants in these experiments also consented to complete surveys on their conscious racial biases before the experiments. After participating in many hours of these tasks, these research subjects were tested again about their conscious racial biases. Time after time, in experiment after experiment, it has been revealed that many months after the experiment, participants still show reduced levels of racial animus against people of other races. They also tend to reveal greater racial diversity among their actual friends and friends on Facebook. Some studies even revealed physiological differences, such a lower heart and respiration rate, when around people of other races after the experiments.

In fact, psychologists Thomas Pettigrew of the University of California, and Linda Tropp of Boston College, examined 515 separate research studies on inter-group contact experiments and found overwhelming support for the argument that these experiences consistently reduce prejudicial attitudes and behaviors, with the effects lasting for months or years.[15] **This evidence clearly reveals that situations that cause people of differing groups – blacks and whites, men and women, gay and straight – to cooperatively work together on a common cause, decreases biased attitudes between members of these groups.** As people spend quality time with members of different groups, they begin to develop empathy toward one another and they are confronted with experiences that contradict some of the false stereotypes they may have been holding.

Out-of-Car Experiences

These research studies have consistently revealed effectiveness in helping reduce biases between members of different groups, so it makes sense that law enforcement officers and minority citizens interacting in partnership to solve a specific problem can reduce bias and animosity on both sides.

Consider, for example, community meetings with African-American residents of a particular apartment complex dealing with a crime problem where the meetings involve breaking into groups consisting of 4-8 citizens and one officer per group, for the purposes of collaboratively developing a response to the crime problem. Based on the research discussed above, it is likely that such an activity requiring officers and citizens to work together will see some preconceived prejudices reduced on both sides. The officers will likely develop a greater understanding of the citizens, and the citizens will develop a greater appreciation for the officers. In fact, research has revealed this type of activity actually does increase citizen satisfaction with the police.

One study, conducted in three neighborhoods in Baltimore, involved officers conducting targeted community problem-solving meetings with neighborhood residents to address crime and disorder. This study surveyed neighborhood residents before these meetings occurred, and then again six months after the meets started occurring. The study revealed that citizen fear of crime had decreased, and citizen satisfaction with the police had increased, after these working meetings began occurring between officers and citizens.[16] Similarly, another study within several neighborhoods of Chicago found that when these types of collaborative community meetings took place, overall citizen satisfaction with the police increased within these neighborhoods.[17]

There is extensive evidence that when officers get out of their patrol cars and intentionally focus on getting to know minority citizens on their beats, these informal interactions can also reduce biases for both the officers and the citizens. A review of 13 studies of foot patrols in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia found in every case that foot patrols reduced fear of crime and increased satisfaction with the police among the residents in the neighborhoods where the foot patrols were deployed.[18]

Likewise, another article reviewed 6 studies where patrol officers were required to engage in intentional, non-enforcement contact with average citizens on their beat. While conducting routine motor patrol, officers were required to stop during their shifts to meet residents at their homes, or business people at their stores or offices. During these contacts the officers were expected to introduce themselves, and say the purpose of the visit was simply to get acquainted or learn whether there were any problems in the area the citizen felt the police should know about. In all 6 studies, these types of contacts increased overall citizen satisfaction with the police among the residents of the neighborhoods targeted.[19] The Princeton University research on breaking down racial and other barriers suggests that when officers are out of their cars, experiencing life with the people of color in their beats on a daily basis, it will help break down cultural barriers between the police and African-American and Hispanic communities.

Conclusion

The research evidence suggests that multicultural awareness or diversity training generally has no lasting impact on people's racial attitudes. The research evidence is clear that biases and stereotypes are reduced in people when they spend quality time cooperating on a project with people of different groups. **There is also substantial evidence that when police officers work closely with citizens on their beat in community problem-solving meetings, and through informal contacts with average citizens on the beat, overall citizen satisfaction with the police increases. Therefore, perhaps the best way to improve police-minority relations is not to send**

officers to multicultural or implicit bias training, but rather to send them out to engage in activities that bring them into close contact with average citizens in neighborhoods populated by members of racial minority groups. The available research evidence indicates that law enforcement resources would be put to better use engaging in intentional activities that bring officers and minority citizens in closer contact for the purposes of getting to know each other and working together to solve neighborhood problems.

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Remember the People between the Dots

Richard R. Johnson, Ph.D.

August, 2017

Criminologists have documented that as young law enforcement officers progress through their careers, there is a tendency to develop cynical views toward the general public. **The public primarily calls the police when things have gone wrong and, therefore, officers are over-exposed to negative events and to bad citizen behavior. As a result, officers can often begin to lump all citizens together and view them all in a negative manner that reflects their experiences with those in the community prone to criminality, dishonesty and violence**.[1]

Intelligence-led policing strategies may have also exacerbated this phenomenon as an unanticipated side effect of these policing strategies. Intelligence-led policing, sometimes referred to as "putting cops on dots," emphasizes proactively deploying law enforcement officers to high crime locations at peak times for criminal offending. The aim of this strategy is deterring crime before it occurs. It is indisputable that intelligence-led policing strategies have been very successful at reducing actual crime.[2] One negative side effect, however, is that since officers are deployed directly to locations where criminal offenders operate at times when these offenders are most likely to engage in crime, officers increase their exposure to the bad guys. Additionally, **the fact that crime hot spots tend to be clustered nearby each other in specific neighborhoods makes it very easy for officers to stereotype everyone found in the area as a criminal**.

This phenomenon can be reversed, however, if officers take proactive steps to familiarize themselves with the law-abiding citizens that frequently live in between these hot spot locations. **Between these hot spot dots live many law-abiding people who suffer the effects of the crimes occurring nearby**. These unfortunate people live in fear of the criminal element within their neighborhood, frequently become victims of crime and disorder, and are sometimes subjected to police stops and searches because officers have difficulty differentiating between the criminal and the law-abiding residents of the neighborhood.

They Are There

Some extremely cynical officers may argue that there are very few law-abiding people living within the most high-crime neighborhoods, especially on blocks with multiple crime hot spots.

The evidence, however, suggests otherwise. Consider, for example, Beat 1011 in Chicago. This small patrol beat is composed of about 50 blocks, is less than a square half mile in area, and is estimated to have a population of around 6,000 residents. According to the *Chicago Sun Times*, Beat 1011 has the highest violent crime rate in Chicago for the first half of 2017.[3] According to statistics from the Chicago Police Department, 1,815 criminal offenses were reported within this beat during 2016, and 4,537 calls for police services were generated from this beat. In the first six months of 2017, gunfire in Beat 1011 produced 10 murders and 19 non-fatal gunshot victims. **This is an example of a neighborhood experiencing some of the most extreme amounts of crime imaginable, and it would be easy to think that everyone in this beat is a criminal – *but that would be incorrect.***

The photo below is a Google Earth image of the largest portion of Beat 1011. Superimposed over this photo are red dots that indicate the addresses of all of the crimes reported to the police in this area for a period of two-and-a-half years. At first glance the seriousness of the crime problem is obvious, but a closer examination reveals that the crime is concentrated at specific addresses – hot spots. **There are numerous homes visible that have not been the scene of a crime of any sort over the last three years, despite the high level of overall neighborhood crime.**

While almost every block has at least one crime hot spot, there are many, many homes and apartments between the dots where no crimes have been reported. Even at the red dot locations, there are still law-abiding people. One example is an incident that occurred within this beat in 2016 when a 59-year-old woman, flanked by her 25-year-old daughter and 19-year-old nephew, attempted to get a group of gang members to leave her porch. Gunfire erupted, the woman's windows were shot out, and she was wounded after being hit in the head by a bullet.[4] Not in a financial position to be able to sell her home and buy a new one, she must remain living amidst this neighborhood. She wishes someone would help make her block safer.

Another example of the level of law-abiding people within these neighborhoods comes from a study presented this year at an economics conference at the University of Chicago. This interesting study involved intentionally making a delivery error of a letter to 180 impoverished addresses and 180 wealthy addresses in one large city, to see who was more likely to return the letter to the post office. The letter was made to look like it had been mailed to a young man by his grandfather and contained either $15 or $60 in cash, or a gift card. The note and the envelope were thin enough that one could see there was cash or a credit card-like object inside when held up to the light.[5]

The letter, addressed to someone else, was intentionally delivered to 180 residential addresses in a neighborhood with a median household income of $25,000, and another 180 addresses in a neighborhood with a median household income of $2.5 million. To give perspective on these two neighborhoods, the median household income of the entire city was about $52,000 and the median home value was about $300,000. While the researchers did not report the crime statistics of these two neighborhoods, one can easily assume that the poor neighborhood (at less than half the city average household income) experienced significantly more crime, especially when compared to the neighborhood of millionaires.[6]

The researchers found that 80% of the letters delivered in the rich neighborhood were returned to the post office or forwarded to the rightful addressee. Approximately 40% of the letters in the poor neighborhood were returned to the rightful addressee. While this is far below the rate for the wealthy neighborhood, its significance should not be overlooked. Four out of every ten people in this very poor neighborhood, people who could desperately use an additional $15 or $60, did the right thing and returned the letter to the correct addressee.[7]

Over the last half century, criminologists have demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of crimes and calls for police services (about 80%) occur at a very small proportion of addresses (about 5%).[8] Further research has revealed that the primary thing that makes these hot spot locations concentrations for crime and disorder is that they are commonly frequented by the small number of individuals that generate the vast majority of crime.[9] One study in Toledo, Ohio revealed that 347 individuals (0.1% of the city's population) accounted for all robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary arrests in the city over a three-year period. Additionally, only 1.5% of all Toledo residents were cited or arrested for any traffic or criminal offense over a three-year period, suggesting that 98.5% of the city's population routinely avoids police enforcement contacts.[10] **Research indicates that the criminal element in any community is relatively small, but very active, making it appear as though a whole neighborhood is crime infested.**

Reaching the People between the Dots

Even in Chicago's Beat 1011 there is time between calls and enforcement action to reach out and get to know the law-abiding folks that live between the dots. Beat 1011 had 4,537 calls for service in 2016, which is 12.4 calls for service per day, or about one call every other hour. This means that even in this highest of crime beats there is still time to spend 30 minutes or so every shift getting to know a law-abiding citizen or two on that beat.

Ten studies have found that proactive, non-enforcement, contacts with average citizens reduces fear of crime and increases public satisfaction with the police.[11] These contacts are not public

relations fluff, but rather real police work activities focused on maintaining order, detecting crime, and making citizens feel safe.[12] In Houston, for example, police targeted a couple of high crime blocks and required patrol officers to stop twice during their shift to meet residents at their homes, or business people at their stores or offices. During these brief contacts (usually less than 10 minutes), the officer introduced him or herself, said the purpose of the visit was simply to get acquainted and learn whether there were any problems in the area the citizen felt the police should know about. The officer then left a business card. Neighborhood citizen satisfaction surveys that were conducted before and after officers were ordered to make these contacts revealed that fear of crime fell substantially in the neighborhoods targeted, and citizen satisfaction with the police rose.[13]

The Portland Bureau of Police in Oregon has mated this strategy with its intelligence-led policing efforts. The computer-aided dispatch system assigns officers to conduct these non-enforcement contacts at specific crime hot spot locations at specific hot crime times. If officers see illegal activity while at the hot spot, they take appropriate legal action. If they do not see illegal activity, they use that time to talk with people in the area and get to know them better.

Additionally, researchers in one large city surveyed 977 residents of public housing apartments. The survey contained questions about a variety of different city services, but included questions about fear of crime, satisfaction with the police. These residents were surveyed about how often they saw police cars, foot patrols, or had informal face-to-face contact with police officers. The residents who reported having had informal face-to-face contact with the police in the last six months had the lowest fear of crime and the highest satisfaction with the police.[14]

Regardless of the picture the mainstream media tries to portray, the evidence strongly indicates that most of the people living between the dots want help and appreciate police protection. They do not appreciate being stopped and treated like a suspect because of where they live, but they want the police to address the crime on their block. **They live in fear and need your help, but most do not know you by name, and it is likely you do not know them either. Maybe it is time to have some out-of-car experiences and get to know the people living between the dots.**

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Dispelling the Myths Surrounding Police Use of Lethal Force

Richard R. Johnson, Ph.D.

July, 2016

Over the last three years there has been growing concern in the public discourse about the use of force, especially lethal force, by the police in the United States. This concern spawned the creation of the Black Lives Matter organization and motivated President Obama to organize a commission on policing in the 21st century. Concerns over several highly publicized and politicized deaths of African-American men by police use of force have produced numerous public protests in almost every city, town, and university in the nation. Most of these protests have been peaceful, but many have not, especially the protest in Dallas on July 7 that resulted in eleven officers being shot, five of them fatally. This was followed on July 17 by the ambush of officers in Baton Rouge, with 6 officers shot, 3 of them fatally.

In the public discussion around the topic of police use of force, many disturbing claims have been made by civil rights groups, the news media, and even government leaders. However, as President Obama stated in his October 27, 2015 address to the International Association of Chiefs of Police, "too often law enforcement gets scapegoated for broader failures of our society."[1] The purpose of this report, therefore, is to fact check these various claims and, with the aid of scientific research and other credible sources, try to determine if these claims are indeed true. The reader is encouraged to access and explore the many references cited in this report so that the reader can assess the facts and make up his or her own mind.

Police Use of Lethal Force is an Epidemic

Many civil rights leaders, politicians, and media figures have suggested that deaths from police use of force in the U.S. are widespread and have reached epidemic levels. To check the evidence for this argument, one must first determine how many police use of force deaths actually occur annually. There is some difficulty involved in determining exactly how many deaths occur annually from police use of force as data sources differ widely.

Determining how many deaths actually occur

Official government statistics on deaths from police activity come from two distinct sources – the FBI Uniform Crime Reports and the CDC Mortality Reports. The FBI data is gathered from law enforcement agencies that voluntarily report specific types of crime data, including all homicides, each year.[2] These data have been criticized because between 20% and 30% of law enforcement agencies do not report data in a given year, although the majority of these non-reporting agencies are quite small (fewer than 5 officers) and rarely experience violent crime.[3] The CDC data, on the other hand, comes from a federal supplemental form that is completed by coroners and physicians when they complete a death certificate.[4] Because it takes time to gather all of the facts needed to determine the correct cause of death, and it takes time to compile, tabulate, and analyze the data received, the FBI and CDC release their reports lagged by about two years. In other words, information on deaths in 2016 will not be available to the public until 2018. Despite the fact that these data come from different sources (police departments versus hospitals), the numbers generally coincide.

An analysis of the CDC data for the 10-years of 2003 through 2012 revealed that 4,285 deaths were reported by doctors and coroners to have been attributed to "legal interventions" by the police. While the number of deaths fluctuated from year to year, the average annual number of deaths from police use of force reported by the CDC (not police sources) over the last decade was 429 deaths.[5] Please recall, however, that these data are lagged by two years, so 2014 has only just become available.

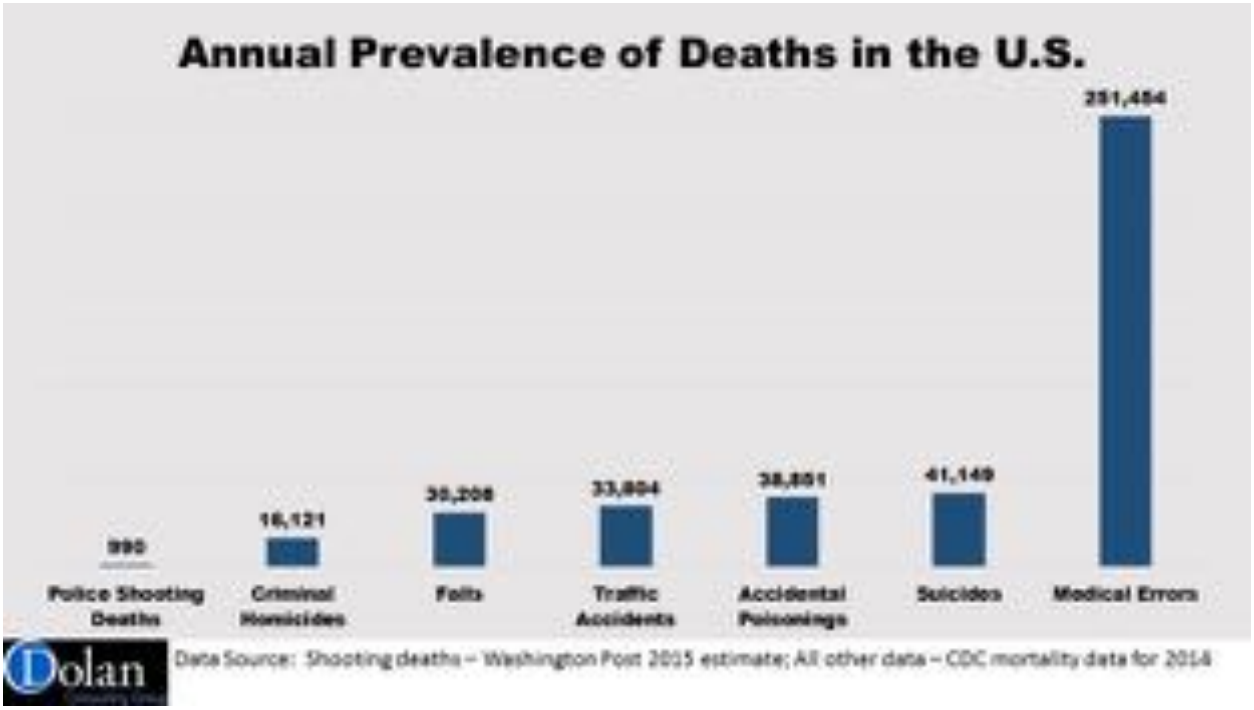
Critical of these official statistics, several media outlets have attempted to create their own data regarding deaths from police use of force. Unfortunately, these media data collection efforts are more likely to contain errors as they rely only on media reports and report information before all the facts have even been determined. Just one typical example of this would be a barricaded gunman situation where the gunman opens fire on the police, the police return fire, and the man is later found dead. Only after a full autopsy is conducted and a coroner's report is released months later is it learned that the gunman actually committed suicide and was never hit by the bullets of the police. Nevertheless, this death is attributed to the police in the media data. The media data also counts accidental deaths from police use of force, such as when an officer shoots at an armed suspect, but the bullet misses and hits an innocent bystander a block away.

Many media sources have also pursued their own criteria for what constitutes a death from police use of force. The British newspaper, *The Guardian*, for example, used such sketchy sources as Facebook posts and Twitter tweets, and even counted deaths that were ruled accidents, such as when the police were in a vehicle pursuit and a fatal auto crash resulted. Using the widest definition of "police killings" possible, *The Guardian* found that 1,134 deaths occurred in 2015 due to police activity.[6] Using a slightly more conservative definition of police use of force, and sticking strictly to media sources, the *Washington Post* found that 990 individuals were shot and killed by the police in 2015.[7] This does not necessarily mean that the official CDC and FBI statistics are incorrect as we will have to wait a year or so to find out how closely the federal 2015 numbers match those of the *Washington Post*.

Relative comparisons to other unnatural causes of death

Numbers of deaths that approach a thousand per year seem staggering and even one needless death is a tragedy, but we must also consider that the U.S. Census Bureau estimated that in 2015 there were 321,418,820 people residing within the United States.[8] Using the *Washington Post* estimate of 990 deaths, this means that only 0. 00031% of the U.S. population died from police use of force in 2015. This is hardly an epidemic, especially when compared to the numbers of deaths due to other unnatural causes.

According to the CDC, in 2013 there were 16,121 people murdered in the U.S. by criminals (16.3 times higher than deaths from police use of force).[9] The CDC also reported that 30,208 people died from falls (30.5 times higher than deaths from police), 33,804 died in motor vehicle traffic deaths (34.2 times higher than deaths from police), and 38,851 died from accidental poisonings (39.2 times higher than deaths from police).[10] The CDC also reported that there were 41,149 suicide deaths in 2013 (41.6 times higher than deaths from police use of force).[11] In light of the fact that the general public does not appear to consider traffic crash deaths, accidental poisonings, or suicide deaths to have reached epidemic levels, deaths from police use of force – which happen far less frequently – cannot reasonably be deemed an epidemic.



Part of the fear of police use of force deaths stems from the fact we are supposed to trust the police to protect us, not kill us. The same, however, can be said of doctors and nurses, yet medical errors kill many thousands more Americans annually than do the police. As with deaths from police use of force, determining the exact number of deaths from medical errors is also difficult. First, doctors themselves are the ones reporting such official data to the CDC despite their conflict of interest. Second, many people seeking significant medical care may still have died from their injury or illness even if the error had not occurred, so it is difficult to know which actually caused the death. Third, medical facilities are less forthcoming than law enforcement agencies in disclosing details

about deaths that occur on their premises. Nevertheless, researchers at Johns Hopkins University estimated that in 2015 there were 251,454 deaths from medical errors (roughly equal to the population of Orlando, Florida or Chula Vista, California). Medical errors are the third leading cause of death in the nation.

The risk of death from a doctor or nurse is 254 times greater than the risk of death from police use of force.[12] In spite of this statistical reality, there are public demonstrations nationwide against the police, accusing them of being murderers, but none against doctors and nurses. When a death results from a medical procedure, the public overwhelmingly trusts other doctors to investigate if an error occurred and determine the punishment due the doctor being investigated. At the same time, the public increasingly does not trust police officers to investigate other police officers and demands that citizens unfamiliar with police work should conduct these hearings. This contradiction is difficult to understand or explain.

Regardless of how many deaths occur annually from police use of force, the true measure of concern should be how often the police are *unjustified* in their use of deadly force. If the police are properly using their legal authority to use lethal force, then they cannot control how many deaths occur as that is dependent on the number of people causing or threatening imminent serious bodily injury (i.e., broken bone, punctured flesh, etc.) to an officer or third party.[13] In order to determine if the police are killing "too many" people each year, we need to take into consideration the number of people who are violently assaulting police officers.

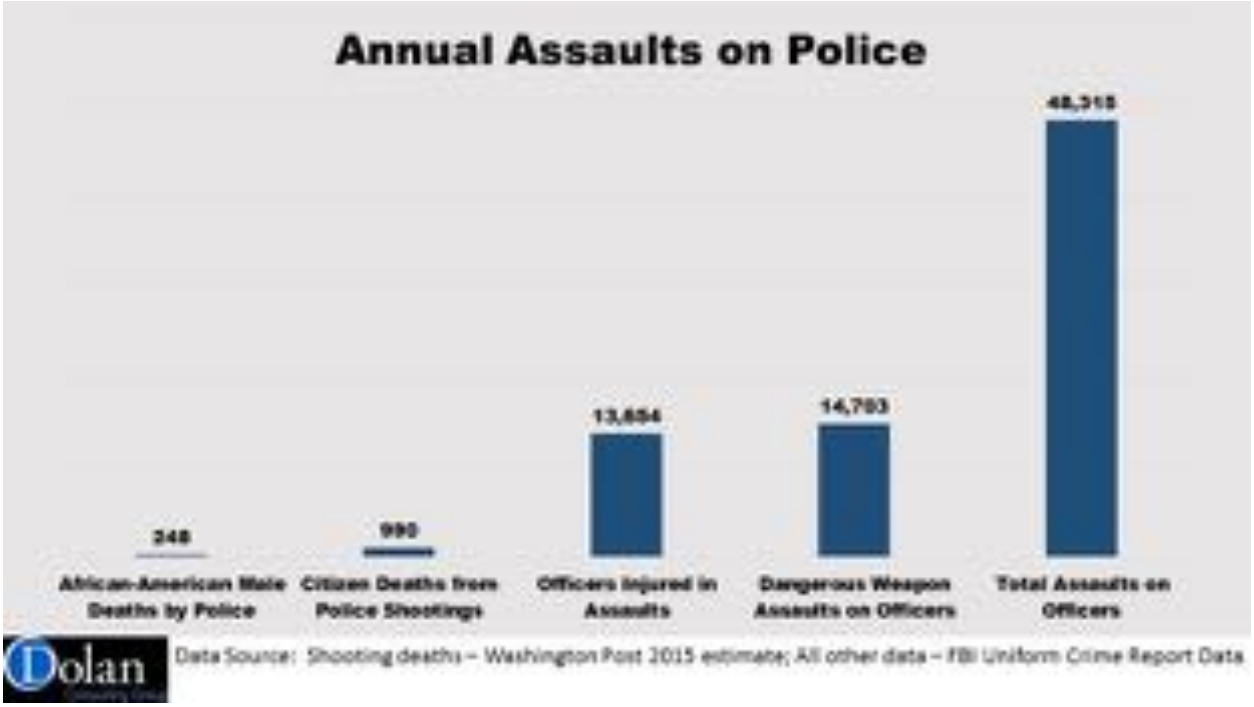
Comparisons with assaults on police officers

Again, data of this sort are difficult to find. A conservative estimate, however, can be found within the FBI Uniform Crime Report data. In 2014, the FBI collected data on officer assaults from about 66% of the nation's 17,000 law enforcement agencies. Even though data from a third of law enforcement agencies was absent, the data that *was* collected revealed that 48,315 assaults occurred against law enforcement officers in 2014, resulting in 13,654 officers receiving an injury requiring medical treatment.[14]

Of the assaults on officers, 1,950 involved a firearm and 951 involved a "cutting instrument" such as a knife, sword, axe, etc. Another 6,803 assaults on officers involved "other dangerous weapons" such as motor vehicles, clubs, metal pipes, shovels, etc. This means that in 2014, police officers were assaulted 9,704 times with deadly weapons (an average of 27 per day).[15] Remember, this is an extremely conservative estimate with only 66% of police departments reporting data. (If the same rate of assaults applies to the 34% of agencies that did not provide data, then the real national total would be 14,703 deadly weapon assaults on officers in 2014, or 40 per day.) This number also fails to count any incidents where an assailant used his hands and feet to beat an officer to the point of serious permanent injury or death.

When compared to the *Washington Post* estimate of 990 deaths from police use of force in 2015, this number pales in comparison to 9,704 to 14,703 deadly weapon assaults against officers. These numbers reveal that hundreds of times each year police officers show restraint in the face of dangerous assaults and do not kill their assailants even when they may be legally justified in doing so. Based on the 9,704 known deadly weapon assaults and the estimate of 990 deaths from police use of force, **only one citizen death occurred for every 10 deadly weapon attacks on officers**.

If we use the estimate of 14,703 deadly weapon assaults, only one citizen death occurred for every 15 deadly weapon attacks. Clearly, law enforcement officers across the nation are using restraint and de-escalation techniques so that deaths only result in about 7-10% of the situations where lethal force may have been legally justified.



Police Use of Lethal Force is on the Rise

The media, politicians, and civil rights groups are concerned about why police use of deadly force is so high today. Suggestions that police use of deadly force today is higher than in past decades tend to demonstrate a failure to have a grasp of history. Prior to 1985, few judicial decisions limited police use of force, and it was the law of the land that police officers could shoot someone simply for fleeing the commission of a felony, such as a burglary, drug dealing, or auto theft. Most police departments back then lacked a written use of force policy. As a result, officer-involved shootings were far more prevalent three or four decades ago. In 1971, the New York City Police Department alone had 1,562 officer-involved shootings (4.2 per day), and the Philadelphia Police Department had 78 shootings (1.5 per week), even though the U.S. population was 36% smaller than it is today.[16] Comparing these numbers to the *Washington Post* estimate of just 990 deaths from police use of force nationwide in 2015, with a third larger U.S. population, reveals that police use of lethal force is only a fraction of what it was in previous decades.

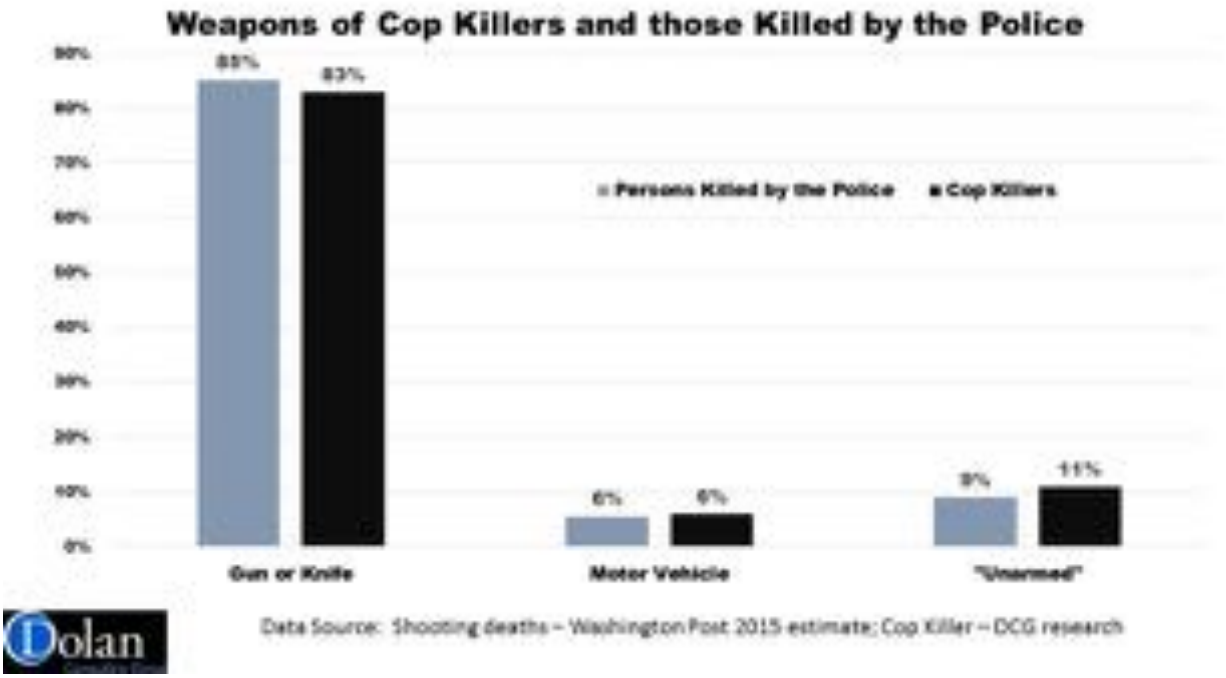
Today there are a number of court decisions that limit the police use of force, especially lethal force.[17] Additionally, it is rare to find a law enforcement agency anywhere in the nation that lacks a written use of force policy that specifically describes when officers can and cannot legally use force.[18] However, since data on the number of deaths each year from police use of force is difficult to locate, analysis of recent trends must rely on official government data (from the CDC or FBI)

that is often criticized. Nevertheless, the CDC data show a steady gradual decline in deaths from police use of force from 2012 through 2014, with an average decrease of 3.3% per year.[19]

From a historical perspective there is no doubt that police use of lethal force occurs only a fraction as often as it did 40 years ago, and official government statistics suggest that it has been declining further since 2012.

The Police Are Killing Defenseless Unarmed People

Many prominent figures, including President Obama, have expressed great concern over the "killing of unarmed citizens" by the police.[20] A symbol of the Black Lives Matter movement has been one's hands raised up in surrender, based on the suggestion that Michael Brown was shot to death by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri while peacefully surrendering.[21] This is in spite of the fact that multiple independent investigations have consistently found that Michael Brown never had his hands up in surrender, but actually physically attacked the officer multiple times.[22] In the minds of some, when the police use lethal force against anyone not armed with a knife or gun, the use of lethal force is illegitimate. This assumes that people armed with a motor vehicle, club, brick, or their bare hands do not pose a serious risk to officers' lives.



Let us first look at the dangerousness of motor vehicles. According to the *Washington Post*, 54 individuals (5.5% of all deaths from police use of force) were shot and killed by the police when armed "only" with a motor vehicle.[23] Some have argued that all an officer had to do when confronted with a motor vehicle is move out of the way. Such an argument ignores the fact that, according to the CDC, 991 pedestrians in America were struck and killed by a motor vehicle in accidents in 2014 alone.[24] Additionally, a detailed review of the circumstances surrounding all law enforcement officer deaths from 2013 through 2015 revealed that 6% of all law enforcement

officers murdered in the line of duty were killed when intentionally run over by a motor vehicle.[25] To compare, 6% of officers murdered in the line of duty were intentionally (not accidentally) killed with a motor vehicle, and 5.5% of those killed by the police were believed to be threatening the officers with a motor vehicle. The percentages are almost a perfect match.

Some also argue that an assault with anything other than a knife, gun, or car does not justify a lethal force response from the police. According to the *Washington Post* data, 9.3% of those shot and killed by the police (or 93 individuals) were classified as "unarmed." The *Washington Post* called individuals "unarmed" not only when the citizen had only his fists as weapons, but also when he had a blunt force weapon such as a club.[26] The opinion that these "unarmed" individuals pose no serious safety risk ignores the fact that 1 out of every 5 people murdered in 2014 was beaten or strangled to death. According to CDC data, of the 15,809 homicides that year, 3,121 of the homicide victims were beaten, strangled, or forcibly drowned. **"Unarmed" assailants kill more than 3,000 people each year**.[27]

A detailed review of the circumstances surrounding all law enforcement officer deaths in 2015 revealed that **11% of all law enforcement officers murdered in the line of duty from 2013 through 2015 were killed by someone the *Washington Post* would label as "unarmed."** In 5% of officer deaths the officer was beaten to death, and in another 6% the assailant grabbed the officer's gun and fatally shot the officer.[28] To compare, 11% of officers murdered in the line of duty were *killed* by someone who was *"unarmed,"* and only 9.3% of those killed by the police were allegedly "unarmed."

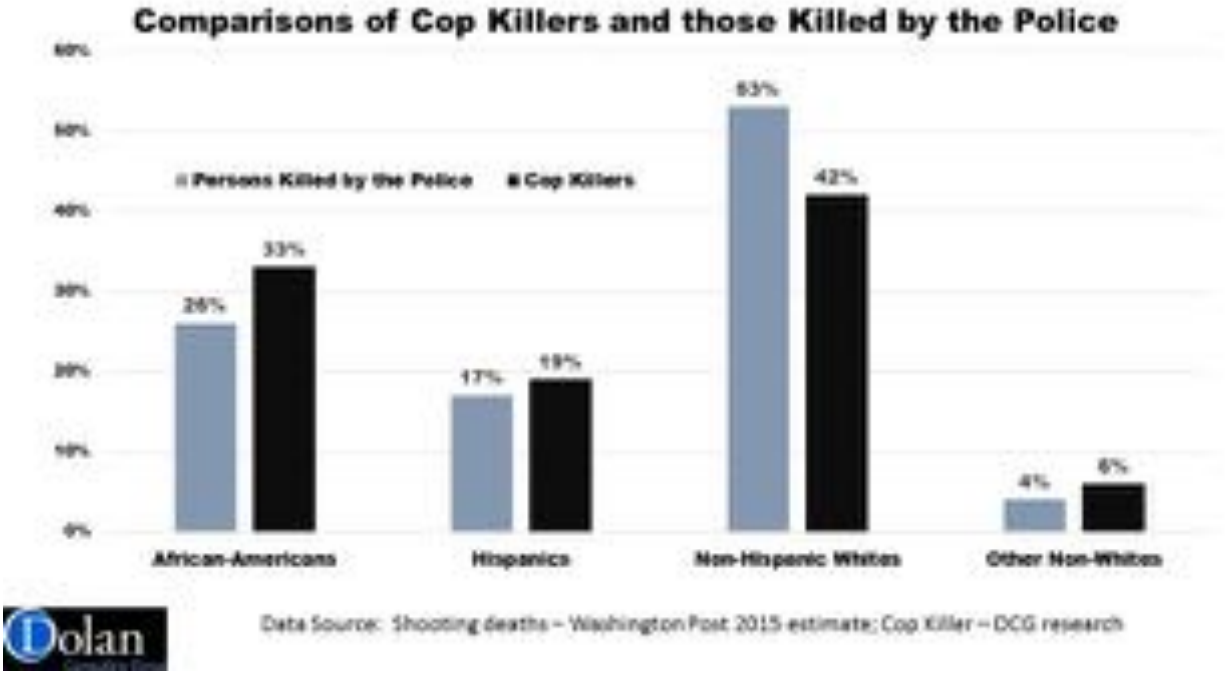
In summary, the data reveal that "unarmed" assailants kill many police officers (and thousands of private citizens) every year. Nevertheless, the data reveal that **law enforcement officers shoot and kill "unarmed" assailants at lower proportions than officers themselves are killed by "unarmed" assailants.**

Police Use of Lethal Force Disproportionately Targets African-American Men

Those that have made this accusation often compare the proportion of police use of force deaths that involved African-Americans, to the proportion of African-Americans in the U.S. population. The *Washington Post* data indicates that 258 of the 990 individuals killed by the police in 2015 were African-Americans, all but 10 of which were male. So that means 25% of those who died from police use of force in 2015 were African-American men and 1% were African-American women. On the other hand, 468 (47.3%) of those killed by the police in 2015 were white (non-Latino) males and 26 (2.6%) were white (non-Latina) females.[29] In other words, almost twice as many non-Latino whites died from police use of force as did African-Americans.

According to U.S. Census estimates, however, African-American men make up only 6.6% of the U.S. population and African-American women make up roughly 6.7%.[30] Therefore, many have made an issue of the 6.6% of the population versus 25% of those killed by the police comparison. The police, however, are not supposed to use deadly force against the general population, only those who are threatening them (or others) with imminent serious violence.

Dolan Consulting Group staff reviewed the details of all of the officers murdered in the line of duty from 2013 through 2015 by locating the officers on the *Officer Down Memorial Page* website.[31] Then, using the same techniques employed by the *Washington Post* for deaths from police use of force, we reviewed online news reports and photos to determine the race of the person who murdered the officer. Of the individuals who murdered police officers from 2013-2015, 33% were African-American, 19% were whites with Spanish surnames, and 5.9% were identified in the news reports as Asian, Pacific Islander, or Native American / Eskimo. All of the non-white killers of the police were male.



Considering this, African-American men may make up 6.6% of the U.S. population, but they account for 33% of those who have murdered police officers in the last three years. In other words, African-American men are 5 times more likely to kill a police officer, but only 3.7 times more likely to be killed by the police. As the U. S. Department of Justice did not think it appropriate to collect data on the race of assailants who assault the police, it would seem highly likely that, in keeping with statistical data relating to deadly assaults upon officers, 33% of the 17,703 deadly force assaults police officers experienced in 2014 were perpetrated by African-American men.

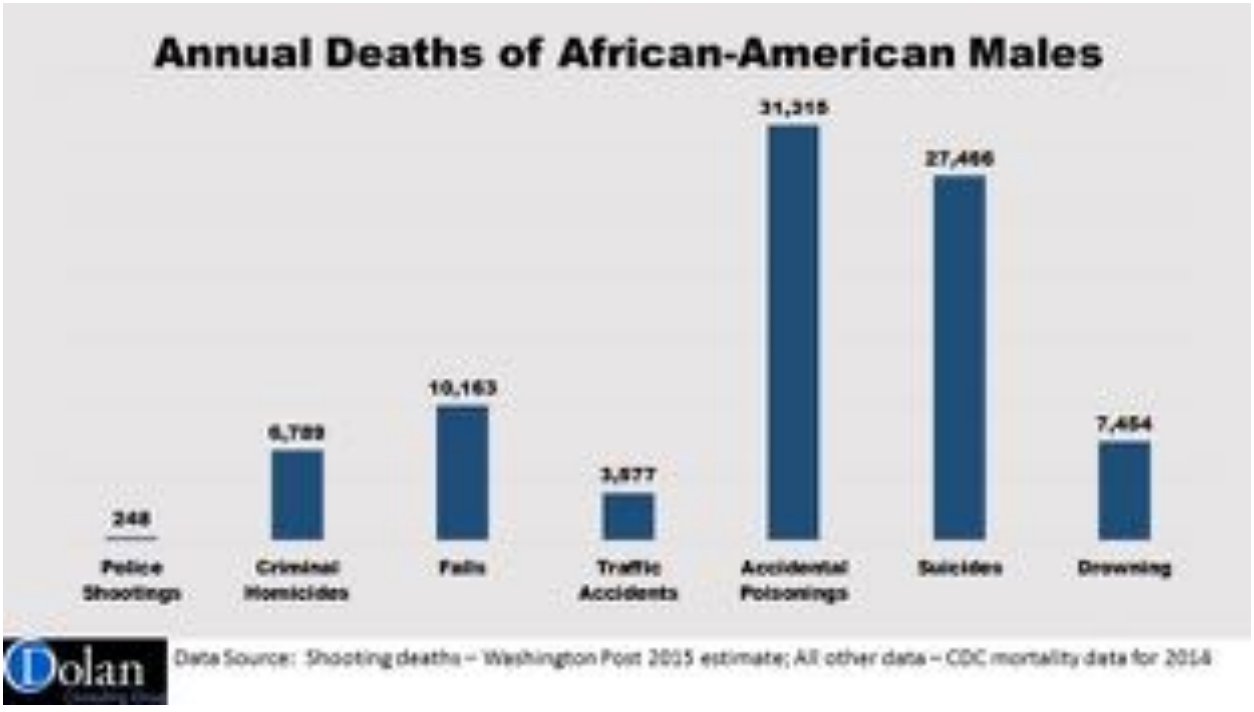
Since the *Washington Post* data suggests only 25% of those killed by police use of force were African-American men, but 33% of law enforcement officers murdered in the line of duty were killed by African-American men, it appears that African-American men are less likely to be killed than their violence towards the police would suggest. The same is true for Hispanic men. According to the *Washington Post*, 17% of the individuals killed by the police were Hispanic men, but 19% of those who killed police officers were Hispanic males.

The evidence suggests that the police do not disproportionately target African-American men for use of lethal force. The evidence suggests that the police are only responding to the rate of deadly force assaults they are experiencing.

Police Actions Pose a Substantial Threat to the Lives of African-American Men

The *Washington Post* reported that there were 248 deaths of African-American males by the police, and the U.S. Census estimated that there were 21,213,642 African-American males in the U.S. in 2015.[32]

In contrast, the CDC data indicate that homicides claimed the lives of 6,789 African-American males in 2014, most of whom were murdered by other African-American males.[33] CDC data also indicate that 3,577 African-American males died from traffic accidents.[34] Using the statistic of 248 deaths from police use of force, **African-American men are 14.4 times more likely to die from a traffic accident than from police use of force. Likewise, they are 27.4 times more likely to be murdered than to be killed by the police officer.** Thus, there is no credible evidence of a systematic genocidal plan by the police to kill African-American men.



Implicit Bias is Driving Police Use of Deadly Force

As was shown above, the proportions of deaths of African-Americans and Hispanics due to police use of force mirror the same (or even lower) proportions at which members of these racial or ethnic groups kill police officers. This alone suggests there is no national trend of racial bias in the application of deadly force by the police. Yet many political leaders and media sources have suggested that law enforcement officers are being influenced in their behaviors by an unconscious racial bias they hold against African-Americans and Hispanics.[35] This line of reasoning suggests that officers act in a prejudicial manner, but are simply unaware of doing so because the racial biases they hold are unconscious. The claims are made that even African-American and Hispanic law enforcement officers hold implicit biases against people of their own race or ethnicity.[36]

This concept of hidden implicit biases emerged from research that developed a variety of implicit bias tests. These tests purport to expose ingrained biased perceptions of the world.[37] For example, in the implicit bias test regarding sexism, the test taker must rapidly answer questions like, "Who did the laundry, a man or a woman?" If, under a very short time limit, you first answer "woman," it suggests that you have unconscious sexists views as either men or women could equally have done the laundry. Even if you are a woman, if you initially considered that the woman might have done the laundry, then (it is suggested) you have deeply ingrained sexist stereotypes that must be overcome. However, research as recent as 2015 reveals that women actually still do the overwhelming majority of the household chores in America.[38] Even though the answer "woman" is statistically far more likely to be correct, the test claims that you are sexist for selecting the woman.

The same goes for the implicit bias test regarding racism toward African-Americans. Despite the fact that African-Americans are currently disproportionately more involved in crime than any other race in the U.S., and disproportionately live in poverty, answering questions in a way that suggests African-Americans might be poor or involved in crime produces a test result of implicit bias.[39]

However, there is overwhelming evidence that there is little or no relationship between one's implicit bias score on racism and any actual prejudicial behavior. A team of research psychologists from Rice University, University of Virginia, University of Connecticut, and the University of Pennsylvania reviewed 46 studies (involving more than 5,600 participants) that tested whether a person's implicit racial bias score predicted their prejudicial behavior against people of a different race. While they found that one's overt racism – openly racist beliefs – predicted prejudicial behavior, implicit bias test scores rarely did.[40] Furthermore, another study put 80 police officers through rigorous, stress-inducing lethal force scenarios in a simulator and found that the officers' implicit bias scores had no impact on how quickly they decided to fire on black or white criminal suspects, or whether they accidentally shot a black suspect who did not have a weapon. In fact, in this study, the officers ended up drawing their weapon and firing faster for white suspects than black, and were more likely to shoot white suspects than black suspects on accident.[41]

The evidence suggests that law enforcement officers do not disproportionately kill African-Americans and Hispanics when one considers the rate at which individuals belonging to these racial groups attack and kill officers. Therefore, evidence of bias is lacking. In fact, recent

extensive research has failed to find an association between implicit bias test scores and racially prejudicial behavior.

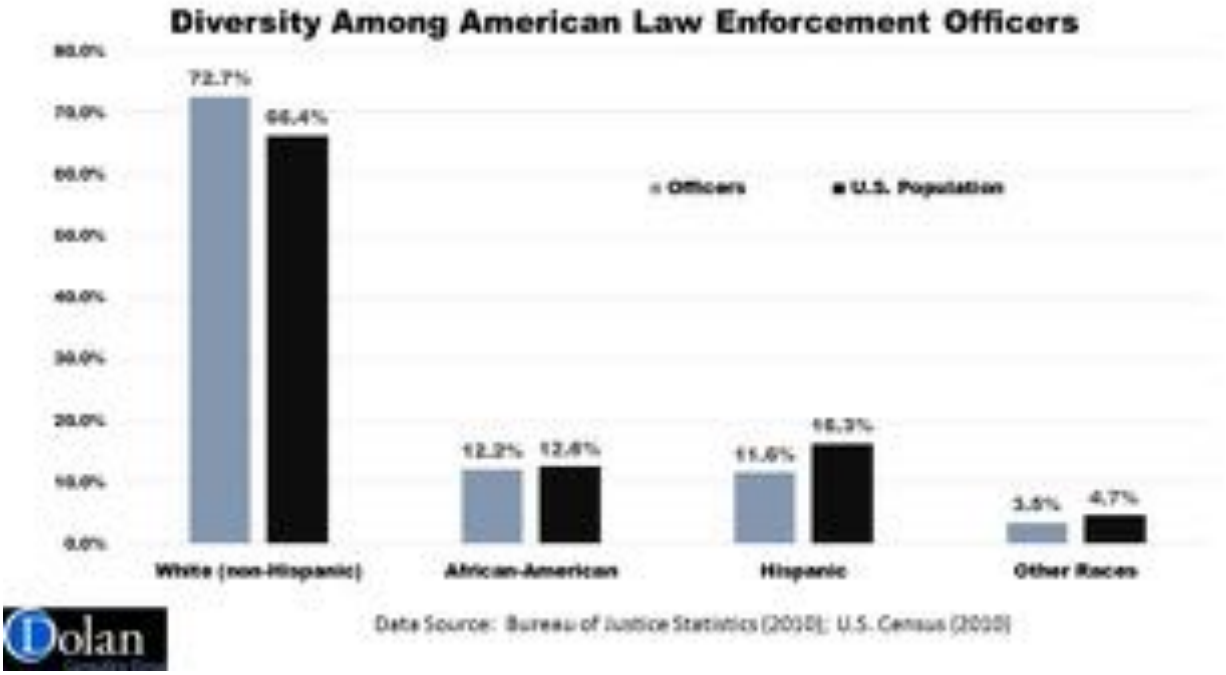
Excessive Force is linked to a Lack of Diversity of Police Forces

The final claim we will address here regards the belief that if police departments were more racially diverse, then there would be fewer incidences of use of force. This argument goes back to the 1960s and relies on the notion that African-American and Latino officers relate better to African-American and Latino citizens, and vice versa.[42]

First we need to examine the claim that law enforcement agencies are not racially diverse already. The most recent estimates from the U.S. Justice Department from 2010 were that 12.2% of law enforcement officers are African-American, 11.6% are Hispanic, and 3.5% are other non-white races.[43] According to the 2010 U.S. Census, the same year of the Department of Justice data, African-Americans made up 12.6% of the population, or only 0.4 percentage points more than their representation among the ranks of law enforcement officers. The 2010 Census showed that 16.3% of the U.S. population was Hispanic, only 4.7 percentage points more than their representation among law enforcement officers.[44] It would appear that African-Americans are already equally represented among law enforcement agencies, and Hispanic officers are nearing parity with the U.S. population. In fact, a number of major U.S. cities, such as Detroit, Baltimore, Atlanta, and Washington already have majority non-white police forces.

Nevertheless, the research is clear that agency racial diversity has no impact on use of force. For example, Criminologist Brad Smith of Wayne State University examined a nationwide sample of hundreds of police departments and found that agency racial diversity has no impact on deaths from police use of force. What did have an impact was the level of violent crime in the city as more violent crime was correlated with more shooting deaths by the police.[45] Sociologists Dale Willits of California State University and Jeffrey Nowacki of the University of New Mexico replicated Smith's findings with another nationwide sample of 325 law enforcement agencies, again revealing that officer racial diversity had no impact on the number of citizens shot and killed by the police, but violent crime levels did.[46] Willits also found that the racial diversity level of the police department had no influence on the rate that police officers were assaulted or murdered, but violent crime did.[47]

Criminologists Matthew Hickman from Seattle University and Alex Piquero from the University of Texas at Dallas studied a national sample of 496 law enforcement agencies and found that the racial diversity of the department had no influence on the number of excessive force complaints that were filed by citizens.[48] This finding was also replicated by another study from a team of sociologists using a nationwide sample of 497 law enforcement agencies.[49] Statistician Gregory Ridgway at the University of Pennsylvania, studying officer-involved shootings within the New York City Police Department, found that black officers were more than 3 times more likely to shoot a citizen than were white officers.[50]



The available evidence is also clear that the diversity levels of police agencies have no influence on how they police. Political scientist Yongbeom Hur examined a nationwide sample of 464 law enforcement agencies and found that their level of racial diversity did not improve the percentage of crimes they solved.[51] Political scientist Elaine Sharp of the University of Kansas examined a nationwide sample of law enforcement agencies and found their level of racial diversity had no impact on proactive arrests by officers for minor misdemeanor offenses.[52] Finally, another study also found that the more racial diversity with police agencies, the greater the job turnover rate for police officers.[53]

While racial diversity in law enforcement agencies is appropriate because it indicates that hiring policies within these agencies are fair, we cannot expect it to have any impact on how often the police use force. The empirical evidence remains abundantly clear on this issue.

Conclusion

In this report several popular claims about police use of lethal force were carefully examined and all were found to be myths. In one last parting analysis, it is helpful to look at deaths from police use of force from a "big picture" perspective. While it is unknown how many police-citizen contacts occur every year, studies that examined three cities and three small towns found that the number of calls for service the police handle averages out to 0.6 calls per year for every person in the community.[54] As there are 321,418,820 people residing in the U.S., this means the police across the nation handle about 192,851,292 calls for service each year. As this does not include proactive stops by officers, and informal citizen contacts unrelated to a call for service, we can double this figure to estimate the average number of official police-citizen contacts across the nation each year.

Out of these 385 million estimated police-citizen contacts, officers made 11,205,833 criminal arrest charges according to the FBI Uniform Crime Reports.[55] Out of these 11,205,833 arrest charges, officers were assaulted roughly 48,315 times, but only 990 deaths of citizens occurred. These deaths occurred in only 0.0003% of all police-citizen contacts, only 0.009% of all arrest situations, and in only 2.1% of assault on officer situations. Deaths from police use of force are very unfortunate, often unavoidable, and extremely rare.

Unfortunately, the myths we addressed here will apparently continue to be reported by major media sources as fact, and are now incorporated into official public policies. It is the hope of the Dolan Consulting Group that readers of this report will check its authenticity by examining its source materials. It is also the hope of the Dolan Consulting Group that readers will share their conclusions as widely as possible in order to dispel these myths that are having grave consequences for the safety of law enforcement officers and grave consequences for the safety and stability of our society.

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RESEARCH BRIEF

What Effects do School Resource Officers Have on Schools?

Richard R. Johnson, Ph.D.

October, 2016

Over the last two years there has been a small, but very vocal, segment of the U.S. population that has raised concerns in opposition to having law enforcement officers permanently assigned to schools as school resource officers (SROs). Those in opposition to school resource officers have claimed that assigning officers to schools has resulted in youths being formally arrested for minor conduct issues that would have otherwise been handled informally by school staff if the SROs had not been present in the school. They have suggested that SROs have resulted in thousands of children being marked for life with criminal records for behaviors that previously would only have resulted in minor in-school discipline. They claim that the presence of SROs in schools has contributed to the disproportionate confinement of minority youth because they are disproportionately assigned to schools in minority neighborhoods, and that by arresting minority youth for minor offenses, it gives them a criminal record that will follow them the rest of their lives. In sum, **many argue that police officers in schools are responsible for a "school to prison pipeline".**

One should ask, however, **are these allegations supported by the research evidence?** To date, there is very little social scientific research regarding SROs and their roles and operations within schools. This research brief will review the small set of existing social scientific research studies about SROs to see what impact they appear to have on students and schools.

Not All School Resource Officers are Alike

The first important research finding is that SROs are individuals and, like all people, individual school resource officers act differently from one another. Therefore, examples can likely be found of individual SROs who have taken an unnecessarily heavy enforcement stance toward student conduct problems, and others who have not. Undoubtedly, officers with temperaments unsuited for working with children and youths should not be assigned to SRO positions. However, solely focusing on isolated incidents receiving national media attention is not a reasonable way to determine the effects of the thousands of SROs assigned to schools throughout the country.

It is also important to keep in mind that every jurisdiction has different rules, policies, and organizational tables for their SRO programs. While some agencies require SROs to engage in some teaching activities, or deliver the D.A.R.E. or G.R.E.A.T. programs, other agencies strictly limit their SROs to law enforcement and order maintenance duties. School districts also vary in the amount of control school administrators have over the roles, responsibilities, and actions of the SROs within their schools. These jurisdictional differences undoubtedly also impact how SROs engage in their work. The following research findings will discuss the limited amount of research to date on SROs and the general trends that have been revealed thus far. It is important to keep in mind, however, that not all SROs fit into the general trends.

Are SROs Too Enforcement Oriented?

The most publicized study to examine this question used data from a nationwide survey of 470 high school and middle school principals in the U.S. from 2003 through 2008. This study, conducted by researchers at the University of Maryland, found that schools with SROs reported more serious crimes, more minor crimes, and higher rates for student expulsions than schools without SROs (Na & Gottfredson, 2013). While the authors of this study immediately jumped to the conclusion that the presence of SROs caused normal problem student behaviors to be treated as serious crime, and to be punished more severely through arrests and expulsions, it is also just as likely that they have the order reversed. In other words, this study fails to address the likelihood that SROs tend to be assigned to schools that *already* have significant crime and problem student behavior issues, and less likely to be utilized in schools that do not experience as severe safety and student conduct issues.

In a more thorough and controlled study, published in 2009, a researcher from the University of Tennessee examined school discipline data for 28 middle and high schools in the Knoxville metropolitan area over a three-year period (Theriot, 2009). Thirteen of these schools were assigned SROs, and the remaining 15 schools called patrol officers when law enforcement assistance was needed. No differences were found between the schools in the overall number of arrests per student, suggesting that SROs arrested just as frequently as schools that relied on calling patrol officers. Compared to schools without SROs, schools with SROs experienced fewer arrests for serious crimes such as assault and weapons charges, and more arrests for disorderly conduct charges. The researcher also examined the SRO schools before an SRO was assigned to the school, and after the SRO was assigned. After an SRO was assigned, the schools experienced fewer arrests for felony and violent misdemeanor offenses, and more arrests for disorderly conduct charges.

These findings suggest that SROs, although they are exposed to more student criminal and misconduct situations than are patrol officers, arrest students at equal rates as patrol officers. The evidence in this study also suggest that when SROs do arrest students, they tended to downgrade the severity of the charges against the student to disorderly conduct rather than an assault or felony charge.

A study by researchers at Mississippi State University examined statewide juvenile court data from 2009 through 2011. They wanted to see if charges brought by SROs differed from charges brought by other types of officers (May, Barranco, Stokes, Robertson, & Haynes, 2016). This study found

that SROs and other types of officers were equally likely to refer juveniles to the juvenile court when encountering a report of a felony offense. The study also found, however, that SROs were *less* likely to refer juveniles to the juvenile court for misdemeanors or status offenses. **This study suggested that most SROs act no differently than other officers when it comes to felony crimes. It also suggested that SROs are more lenient than are patrol officers when encountering misdemeanor and status offenses.**

Researchers from Eastern Kentucky University were interested in how school principals perceived the presence of SROs within their schools (May, Fessel, & Means, 2004). Surveying 119 elementary, middle, and high school principals across Kentucky, they found that 98% of principals supported SROs in high schools, and 94% supported SROs in middle schools. Fifty percent even supported SROs in elementary schools. The vast majority of principals (92%) believed that SROs in their state were properly trained and acted appropriately. Most (88%) of those who had SROs in their schools reported that crime decreased in their schools after SROs were assigned. These findings suggest that school principals in Kentucky overwhelmingly approve of SROs.

What is the Role of the SRO?

Interviews with SROs themselves also reveal that SROs are far more than agents of law enforcement in schools. One study by Texas State University interviewed a small sample of 26 SROs from across Texas (McKenna, Martinez-Prather, & Bowman, 2016). These interviews revealed that, in addition to their law enforcement role, 46% of SROs described their role as that of a social worker, 38% described their role as an educator, and 35% described their role as being a surrogate parent.

A similar study conducted by the University of Nebraska at Omaha surveyed 52 SROs and 320 patrol officers around the Omaha metropolitan area (Rhodes, 2015). Compared to patrol officers, SROs performed fewer law enforcement tasks (issuing citations, making arrests, and investigating crimes) in a given work day, and also performed fewer order maintenance duties (handling disputes and disorderly persons). **Compared to patrol officers, SROs spent more time on non-crime service related activities, such as giving advice, medical assistance, community relations activities, and traffic direction.** SROs also had higher levels of job satisfaction when compared to patrol officers.

Conclusion

There have been very few social scientific studies about SROs, but the studies that have been conducted so far do not indicate that the presence of SROs creates a "school to prison pipeline" in which children are saddled with criminal records for behaviors that previously would only have resulted in minor in-school discipline. SROs generally appear to be more lenient than are patrol officers when dealing with minor student criminal behavior and conduct problems. But there seems to be no difference between SROs and patrol officers when dealing with serious felony crimes.

The available evidence indicates that SROs tend to see their role as that of a social worker, educator, and surrogate parent to the students. The work that they do tends to focus on service

activities unrelated to crime and disorder, but principals still tend to notice reductions in crime and conduct problems when SROs are present. School principals generally approve of the presence of SROs at high schools and middle schools, and sometimes even at elementary schools.

No empirical research evidence was found to suggest widespread actions by SROs in the U.S. to criminalize the minor behaviors of students in general, or minority students in particular. The general pattern is that SROs make arrests under the same circumstances that would cause a principal to call the police if an SRO were not already present.

Furthermore, SROs create the opportunity for school-aged children to have non-confrontational, non-enforcement contacts with law enforcement officers. that may contribute to more positive opinions of the police later in life. Finally, the known presence of an SRO on campus may enhance the safety of our children, as the mass shootings at grade schools in the U.S. to date have not occurred at schools with an SRO presence. **The research to date does *not* support the "school to prison pipeline" theory,** and further research may well support the widespread belief held by principals that **the use of SROs tends to have a positive impact on schools and students.**

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Examining the Facts on Implicit Bias

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A number of sources have claimed that public employees are influenced by implicit biases. The U.S. Department of Justice, the Police Executive Research Forum, and the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, for example, have suggested that law enforcement officers hold unconscious, implicit biases against people of color.[1] **It has been argued that these implicit biases cause police officers to enforce the law in ways that discriminate against members of racial minority groups.** Similar claims have been made against prosecutors, judges, and probation officers as an explanation for the disproportionate representation of racial minorities in our prisons and jails. Allegations have also been levelled against teachers and school administrators, suggesting that they treat white students preferentially over minority students, and that they do so as a result of these same unconscious, implicit biases.[2]

One of the remedies often suggested to address implicit bias is some form of implicit bias training.[3] Are these claims supported by the available evidence? The purpose of this brief is the factual examination of the empirical evidence surrounding the concept of implicit bias, implicit bias tests, and the relationship between implicit bias test scores and actual discriminatory behavior.

What is Implicit Bias?

In recent years the concept of implicit bias has received a great deal of attention in the United States. Implicit bias is an idea suggesting that, regardless of our conscious thoughts and feelings, we each hold biased judgements in our subconscious against people that are different. For example, it has been argued that Caucasian people who make a concerted effort to avoid discriminating against African-Americans still hold untrue racist stereotypes and opinions about African-Americans in their subconscious minds.[4] It has even been asserted that individuals often hold negative implicit bias attitudes toward members of their own racial or gender group. In other words, African-American teachers may be more punitive toward African-American students because society has imbedded into their subconscious false stereotypes about African-Americans as poorly performing students.[5]

It has been asserted that these hidden, unconscious biases cause individuals to act in discriminatory ways toward others, even though individuals do not consciously intend to do so. Advocates of the concept of implicit bias suggest that these unconscious biases result in many instances of discrimination against women and members of racial minority groups. These instances of discrimination include hiring, promotion, and assignment discrimination in the workplace, grade and punishment discrimination within schools, and diagnostic and treatment decisions within hospitals and doctors' offices.[6] Accusations have been made that implicit bias is affecting the decisions of those who work within the criminal justice system. Police officers, prosecutors, judges, corrections officers, and probation / parole officers have been accused of making decisions biased against African-Americans due to implicit biases.[7]

The concept of implicit bias, first developed by sociologists during the 1960s, has led to the creation of psychological tests in the 1990s that purport to measure one's unconscious, hidden biases.[8] Training workshops have sprouted up in the 2010s that are designed to help individuals discover and confront their implicit biases.[9]

How do Implicit Bias Tests Work?

The first step in addressing implicit bias is to determine if one suffers from it. As mentioned above, in the 1990s some psychologists began attempting to design tests that could measure one's implicit bias. Today there are a variety of tests that purport to measure implicit bias with regard to a number of biases, such as racist biases, sexist biases, homophobic biases, socioeconomic biases, and biases against persons with disabilities.[10] Because there are a number of tests, created by various researchers, designed to test for different types of biases, it is difficult to address every one of these tests. This report, therefore, will focus primarily on the most commonly used test, known as the Implied Association Test (IAT). The IAT has variations designed to test for different types of biases (i.e., racial versus gender biases), but all of the IAT tests use a similar methodology.[11]

An IAT generally operates in the following manner. First, the test-taker is required to complete a sorting task on a computer. The test-taker is presented with one category on the right side of the screen, and a second category on the left side of the screen. Words will appear in the center of the screen and the test-taker must assign the word to one of the two categories by hitting a corresponding key on either the right or left side of the computer's keyboard. For example, the categories into which things must be sorted might be "good" and "bad." The test-taker is given meaning-laden words such as "despicable," "ethical," or "evil" that must be assigned to one category or the other ("good" or "bad"). The test-taker is encouraged to answer as quickly as possible and respond to the first impulse that comes to mind. Next, the test-taker completes another categorization exercise, this time categorizing photos of faces of whites and blacks into categories labelled as "black" or "white." The test-taker must then sort the photos into the two categories, again using the computer keys and with encouragement to continue to answer swiftly.

As the test continues, the test then begins to use categories that pair the previous categories encountered. For example, the test-taker may have to sort into the categories "black / good" and "white / bad." When a photo of an African-American face appears, the test-taker should assign the photo to the "black / good" category because that is where the black face belongs (i.e., because of

the "black" category, not the "good" category). When the test-taker encounters a word like "wicked," it should be assigned to the category "white / bad" because that is where words denoting "bad" belong (not because of any association with the category "white"). The test-taker must rapidly assign a quick succession of both faces and good / bad attribute words. As the test goes on, the categories will switch pairings (i.e., "white / bad" will become "white / good" and vice versa) and the category pairings will also switch sides of the screen as the test-taker has to quickly keep categorizing names and attribute words appropriately for several minutes.

What the test is measuring is how often the test-taker associates the bias category – racial bias against African-Americans in this example – with the two different attribute categories. For example, does the test-taker, while rapidly trying to categorize words into categories that quickly change titles and positions on the screen, assign more of the negative attribute words to one race group than the other? In our example here, we would be measuring if the test-taker assigns (correctly or incorrectly) more words associated with "bad" to the "black" category and more words associated with "good" to the "white" category. The degree these words are not equally assigned to both race categories is supposed to indicate the degree of racial implicit bias the test-taker holds.[12]

As this is how implicit bias is purportedly measured, **obvious flaws appear to be evident in the detection of implicit biases. First, the fact that in study after study, almost all individuals test positive for some level of implicit bias, even against their own racial and gender group, has caused many researchers to suggest that this is evidence these tests lack validity. Women who consider themselves to be very liberal and strongly identify with feminist ideals still test positive for implicit sexist biases against women. Likewise, African-American individuals who identify themselves to be very liberal and consider themselves to be conscious of race issues can also test positive for biases against blacks.** This has led many scientists to question the validity of these tests.[13] Imagine someone developed a test to detect stomach cancer. What if, during clinical trials with people with and without cancer, 100% of those who took the test tested positive for stomach cancer? The researchers involved would question the test's validity. The same thinking should apply here.

Another flaw is that there are no middle-ground options to the test-taker. The test-taker may think neither whites nor blacks should be associated with words like "good" or "bad," yet the test-taker is forced to make a categorization one way or the other. In cases like this, the test does not measure the test-taker's real attitude, only his or her forced response to contrived categorization exercises designed to force the test-taker to answer in a biased manner toward one group or another. Perhaps this explains why people who no one would ever suspect of being biased – especially against their own group – still can test high for implicit bias.

A third issue with IAT test methods is that while they claim to be measuring stereotypes about certain groups, they are sometimes actually measuring statistical realities. On some racial bias IAT tests, for example, other categorizations are used. These tests require the test-taker to categorize whites and blacks by attributes that include wealth or crime involvement. In these cases, is a person truly racist if he or she, under the stress of time and moving categories, categorizes "poor" as a black trait and "rich" as a white trait? After all, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, 27% of African-Americans live in poverty while only 10% of non-Hispanic whites

live in poverty.[14] African-Americans, therefore, are 170% more likely than are whites to live in poverty. This is why the government and nonprofit organizations have poverty relief programs dedicated to African-American communities. **When discussing generalities, African-Americans *are generally* less financially wealthy than are whites. Again, this is statistical reality rather than an implicit bias. Also remember that this is a forced choice, and the test-taker must choose one of the two categories with no "neither" option.**

Implicit Bias Tests and Actual Biased Behavior

If IATs actually measure implicit biases, and these unconscious biases affect our behaviors, then there should be a direct correlation between a person's implicit bias test score and the degree of bias in that person's behaviors. Numerous empirical research studies have now been conducted to examine whether this correlation actually exists.

Many individual studies have examined whether the IAT, or other implicit bias tests, can predict actual biased behaviors. There have been numerous individual studies, examining different types of biases, using varying sample sizes, and various measures of biased behavior. These studies have produced a mixture of findings that have often conflicted, in part because the individual differences between tests in how they were conducted differed so markedly. Several teams of researchers, however, have tried to decipher if any trends have appeared across these studies.

In 2009, the research team that originally created the IAT tests conducted a review of the existing studies at the time. After reviewing 122 studies of various IAT test types (racial test, gender test, etc.), this team concluded that there was evidence implicit bias test scores predicted peoples' biased judgements and behaviors, though the influence was small.[15]

Additional major reviews in 2009 and 2013 conducted by large, neutral, independent teams of researchers from numerous major universities across the U.S. have found different results. These teams of scientists came from such prestigious institutions as the University of California at Berkeley, University of Pennsylvania, University of Virginia, University of Connecticut, Texas A&M University, New York University, Rice University, City University of New York, and Florida International University. Because there were so few studies examining other types of bias, these researchers only examined studies that evaluated the racism IAT and excluded studies that examined other types of bias, such gender bias, or sexual-orientation biases.[16]

These teams examined 46 published studies that involved 5,600 total persons tested. All of these studies involved college students who were given the racial bias IAT test before participating in laboratory experiments designed to measure biased behaviors. The experiments involved such activities as rating the academic ability of students of various races, engaging in board games that required varying levels of cooperation with partners of different races, and conducting mock job interviews of job applicants of various races. **The examination of all 46 studies in existence at the time of the investigation revealed that racial bias IAT test scores showed no significant relationship with biased behaviors observed during these experiments. Study after study showed either no association between IAT scores and biased behavior, or only a very weak association**.[17]

The research teams also noted that only some of the studies tried to control for overt racist attitudes when measuring implicit bias. In other words, did people that openly expressed racist attitudes also score high in implicit bias? The research team found that people who openly espouse racist beliefs generally were no more or less likely to have a high implicit bias score, but those who were openly racist did demonstrate more racially biased behaviors during the experiments. After removing those who were openly racist, the researchers found that the implicit bias test scores of the test subjects that remained had no correlation with racially biased behaviors in the experiments. In other words, **openly biased attitudes seemed to predict racially biased behaviors rather than individuals with some hidden, deeply unconscious psychological bias**.[18]

These findings were published in many prominent psychology research journals and additional studies are continually produced today that question the validity of implicitly biased behaviors. Here are just a few criminal justice system examples.

One study involved a sample of law students who were given the sexism IAT as well as a test to measure their openly sexist attitudes toward women. The sample of law students was almost equally divided between men and women. After completing their IAT, these future lawyers were then put through several tasks, such as judging the attributes of several persons being considered for appointment to positions as judges, and proposing budget cuts to the university by eliminating organizations, services, and programs that might impact men and women differently.[19]

This study found that most of the law students, regardless of sex, showed some level of implicit bias against women on the IAT test. No relationship was found between the implicit bias scores and the scores on the openly sexist test. This shows that even some who are openly sexist score low on implicit sexist bias, and vice versa. The participants' implicit bias test scores were also found to be completely unrelated to any gender bias they displayed in the two exercises they were given – rating the judicial appointees and making the budget cuts. In fact, very little gender bias was shown by any of the participants in these two tasks.[20]

Another study involved a sample of 80 experienced police officers who completed the IAT test for implicit racism. After completing the implicit bias test, each officer engaged in 24 very realistic use of lethal force training scenarios over the course of four days. The officers encountered "shoot / don't shoot" video scenarios in a firearms training simulator (FATS) machine that required the officers to decide, under stress, whether or not it was legally appropriate to shoot a potential criminal suspect visually displayed in an interactive video scenario. If the suspect's behavior required the officer to use lethal force, the officer was expected to draw and fire his or her weapon at the suspect. Computerized laser technology measured how quickly the officer drew the weapon, fired the weapon, and whether or not the officer's aim would have resulted in a bullet accurately hitting the suspect. In each of these high-stress scenarios the race of the suspect was manipulated so that in some scenarios the suspect was black, and in others the suspect was white. The circumstances of the scenarios were also altered so that in some scenarios lethal force would have been justified, but not in others.[21]

The researchers measured if the officers were more likely to shoot the suspect in error (when not legally justified to do so) if the suspect was black as opposed to white. The researchers also looked for race differences between white and black suspects in how quickly the officers drew and fired

their weapons, and how accurately they shot. **The findings revealed that the officers were generally slower to shoot armed black suspects posing a lethal threat than they were to shoot armed white suspects, suggesting a bias toward shooting whites rather than blacks. The officers rarely shot a suspect when not legally justified to do so, but when errors did occur, whites were more likely to be shot incorrectly.** Shooting accuracy did not appear to differ by suspect race. **Importantly, the officers' implicit bias test scores were completely unrelated to their shooting decision behaviors.** Neither a high, nor a low, implicit bias score resulted in biased shooting behavior against either black or white suspects.[22]

Implicit Bias Training

Supporters of the implicit bias idea have asserted that training is needed to reveal to individuals their implicit biases, and help these individuals to overcome their hidden biases when they act within the workplace. Implicit bias training seminars are widespread and government entities and businesses across the nation are requiring their employees to undergo implicit bias training. For example, numerous school districts are requiring staff to complete this training, as are law enforcement agencies, courts, and hospitals.[23]

At present there are no published studies that have evaluated the ability of these implicit bias training courses to reduce implicit bias attitudes or behaviors.[24] This is surprising since all one needs to do is have the participants complete an IAT test before the training and then repeat the test after the training to see if the participants' implicit bias test scores when down. Unfortunately, because no evidence exists to determine the effectiveness of these implicit bias training courses, we can only speculate as to their effectiveness by comparing this training to the effectiveness of racial diversity training.

Even though racial diversity training has been conducted for decades, there is little published research on this topic with regards to whether or not this training has any effect on attitudes or behaviors. **Reviews of the 30 or so existing studies have evaluated the influence of multicultural education on racial attitudes among grade school students, college students, and police officers. These studies have consistently revealed no lasting influence on participants' racial attitudes**, especially attitudes toward African-Americans.[25] As it is safe to say that there is no evidence that traditional multicultural or racial diversity training has any significant positive influence on people's attitudes or behavior, how much less likely is implicit bias training to have an effect on attitudes and behaviors?

Proponents of the implicit bias concept suggest that implicit biases are deeply ingrained in our unconscious mind. Assuming this was true, how could attending a training session be expected to have any impact on one's subconscious thoughts and motives? It would seem more plausible that such a condition could only be corrected through many months or years of intensive therapy. Currently, the only psychological therapies used to address unconscious beliefs involve hypnosis and sedative-hypnotic drugs.[26]

Therefore, if implicit biases actually exist, it is doubtful that mandating training is likely to impact it. If, on the other hand, implicit bias does not really exist, such implicit bias training

only serves to insult and harm the attendees by trying to convince them they possess biases that they do not.

Conclusions

The empirical research evidence reviewed here leads to four major conclusions. First, implicit bias test scores may lack validity, simply by their construction alone. The forced choice nature of the categorization tasks they require compel people to associate politically charged words with one group or another, and do not permit the test-taker to suggest the words are equally associated with both groups. Test responses are judged to be prejudicial even when they are statistically more accurate generalities of the group described (i.e., whites *generally* wealthier than blacks). Even people who outwardly show no signs of bias can score high in bias on these tests, and **research has repeatedly revealed no association between implicit bias test scores and openly biased attitudes**. These facts call the validity of implicit bias tests into question.

The second major conclusion is that there is no significant link between implicit bias test scores and actual biased behaviors. No matter whether one is examining games and role-playing exercises between undergraduate college students in psychology labs, or realistic lethal force decision-making scenarios with experienced police officers, **time and again implicit bias test scores fail to predict any actual biased behaviors.**

A third conclusion is that implicit bias, if it exists, is unlikely to be corrected or transformed by any interventions that short-term group training can offer. If such biases exist at the deeply subconscious level, the social or psychological processes that created them must have been significant and accumulated over some length of time. As a result, it seems irrational to believe that simply taking a training course would reverse their influences. If these biases operate at the deeply unconscious level, it would seem unreasonable to believe that simply being aware that these biases exist would be enough to overcome them. **There seems to be no available evidence indicating that implicit biases are corrected or transformed by training.**

The final conclusion that can be reached from this report is the clear evidence that holding explicit, open biases *do* result in biased behaviors. If an individual holds openly racist views against African-Americans, that person is likely to act in ways that discriminate against African-Americans. If a person is openly sexist and hostile towards women, then that person is very likely to act prejudicially against women. **While the research supporting implicit bias and its alleged effects is very weak, there is little doubt about the effects of overt, openly biased attitudes on behavior.**

The public policy implications of these conclusions appear clear. First, it would be counter-intuitive for organizations such as schools, hospitals, law enforcement agencies, courts, and businesses to utilize finite training resources to address a perceived hidden bias problem for which there is little credible evidence. Perhaps the money and time spent on training and testing regarding implicit biases could be put to better use elsewhere. Second, it would seem counterproductive to try to improve race and gender relations by falsely accusing employees of being subconscious racists or chauvinists. These inflammatory assertions are being made without significant proof.

The final clear policy implication is that those who are openly biased toward other groups should be prevented from holding positions of authority. People who are openly racist should never hold life-and-death power over other people, such as in the role of a police officer or judge. People who are openly sexist should never be given the opportunity to decide who gets hired into an organization or promoted within the organization. **The evidence suggests that people who are openly biased in word are openly biased in deed. The evidence also suggests that those who do not hold consciously biased views do not have to worry that they are actually, deep down in their subconscious, bigots.**

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Reducing Fear of Crime and Increasing Citizen Support for Police

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Extensive research has shown that citizen satisfaction with the police is influenced by their perceptions about neighborhood crime and disorder. Numerous studies have found that citizens had lower overall satisfaction and confidence in the police when they had higher levels of fear of crime in their neighborhood and higher perceptions of neighborhood disorder (such as trash, graffiti, abandoned cars, loud music, loitering homeless people, etc.). *Perceptions* of crime, however, do not always match *actual* levels of crime. For example, according to the FBI Uniform Crime Reports, both property and violent crime declined steadily from the 1990s through 2013.[1] National survey data from the Gallup organization, however, reveals that fear of crime among Americans steadily increased during the same period.[2] While *actual* crime has decreased, *perception* of the amount of crime increased.

Another important point to keep in mind is that policing tactics that decrease actual crime may not reduce fear of crime. Extensive research has found that specific policing tactics such as intelligence-led directed patrols, crime prevention by environmental design, nuisance abatement activities, targeting repeat offenders, and other problem-oriented policing strategies are very effective at reducing actual crime, but many of these tactics have no effect on fear of crime or citizen satisfaction with the police.[3] **Actual crime and perceptions of crime are two separate issues that often need different policing tactics. This research brief will address the available evidence on what law enforcement agencies, and their officers, can do to reduce citizen fears about crime and disorder in local neighborhoods, thereby increasing local citizen satisfaction with the police.**

What Reduces Fear of Crime?

Criminal justice researchers Jihong Zhao of Sam Houston State University, Matthew Scheider of the U.S. Department of Justice, and Quint Thurman of the University of the Southwest sought out every published research study of policing tactics in the U.S. that measured whether or not certain police activities reduced citizen fear of crime. They were able to locate 31 such studies published before 2002, many of which examined multiple types of policing activities. They found that almost all of these studies also measured citizen satisfaction with the police before and after implementing

changes in policing activities.[4] From these studies they were able to determine what kinds of policing tactics reduced fear of crime and increased citizen satisfaction with the police.

These studies revealed that most of the problem-oriented policing strategies that have been so effective at reducing actual crime did not reduce fear of crime, and sometimes even increased fear of crime. For example, when an area is flooded with extra patrol cars aggressively making stops and searching for weapons, the increased police presence makes some citizens perceive the area as dangerous when they had not thought so before. **Three policing activities, however, repeatedly showed evidence of reducing fear of crime and increasing citizen satisfaction with the police. These three strategies were police sub-stations, community meetings, and non-enforcement, face-to-face contact between officers and citizens in the neighborhoods of greatest need**.[5]

Dr. Zhao and his colleagues found ten studies that dealt with the implementation of a police substation within a strip mall, housing project, or community center. Some of the substations studied were staffed only by officers, and others by a mixture of officers and civilian personnel. Some substations were operated 24-hours a day, others were only open during the day or evening shift, and a few were manned only a few days and times each week. **In every case, the presence of a substation in the neighborhood reduced fear of crime among neighborhood residents.** In two-thirds of the studies, the presence of a substation increased citizen satisfaction with the police among neighborhood residents as well.[6]

Dr. Zhao and his colleagues examined thirteen studies of community meetings of various sorts. Some were neighborhood watch meetings and some were "town hall" style meetings where citizens came to state their grievances with the police, both of which had an impact on reducing fear of crime and increasing satisfaction with the police. **The greatest impact on fear of crime and citizen satisfaction, however, came from community problem-solving meetings**. This type of meeting involves inviting residents of a specific neighborhood or apartment complex to meet, receive instruction in the S.A.R.A. model of problem-oriented policing, and then work in small groups with officers to identify and develop strategies addressing specific crime problems that were of concern to the residents. **The interactions between the citizens and officers in these problem-solving meetings open the eyes of citizens to the realities and difficulties police officers face, but also reveal to officers unknown or untapped community resources available to assist them.** *All* of the studies of community problem-oriented meetings with citizens found that they reduced fear of crime among the participants and increased their satisfaction with the police.[7]

Dr. Zhao and his colleagues also reviewed ten studies that tested **proactive, non-enforcement citizen contacts**. These contacts were not public relations fluff, but rather real police work activities focused on maintaining order, detecting crime, and making citizens feel safe.[8] For example, in one study the Houston Police Department targeted a couple of high crime blocks and required patrol officers to stop twice during their shift to meet residents at their homes, or business people at their stores or offices. During these brief contacts (usually less than 10 minutes), the officer would introduce him or herself, say the purpose of the visit was simply to get acquainted and learn whether there were any problems in the area the citizen felt the police should know about. The officer then left a business card. For each contact, the officer completed a citizen contact card

listing the citizen's name, address, phone number, and any problems discussed. Neighborhood citizen satisfaction surveys that were conducted before and after officers were ordered to make these contacts revealed that fear of crime fell substantially in the neighborhoods targeted, and citizen satisfaction with the police rose.[9]

All ten studies of proactive interactions with average citizens found decreases in fear of crime and increases in citizen satisfaction with the police.[10] Some of the studies, like the one in Houston, involved officers being given a quota of two interactions per shift, but were also given the discretion to decide where and with whom to conduct these contacts. Other studies involved situations where officers were assigned specific addresses at which they were to conduct their contacts. While attending a Bureau of Justice Administration conference last summer, I learned that the Portland Bureau of Police in Oregon had mated this strategy with its intelligence-led policing efforts. On their department, a computer, through the computer-aided dispatch system, assigns officers to conduct these non-enforcement contacts at specific crime hot spot locations at specific hot crime times. Regardless of the method, the same positive outcomes result.

What do these three strategies – community substations, community problem-solving meetings, and proactive non-enforcement contacts – have in common? **All three tactics increase the quantity and quality of face-to-face non-enforcement interactions between police officers and community members in the areas of greatest need of police services. All three of these tactics create situations in which people living in areas of greatest need get to know officers by name and the officers get to know the many good (but apprehensive or fearful) citizens of the neighborhoods they patrol.** Too much police-citizen interaction involves the 10% of society that causes trouble for the remaining 90% of the people. We need to increase non-hostile interactions with that 90% of the community.

Are there Newer Studies?

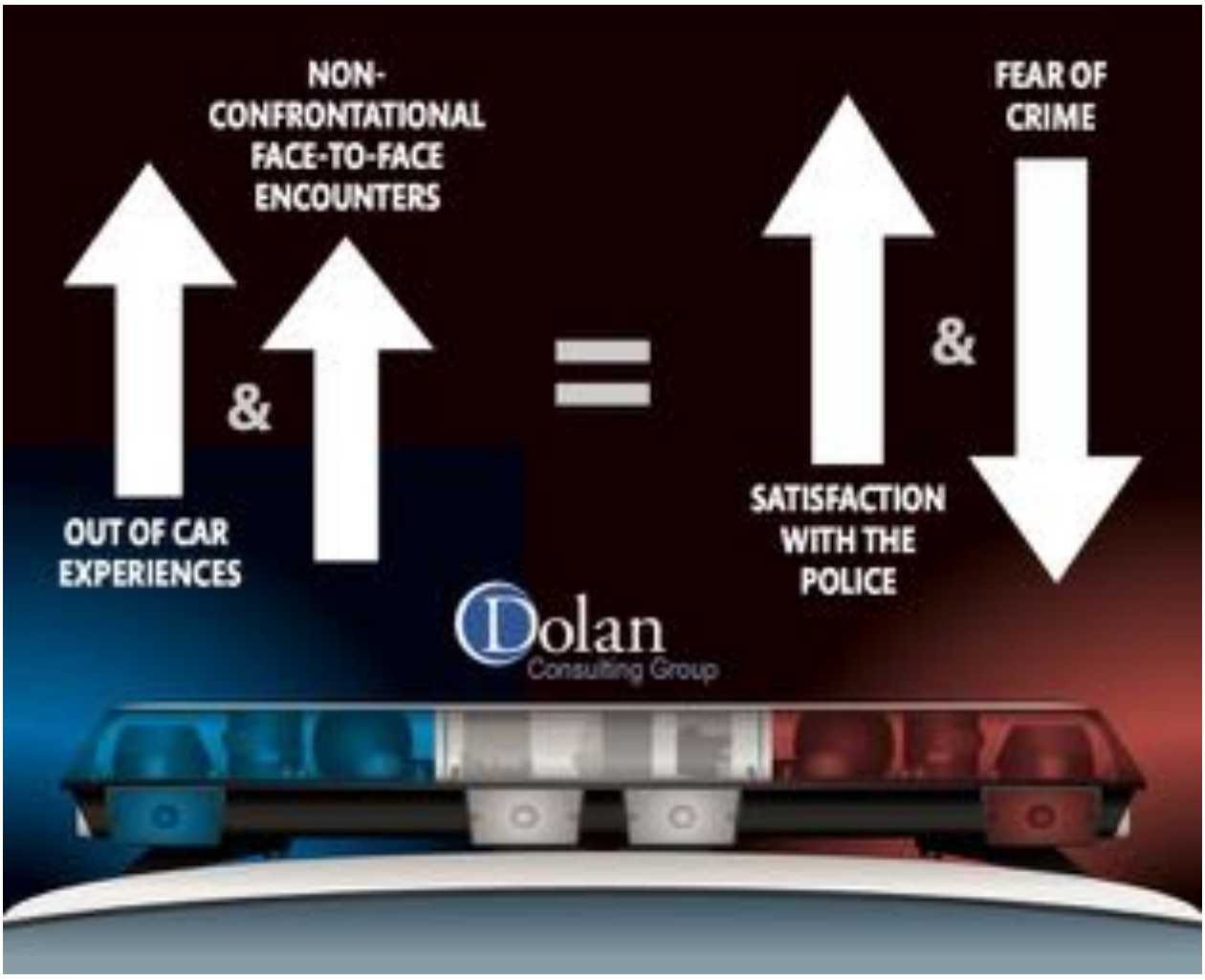
Some might criticize the research Dr. Zhao and his colleagues reviewed as being too old. There are two responses to this argument. First, there is abundant research evidence that human behavior does not change much from century to century, much less from decade to decade. Second, there is more recent research that continues to support the findings of Dr. Zhao and his colleagues.

One study published in 2016 involved showing citizens a photograph of a city street scene and asking them to complete a short survey about how fearful they would be about walking down the street.[11] Of the 352 people in the study, some were shown a version of the street scene with foot-patrol police officers present, others were shown a version with police cars on the street, and others were shown versions with no police presence visible. The people who were shown the version with the foot patrol officers indicated they were least fearful of walking down the street. However, those who were shown the version with the two police cars on the street were the most fearful of walking down the street. In other words, when they saw two officers walking in the area they were less fearful, but when they saw two patrol cars they were more fearful than if there had been no police presence at all.

Think about that from your own personal experience. When you are out of your jurisdiction and out of uniform, do you feel more comfortable approaching a uniformed officer who is standing in

line at a fast food restaurant, or an officer sitting in his patrol car in a vacant parking lot? When on duty, are you more at ease when people approach you when you are inside or outside of your patrol vehicle? Apparently there is something going on psychologically for both the officer and the citizen regarding the patrol vehicle.

In another study, researchers surveyed 977 residents of apartments in one large city. The survey contained questions about a variety of different city services, but included questions about fear of crime, satisfaction with the police. These residents were surveyed about how often they saw police cars, foot patrols, or had informal face-to-face contact with police officers. The residents who reported having had informal face-to-face contact with the police in the last six months had the lowest fear of crime and the highest satisfaction with the police, followed by those who had seen foot patrols. Having seen police cars in the neighborhood had no influence on fear of crime or satisfaction with the police.[12]



A final study from England assigned foot patrol officers or civilian police volunteers to patrol crime hot spot locations at peak times for crimes to occur. Like the officers in Houston described earlier, these officers approached citizens, introduced themselves, and asked if there were any crime or disorder problems needing their attention. These officers averaged only 21 minutes at

each hot spot location but they ended up significantly reducing citizen fear of crime and increasing general public satisfaction with the police. Because they were a police presence targeted at hot spot locations and times, they also reduced reported crimes at these hot spots by 39%, and reduced emergency calls for service by 20%.[13]

Conclusion

Remember that the tactics that reduce *actual* crime have little impact on fear of crime and citizen satisfaction with the police. Citizen *perceptions* of crime and the police are unrelated to *actual* crime rates. One thing that law enforcement agencies can do to improve citizen satisfaction and confidence in the police is to help reduce citizen fear of crime, especially in the neighborhoods of most need. Research has revealed that the most effective tactics law enforcement agencies can implement to reduce citizen fear of crime, and increase citizen satisfaction with the police, involve non-confrontational, face-to-face interaction between officers and average citizens in the neighborhoods of greatest need of police services. Proactive non-enforcement citizen contacts, community problem-solving meetings, and interactions through neighborhood substations are three examples of tactics that lower fear and increase satisfaction with the police.

This is really the type of policing that goes on every day in small town police departments all across the nation. In small towns and villages, the residents usually know their officers by name and vice versa, with several personal friendships existing between the two. Officers hear concerns from residents almost daily and often develop solutions in cooperation with the reporting residents. The police station is usually within walking distance to everyone in town and the door is always open. Some residents even routinely stop by the station just to visit.[14] **Perhaps through increasing non-enforcement, face-to-face official police contacts between officers and average citizens, we can move closer to this ideal in every community.**

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Dolan Consulting Group

RESEARCH BRIEF

Improving Police-Minority Relations: The Out-of-Car Experience

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In the wake of a significant increase in officer deaths from violent attacks and unceasing criticism by media outlets, political figures and other groups in 2016, citizen satisfaction and confidence in the police in America has actually rebounded from a pattern of decline that has been going on since the early 1970s. In 1968, Gallup Poll data showed 78% of Americans had "a great deal" of confidence and satisfaction with their local police. Since that year, confidence and satisfaction in the police has declined, bottoming out at 47% satisfaction in 2015. **In the latter half of 2016, however, citizen satisfaction and confidence in the police rebounded, with 76% of Americans indicating that they had "a great deal" of confidence in the police as of October, 2016**.[1]

A national disconnect continues to exist, however, between the law enforcement profession and members of racial and ethnic minority groups. The recent Gallup poll data continues to reveal that African-Americans and Hispanics express less satisfaction or confidence in the police than do Whites. Nationwide, non-whites are still 20% to 40% less likely than whites to have confidence in the police. In fact, **less than 50% of African-Americans surveyed by Gallup in 2016 had confidence that police officers would treat them fairly**.[2]

Think about that. One out of every two African-Americans has a mistrust of law enforcement. **This is a national problem in law enforcement that needs to be addressed. But how do we address it?**

The most common recommendations from civil rights leaders, politicians, and other policy makers is multicultural training for law enforcement officers. In fact, it was a major recommendation in the *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing*. In this report, under Pillar Five – Training and Education, the Task Force stated that police officer training should include, "implicit bias, fair and impartial policing, historical trauma, and other topics that address capacity to build trust and legitimacy in diverse communities."[3] Many individual states and communities have recently formed commissions that have made similar recommendations.

Is there research evidence that requiring officers to go through multicultural of implicit bias training has any effect on the attitudes and behaviors of officers, or the attitudes and behaviors of citizens? Is there any evidence that these things will "improve understanding and effectiveness in dealing with all communities" as the President's Task Force has claimed?[4] After all, similar recommendations have been made by many commissions on law enforcement over the last half century, yet relations between the law enforcement profession and minority communities, especially the African-American community, still remain strained.

Multicultural Awareness Training

The underlying theory behind multicultural awareness training (also known as cultural diversity training) is that if law enforcement officers have greater knowledge of the experiences, histories, and cultural norms of groups other than white males of European descent, they will become "enlightened," more sensitive to the experiences and cultural norms of others, hold fewer prejudiced opinions, and behave in a less prejudicial manner toward citizens they encounter that are not white males of European descent.[5] These types of training experiences often involve a combination of video clips, lectures, discussions, and field trips that seek to educate officers. More recently, training in "implicit bias" has arisen. This training informs officers about the prevalence of their unconscious biases and their unconscious racist actions.[6]

Unfortunately, even though such training has been going on for decades, the published research provides no evidence that this sort of training has any effect on attitudes or behaviors of the attendees. The majority of the existing research on police multicultural training simply discusses the amount or type of training conducted, or how the training was perceived by the officers.[7] Mostly this training is perceived negatively by law enforcement officers and recruits, even among officers who are members of racial minority groups.[8] Only three studies could be found that examined the effects of this sort of training on officer prejudicial attitudes.

The first study, conducted in 1975 in three police academy classes of the Detroit Police Department, involved diversity training in which white and African-American recruits discussed problems associated with human relationships and responded to role-play scenarios regarding issues of racial diversity.[9] Compared to control groups of academy cadets who did not receive the training, white recruits who completed the training exhibited more prejudiced attitudes toward African-Americans, but African-American recruits developed more positive attitudes toward whites. More recently, a 2013 study was conducted among police academy recruits in Illinois who completed a block of training on multicultural diversity.[10] Attitude surveys of the recruits before and after the training revealed that the training had no influence on the racial attitudes of the recruits. After learning the results of the study, this police academy changed their multicultural diversity training curriculum, but a second study still found that the new training still had no influence on recruit racial attitudes.[11] While the research is limited to only three studies, all three of these studies agree that police multicultural diversity training has no positive influence on officer attitudes.

These findings are also consistent with the research on multicultural training more broadly. One article reviewed 13 studies that evaluated the influence of multicultural education on attitudes among grade school students. Eight of the studies (62%) showed the education had no influence

at all on student racial attitudes, and the remaining five only showed limited results, such as only improving attitudes about Asians or Jewish persons, but not African-American or Hispanics.[12] Even among the studies showing limited results, surveys 6 months after the program showed the students' attitudes had returned to the same levels as before the training. Many more recent studies continue to demonstrate the same results, that multicultural training has no impact on attitudes or behavior.[13] **It is safe to say that there is no evidence that traditional multicultural training has any significant positive influence on attitudes or behavior.**

What Actually Breaks Down Racial Barriers?

Princeton University Psychologist Elizabeth Paluck has recommended that multicultural education and training be dropped as the method for reducing prejudice, and replaced with programs that foster intergroup contact. Her research has revealed that when people of different backgrounds (be it a difference in race, ethnicity, sex, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, etc.) are required to work cooperatively on a project, or engage in leisure activities together, the biased attitudes of all involved decline. Furthermore, the decline remains consistent for long periods after the experience.[14]

Dr. Paluck and her team of researchers at Princeton University have conducted numerous experiments in which research subjects of various races are brought together in small groups and given tasks to work on as a group. These tasks, ranging from party games to sports to complex puzzles, all require the team members to cooperate with one another in order to successfully complete the task. Each of the participants in these experiments also consented to complete surveys on their conscious racial biases before the experiments. After participating in many hours of these tasks, these research subjects were tested again about their conscious racial biases. Time after time, in experiment after experiment, it has been revealed that many months after the experiment, participants still show reduced levels of racial animus against people of other races. They also tend to reveal greater racial diversity among their actual friends and friends on Facebook. Some studies even revealed physiological differences, such a lower heart and respiration rate, when around people of other races after the experiments.

In fact, psychologists Thomas Pettigrew of the University of California, and Linda Tropp of Boston College, examined 515 separate research studies on inter-group contact experiments and found overwhelming support for the argument that these experiences consistently reduce prejudicial attitudes and behaviors, with the effects lasting for months or years.[15] **This evidence clearly reveals that situations that cause people of differing groups – blacks and whites, men and women, gay and straight – to cooperatively work together on a common cause, decreases biased attitudes between members of these groups.** As people spend quality time with members of different groups, they begin to develop empathy toward one another and they are confronted with experiences that contradict some of the false stereotypes they may have been holding.

Out-of-Car Experiences

These research studies have consistently revealed effectiveness in helping reduce biases between members of different groups, so it makes sense that law enforcement officers and minority citizens interacting in partnership to solve a specific problem can reduce bias and animosity on both sides.

Consider, for example, community meetings with African-American residents of a particular apartment complex dealing with a crime problem where the meetings involve breaking into groups consisting of 4-8 citizens and one officer per group, for the purposes of collaboratively developing a response to the crime problem. Based on the research discussed above, it is likely that such an activity requiring officers and citizens to work together will see some preconceived prejudices reduced on both sides. The officers will likely develop a greater understanding of the citizens, and the citizens will develop a greater appreciation for the officers. In fact, research has revealed this type of activity actually does increase citizen satisfaction with the police.

One study, conducted in three neighborhoods in Baltimore, involved officers conducting targeted community problem-solving meetings with neighborhood residents to address crime and disorder. This study surveyed neighborhood residents before these meetings occurred, and then again six months after the meets started occurring. The study revealed that citizen fear of crime had decreased, and citizen satisfaction with the police had increased, after these working meetings began occurring between officers and citizens.[16] Similarly, another study within several neighborhoods of Chicago found that when these types of collaborative community meetings took place, overall citizen satisfaction with the police increased within these neighborhoods.[17]

There is extensive evidence that when officers get out of their patrol cars and intentionally focus on getting to know minority citizens on their beats, these informal interactions can also reduce biases for both the officers and the citizens. A review of 13 studies of foot patrols in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia found in every case that foot patrols reduced fear of crime and increased satisfaction with the police among the residents in the neighborhoods where the foot patrols were deployed.[18]

Likewise, another article reviewed 6 studies where patrol officers were required to engage in intentional, non-enforcement contact with average citizens on their beat. While conducting routine motor patrol, officers were required to stop during their shifts to meet residents at their homes, or business people at their stores or offices. During these contacts the officers were expected to introduce themselves, and say the purpose of the visit was simply to get acquainted or learn whether there were any problems in the area the citizen felt the police should know about. In all 6 studies, these types of contacts increased overall citizen satisfaction with the police among the residents of the neighborhoods targeted.[19] The Princeton University research on breaking down racial and other barriers suggests that when officers are out of their cars, experiencing life with the people of color in their beats on a daily basis, it will help break down cultural barriers between the police and African-American and Hispanic communities.

Conclusion

The research evidence suggests that multicultural awareness or diversity training generally has no lasting impact on people's racial attitudes. The research evidence is clear that biases and stereotypes are reduced in people when they spend quality time cooperating on a project with people of different groups. **There is also substantial evidence that when police officers work closely with citizens on their beat in community problem-solving meetings, and through informal contacts with average citizens on the beat, overall citizen satisfaction with the police increases. Therefore, perhaps the best way to improve police-minority relations is not to send**

officers to multicultural or implicit bias training, but rather to send them out to engage in activities that bring them into close contact with average citizens in neighborhoods populated by members of racial minority groups. The available research evidence indicates that law enforcement resources would be put to better use engaging in intentional activities that bring officers and minority citizens in closer contact for the purposes of getting to know each other and working together to solve neighborhood problems.

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Public Perceptions of Police Profanity

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The use of profanity when dealing with members of the public has been debated in law enforcement circles for years. **Most law enforcement leaders argue the use of profanity with members of the public is unprofessional and should be avoided whenever possible. Other leaders disagree with this. They instead argue that officers often need to use the "language of the street" in order to be understood and viewed as authoritative by some segments of the population**.[1]

Prior research has revealed that the use of profanity generally has negative repercussions in various social settings. Studies of doctors and therapists have revealed that patients view them as less competent if they use profanity.[2] In other studies, job applicants for college faculty positions were less likely to be hired if they used profanity, and faculty members were perceived as less professional if they used profanity in speeches and presentations.[3] Unfortunately**, no research has examined police use of profanity until now.**

How Speech Affects Sense of Authority

Findings from a very important study, conducted by a research team from West Virginia University, have just been released in the *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*. **This study examined the influence of profanity on public perceptions of police use of force. In this study, in-car cameras were used to video record a use of force scenario**. The participants in these scenarios were defensive tactics instructors with the Pennsylvania State Police. In the scenario, one instructor portrayed a criminal suspect who refused to exit a car on a traffic stop. Another instructor, dressed in uniform, played the role of the officer. In the scenario, the officer made repeated commands for the suspect to exit the vehicle while the suspect refuses to exit the car. The officer then lawfully employs an armbar technique to remove the suspect from the car and take him into custody.[4]

In one version of the scenario, the officer uses one word of profanity only once during the interaction. In another version, the officer does not use any profanity. One set of scenarios were recorded with a male officer, and another set of videos were recorded with a female in the officer

role. A nationwide sample of 522 people were each recruited to view one version of the video and indicate if they thought the officer's use of force was appropriate. Each participant also completed a survey that gathered demographic data (age, sex, race, etc.) and measured the person's level of trust in the police.[5]

The findings revealed the **participants were more likely to believe that the officer's use of force was excessive in the scenario where the officer used profanity. Both individuals who reported high trust of the police *and* individuals who were skeptical of the police were more likely to believe the use of force was excessive if the officer swore during the interaction**. The same was true, no matter if the participants saw the version with the male or the female officer. The ***participants' race, sex, or age also had no influence on their responses***. In all situations, the participants were more likely to perceive the version involving profanity as excessive, and less likely to perceive the "clean" version as not excessive.[6]

It is important to note that the use of force portrayed in all versions of the scenario was lawful and legitimate under the circumstances. In all versions, the word "fuck" was said once and did not involve any derogatory insults or threats toward the citizen. Nevertheless, this simple utterance of frustration was enough to sway the opinions of members of the public who viewed the interaction, causing them to be more likely to perceive that the officer's actions were illegitimate.

This is important information for any law enforcement officer who interacts with the public. It also reinforces what we teach in our *Surviving Verbal Conflict®* and *Winning Back Your Community* courses about the fallacy of the "language of the street." This study provides important evidence that officer use of profanity, even when not directed at a citizen, causes the officer's actions to appear illegitimate in the eyes of the public. **Furthermore, there are countless examples of controversial and even career-ending encounters caught on tape that turn not solely on an officer's actions but an officer's words—leading up to, during, and following an encounter**.

Conclusion

While we recognize that this job—and the words and actions of those you encounter on-duty—can be very frustrating at times. Expressing profanity within earshot of the public, however, will only continue to hurt our profession. This new study supports the idea that reasonable members of the community accept the fact that officers must utilize force and engage in other enforcement actions that are not necessarily pleasant. What they have a more difficult time accepting is the notion that law enforcement officers fail to exhibit a professional demeanor consistent with their position.

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Biased-Based Policing Reports Are Failing the Police and the Community

Why Agencies Need to Stop Using Census Data

Richard R. Johnson, Ph.D.

September, 2016

Recent public opinion surveys have revealed that the vast majority of Americans believe that use of racial profiling by the police is widespread.[1] This is deeply disturbing for two reasons. First, it is disturbing because it undermines police legitimacy among the vast majority of our citizens. Second, it is disturbing because the vast majority of law enforcement officers I have known do not engage in bias-based policing. While racial profiling likely occurs among a small number of individual officers acting outside the bounds of their oath to uphold the Constitution, it is unlikely that racial profiling is systemic to law enforcement in the United States.

This begs the question, then, why do so many people perceive that racial profiling is widespread? We could blame individual members of the news media that seek to raise their ratings by stoking the flames of controversy, or certain protest organizations that seek to capitalize on distrust of the police. To be sure, these sources have contributed to the problem. **Another factor that has also contributed to the problem, however, is the fundamentally flawed information that many law enforcement agencies have given the public through their biased-based policing data that was gathered and reported incorrectly.**

Many law enforcement agencies gather data on the race and gender of the individuals their officers stop, search, and arrest. They report these data to the public in a biased-based policing report. Agencies produce these reports for a variety of reasons, such as statutory requirements, as part of their compliance with CALEA Standard 1.2.9.d, or simply out of a sincere desire to embrace transparency. While most law enforcement agencies, and individual officers, claim they do not racially profile, the vast majority of these reports show members of minority groups, especially African-American men, are disproportionately stopped, searched, and arrested. Why? One factor at work is the use of incorrect research methodologies and measures that are biased (often unintentionally) against officers from the start. One of the most damaging of these incorrect methodologies is the use of U.S. Census data as a benchmark comparison.

Benchmarks

In order for any racial profiling data collection activity to be meaningful, the racial composition of police stops, searches, and arrests need to be compared to something. A benchmark is generally defined as a point of reference from which measurements may be made; something that serves as a standard by which others may be measured or judged; or a standardized problem or test that serves as a basis for evaluation or comparison. In the context of biased-based policing evaluations, a benchmark is the percentage of a racial or gender group that one would expect to be encountered if officers were not biased.

For example, imagine that 20% of the people speeding down a particular stretch of roadway were male and Hispanic. This makes 20% our benchmark for speeding stops of male Hispanics. We would expect that unbiased stops by police for speeding in this area would show that only about 20% of those stopped for speeding were male Hispanic drivers. However, where do we get these benchmarks? Unfortunately, most of the benchmarks used are fatally flawed. These flawed benchmarks consistently suggest officer bias, regardless of what officers are actually doing. The most common flawed benchmark is U.S. Census data.

Census Data

The U.S. Census Bureau collects data on the social and demographic characteristics of the individuals who live within the U.S. This data is freely and easily accessible from the U.S. Census Bureau website and can be analyzed within different geographic regions, down to the zip code and census block levels. Many have used Census data as their benchmark for police activity because of its ease of access. The problem, however, is that **the demographic characteristics of the people living at any one location have nothing to do with the driving population there, nor who is breaking the law in any specific area.** We use our vehicles to travel to places away from our homes, as people generally do not work, shop, or recreate in their homes. Two studies illustrate this well.

The first study, conducted by sociologists Albert Meehan and Michael Ponder at Oakland University, examined the racial composition of drivers across one suburb in the Detroit area. According to the U.S. Census, the suburb they studied had a population that was 3% African-American, but the city also contained a popular shopping district and a major auto factory. The researchers placed pairs of observers at major intersections across the three police beats in the city, and the observers recorded the races of 3,840 drivers who stopped at these intersections. Despite the city Census population of 3% African-American, in the police beat that bordered the city of Detroit, 49% of the drivers were African-American. The other two beats revealed 11% and 3% of the drivers were African-American.[2]

Think about that. What if the officers working these different beats stopped African-American drivers as the exact rates that African-Americans drove in these beats? Any study of this particular suburb using 3% African-American as its benchmark would falsely claim that officers working in two of the beats were racially profiling. When the stops from all three beats are combined as

department-wide data, the whole department would incorrectly appear to be racially profiling because more than 3% of their stops were of African-American drivers, despite the fact African-Americans actually made up far more than 3% of the drivers on the road.

Another example was a study, of which I was a part, that was conducted by a research team headed by criminologist Robin Engel at the University of Cincinnati. This study examined 315,705 traffic stops conducted by troopers of the Pennsylvania State Police. These stops occurred on interstate highways, U.S. highways, state routes, county roads, and village and city streets. An examination of these stops revealed that 96% of drivers stopped by the police were stopped outside of their home zip codes. Furthermore, 66% were stopped outside of their home county, and 27% were stopped outside of their home state. This study went on to conduct observations of the races of 66,741 drivers along various roadways in 27 counties of Pennsylvania. When compared to the Census statistics for each township where these observations were made, the Census statistics on race **never** matched the racial composition of the drivers that were observed.[3] Census data is no reflection of who is driving in a given area.

Not only are Census statistics inaccurate measures of who is driving in any given area, Census data also fail to identify the racial and ethnic composition of who should actually be stopped by the police. Just because 49% of the drivers in a police beat are African-American, that does not mean 49% of the people stopped by officers should be African-American. If African-Americans were stopped just because they are driving in an area, without having done anything wrong, this would amount to stops for "driving while black." Instead we need a measure of the racial composition of the drivers who are driving poorly by breaking traffic laws and driving unsafe vehicles (equipment violations). It is traffic law violators who should be at risk of traffic stops if no bias is present. The Census data in no way measures driving behavior.

Alternative Benchmark

So what should be used as a proper benchmark for these types of reports and studies? Hiring a group of researchers to go out and record the races and traffic violations of drivers across your jurisdiction is usually too time-consuming and expensive for most law enforcement agencies. A simple solution, however, is to collect race and ethnicity data on all traffic crashes in your jurisdiction and use this data as your driver benchmark. While no state currently collects race data on its state vehicle crash form, if your agency starts collecting race data in-house, your agency will eventually have a benchmark of bad drivers across the various beats of your jurisdiction.

Using traffic crash data as a traffic stop benchmark has a number of advantages. First, it identifies the drivers most likely to be stopped because crashes result from moving or equipment violations of the law. While there are some people who are blameless for their crash (such as the person waiting at a red light who is hit from behind), all crashes had at least one driver or equipment error at fault, and many had multiple drivers at fault. Second, officers investigating traffic accidents can verify the race and ethnicity of the driver when they complete their report, as opposed to a researcher trying to determine a driver's race in a passing car. Third, as traffic crashes occur almost everywhere (even off of public roadways in parking lots and driveways) they are good samples of the bad driver or poorly maintained vehicle population throughout a district or beat. Research observers tend to focus just on certain thoroughfares. Finally, crash data come from the citizenry

who report crashes to the police, so no suggestion can be made that there was bias by the police in gathering this data.[4]

If you agency is currently using Census data as your benchmark, it is imperative that you stop immediately and find a valid benchmark like the alternative discussed here. Using Census data is rigged against your officers as it almost always suggests disproportionate stops of minority group members, even when no officer bias occurred. If some outside individual or organization proposes to analyze your officers' stops using Census data as their benchmark, oppose it vehemently, using the studies cited here to support your argument. If your state collects statewide data, as does Illinois, Missouri, and Texas, lobby your state lawmakers to stop using Census data as the benchmark comparison and begin to collect valid benchmark comparison data by modifying the state vehicle crash form to include race and ethnicity information.

Conclusion

The overwhelming majority of racial profiling studies done by academics, and biased-based policing self-examinations by police departments, have produced results that people of color, especially African-Americans, are disproportionately stopped by the police.[5] It is likely, however, that the majority of these findings are in error as most relied on methodological errors that were guaranteed to show bias even when there was none. Using Census statistics as a benchmark, that in no way resemble the driving population or the traffic violator population, is just one of these many methodological errors.

The Dolan Consulting Group LLC now offers a training workshop that addresses these many errors, and offers suggestions on how to correct them. *Biased-Based Policing Reports: Best Practices* is a one-day course that teaches personnel from law enforcement agencies how these studies should be conducted and their reports written. It explains how to collect, analyze, and present your information in a manner that creates the least chance of misinterpretation or manipulation by the media, and presents the work of your agency in a fair manner. The information offered in this workshop is crucial to the creation of a data collection effort and report that is truly unbiased against the hard-working and principled officers who are policing their communities in a fair and impartial manner.

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"Why?" Is Not Always a Form of Disrespect

Chief Harry P. Dolan (ret.)

October 2017

"Why?" This is a one-word question that requests clarification, reasoning, or purpose of some thing or some request. Asking 'why' is a universally human concept. **Aristotle pointed this out over 2,300 years ago when he said, "All human beings, by nature, desire to know."[1] It is also a truly American word. In the United States, the greatest country in the history of the planet, we have taken the question why to the next level.**

During the American Revolution, General George Washington realized he needed help creating a professional army out of his rabble of untrained, undisciplined farmers and tradesmen. Benjamin Franklin contacted and recruited Baron Friedrich von Steuben from Europe to help. Baron von Steuben, who had joined the Prussian army at the age of 17, was a combat veteran with 30 years of military service in numerous wars across Europe. He had trained and led soldiers in many military campaigns against Russia, Poland, and France.[2] If anyone knew how to train and lead soldiers, it was him. But then he met the Americans.

Baron von Steuben arrived at Valley Forge to begin training these new American recruits and quickly learned that the training techniques he used in Europe were ineffective here. When he gave orders, he immediately received pushback from the American soldiers who questioned everything he did. He was used to European soldiers who rarely questioned orders.[3] Frustrated, von Steuben wrote in his personal diary the following entry.

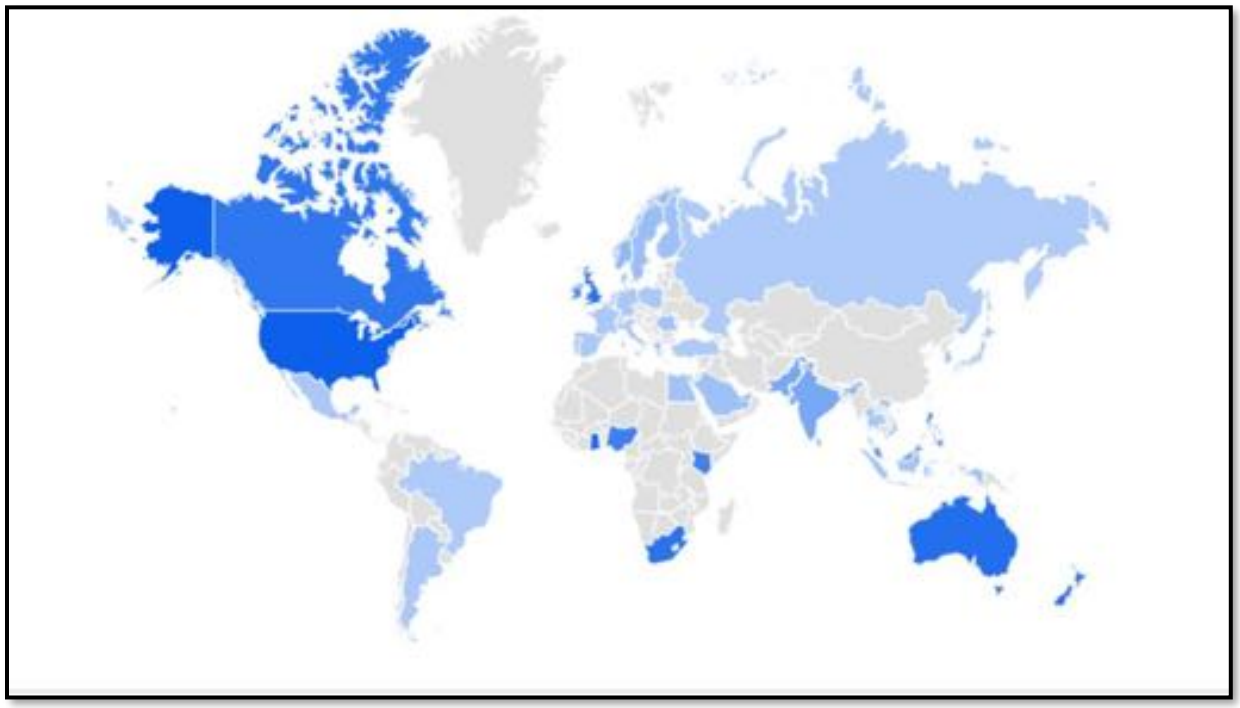
> *In Europe, you say to your soldier, "Do this" and he does it. But I am obliged to say to the American, "This is why you ought to do this," and only then does he do it.*[4]

If he had been paying attention to recent world events, Baron von Steuben would not have been so surprised. These were the same people who asked, "Why do we have to pay a tax on tea we didn't ask for?" and then dumped the tea into Boston Harbor. These were the same people who asked, "Why are we considered British citizens, pay taxes to Britain, but lack the right to elect leaders to

Parliament?" These were the same people who asked, "Why do we have to obey a king we have never met, who lives in a land we have never seen?" **It was all of these "why" questions that brought about the creation of the United States of America. The practice of questioning authority is in our national DNA.**

Want More Proof?

Are you still unconvinced? Look at the graphic below. This is a map of *Google Analytics* data showing the prevalence of people Googling the word 'why.' The shade of each country indicates how often people in that country have Googled the word 'why.' The darker the shade indicates the more people who have Googled the word 'why' in some context. Nobody tops the United States when it comes to asking, "Why?"



Source: *Google Analytics*

Think of your kids. How often do they ask why when you tell them to do something? Sometimes you might reply with, "Because I said so." You might even say, "Because I'm your parent." How well did that work for you? Did that type of response diffuse the situation and did your teenager respond with, "Oh, how stupid of me. I must have forgotten you were my parent." Of course it didn't work like that. Responses that don't try to explain why do not work.

Think about your work life. Have you ever come to a roll call shift briefing and been given a brief memo or email from the command staff creating a major change in operational policy with no explanation for the change? Isn't that frustrating? Didn't it make you ask your sergeant or lieutenant, "Why the change? What is this all about?" Of course it did, because you're an American.

It should be no surprise, therefore, that people you encounter on the street do the same. American people will often respond to requests you make as a law enforcement officer with the very American response of, "Why?" This is usually because they truly want to know the reasoning behind your request to see if your authority appears legitimate. It is also because it is in their DNA as Americans. Remember, we are the descendants of the people who went to war when they felt the authorities over them were acting without legitimacy. So why don't we just quickly tell them?

How to Explain Why

In our *Surviving Verbal Conflict*© courses, we train public safety professionals to start off citizen interactions with a quick explanation of why the encounter is taking place. We train officers that, if safety permits, they should begin encounters with a 'Meet & Greet' – a quick introduction and explanation for the encounter. Here is an example. "Good evening sir, I'm Officer Dolan with the police department. The reason I'm here is that we received some calls about screaming coming from this apartment. Can I talk to you about that?" If you opened your door to a knock at 10:00 p.m. and found a police officer (or two) standing there, wouldn't you want to know why they were there? Even if you had previously been arguing with your partner, and suspected that was the reason for the police presence, you would probably still want to confirm that this was why they had come. **So why not just take care of the inevitable question right off of the bat?**

What if you were driving along in your personal vehicle and a patrol car pulled you over? My guess is that your first thoughts would be, "Why am I getting pulled over?" I would argue that the typical citizen is no different. Even if the driver suspects the reason for the stop, you know full well that he or she is going to ask anyhow. It's the American thing to do, so of course they will likely be unhappy if you begin the encounter with a "license and registration" demand. Worse yet is the guessing game. If an officer stopped me and asked, "Do you know why I stopped you?" my first New Yorker gut instinct would be to want to reply in a sarcastic tone, "Oh, so you think I'm clairvoyant? No, (*expletive*), I don't know why you stopped me. Why don't you just tell me?"

Some people with cynical views of the police may think they already know why they are being stopped, such as believing it is because of their race. Asking the "Know why I stopped you?" question opens up an opportunity for these individuals to accuse you of racial profiling with their response. This is often negated if you simply explain from the start the legitimate reason for the stop. "Good afternoon sir, I'm Officer Dolan with the city police department. I stopped you because your rear license plate is missing."

Conclusion

Keeping in mind that asking "Why?" is an American thing to do, we should take all reasonable steps to give a quick answer to demonstrate the legitimacy behind our requests and actions. Preemptively explain why when making requests, such as "Sir, for your safety and mine, would you please stay in the car" or "Folks, could everyone please back up so we can get the ambulance in here when it arrives?" **When people do ask, don't take it as an insult or a**

challenge to your authority. Simply respond with a quick explanation that supports your legitimacy and lets you continue doing your job.

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Don't Lose the Agreeable People!

Chief Harry P. Dolan (ret.)

July 2017

Psychological research has suggested that about 80% of the U.S. population is made up of agreeable people.[1] Agreeable people are generally honest, seek to get along with others, are open to suggestions, and are compliant to most rules and authority. They can be young or old, rich or poor, male or female, and of any race or ethnicity. These are the people who pay their taxes, show up to work on time, care for their families, and drive within 5 miles-per-hour of the speed limit on most occasions. These are the "sheep" in society that Lieutenant Colonel Dave Grossman discusses in the sheep-sheepdog-wolf analogy in his books and speeches.[2]

So if they are so agreeable and compliant, why do we need to discuss how to deal with them? The reason is that these people are only agreeable until they are personally offended or they question the legitimacy of your authority.

Too often today, some individuals in public safety are turning these folks against us. The agreeable people have always made up the foundation of the public support for law enforcement. These are the folks that vote in support of police, fire district, or EMS tax levy increases. But too often our appearance, words, and actions are turning these folks off and causing them to question our legitimacy. That is a very scary prospect for the survival of democracy. For democracies to survive, the government must maintain the support of a significant majority of the population. **By mishandling the agreeable people, we are chipping away at the support for and the legitimacy of the police**.

Ethical Appeal

Ancient Greek Philosopher Aristotle laid the foundational principles for persuasion that are supported by science today. The art of persuasion deals with getting someone to do something through reasoning or discussion. Aristotle suggested there are three forms of persuasion: ethical appeals (ethos), logical appeals (logos), and emotional appeals (pathos).[3] **When dealing with agreeable people, the ethical appeal is usually all that is needed—if we will take the time to utilize it.**

Ethical appeal refers to the establishment of your authority, credibility, and legitimacy. In other words, do your appearance, speech, and actions convey professionalism and

legitimacy? If they do, then the agreeable people will usually comply without the need for much more prompting. If you don't convey professionalism and legitimacy, then the agreeable people will be less likely to willingly comply, or they will begrudgingly comply, file a citizen complaint later, and begin to question the legitimacy of all police.

An easy illustration is that agreeable people willingly pull over for a marked patrol car when its emergency lights are activated, because it is the right and legitimate thing to do. They don't try to run away or resentfully pull over only because they do not want to go to jail. Agreeable people think "What did I do?" rather than "What does this cop want?" It is the legitimacy of the marked patrol car and the role of the police in society that create the ethical appeal for agreeable people. However, if an atypical car, such as a gold Honda Accord, without a government plate or any markings, attempts to pull them over using a blue light, the agreeable person will be hesitant to stop and may drive to a police station or well-lit populated public area before stopping. Why? The car's appearance does not convey the authority or legitimacy of the police. This is what I am talking about with the ethical appeal.

Do You Look Professional and Legitimate?

Take a look at yourself at work. What do you look like? Are you dressed in a proper police uniform, the way American police officers have dressed for almost a century? Or, do you look like a big walking army backpack? Are you dressed like you just got the call from home, wearing a raid vest over jeans and a t-shirt? Your appearance is important in setting the stage for your authority and legitimacy. Agreeable people shouldn't have to expend mental energy trying to figure out if you really are a police officer and if you really have the legitimacy to expect their compliance. You should be dressed in a manner than conveys the professionalism and authority of your position whenever possible.

Think back to when you were first entering your career. How did you dress for your job interview and your oral review board? Did you wear military fatigues or a t-shirt and jeans? I'm betting that you wore professional business attire in conservative colors and tailoring. Why? Because you wanted to make a good impression. Well, what has changed? Don't we want to make a good impression on the public, especially if we want to gain their compliance and respect with the least amount of hassle? Part of the ethical appeal means looking professional.

If you still doubt the power of the uniform to gain compliance from agreeable people, consider the results of two research studies that proved it. In the first study, hidden researchers observed drivers blowing through a stop sign or making rolling stops at an intersection with a pedestrian college student waiting to cross. They then replaced the college student with an actor dressed as a police officer (minus the gun) standing on the corner. Numerous drivers blew or rolled through the stop sign when the student was standing on the curb. When the uniformed police officer was present, however, every single driver came to a full and complete stop, even though the officer was on foot and didn't have a car to pursue them.[4]

The second experiment involved using an actor to walk up to pedestrians on a busy city street and order them to pick up a piece of trash and put it in a nearby trash receptacle. The actor completed the experiment several times dressed differently each time, while researchers watched from a

hidden location and recorded people's reactions to the actor's command. The actor alternately wore casual street clothes, a package delivery uniform, and a standard police uniform (minus the gun). Far less than half of people obeyed the actor's command to pick up the trash when he was dressed in street clothes, but more than three-quarters of the people complied with the command when the actor was dressed in the police uniform.[5] Since it wasn't even their trash, these surely were agreeable people!

Do You Sound Legitimate?

You also establish your ethical appeal – your professional legitimacy – through your speech. Remember that agreeable people can be found everywhere, even in the most crime-ridden, graffiti covered neighborhood or housing project. They just happen to be poor and can't afford to live in a better neighborhood, or their family settled there before the neighborhood declined into its present condition. They don't deserve or appreciate being called bro, cuz, homeboy, or any other absurd term that sometimes comes out of the mouth of a police officer (who was often times raised in the suburbs) when trying to assert their legitimacy through "street language". **You lose your ethos when you use profanity or other unprofessional "street language," causing the otherwise agreeable person to begin to question your legitimacy, and possibly the legitimacy of all law enforcement officers.**

Once as chief, I had a conversation about police legitimacy with a group of African-American ministers. They conveyed that legitimacy, in their eyes, meant that they had the same chance as a white person of talking a police officer out of a ticket. I believe this speaks to a basic desire to be approached, addressed and spoken to in a similar manner regardless of race. Couldn't we reasonable extend this to similar treatment regardless of perceived income and education level?

Handling the Agreeable Person

So handle the agreeable person well, and keep them on the side of law and order, by starting off the interaction by looking sharp and watching your nonverbal cues. Make eye contact occasionally and smile. Begin the interaction with a "meet & greet." Briefly introduce yourself and explain your reason for being there. "Hello, I'm Harry Dolan with the Raleigh Police Department. Look, the reason I'm here is we got a call about someone crying in this apartment. Can I come in for a minute to talk with you about that?" Or, on a traffic stop, you could say, "Good evening sir, I'm Harry Dolan with the Raleigh Police Department. The reason I stopped you this evening is I'm concerned about your unsafe speed. Is everything okay? Is there an emergency?"

When they give an excuse, empathize with it to keep their support, even if you disagree with their logic. If the woman in the apartment responds, "That was me, but everything is okay, really." You can respond back with, "I hear that ma'am, however could I come in for just a minute to talk to you about it to convince myself everything is okay." If the speeder says, "I'm sorry officer, I am late for work," you could respond with, "Oh I've been there before, I know the feeling. Look, where do you normally keep your license and vehicle registration? I'll try to hurry this along for

you so we can get you back on your way." Often, for the agreeable person, this is all you need to say to gain their compliance.

When deciding on the appropriate enforcement action, use your discretion and be fair in order to keep these folks on our side. For example, if the car you stopped has bald tires, but the driver was polite, is wearing his seatbelt, and his kids are in child car seats, maybe the best course of action is to give him a warning this time. Say something like, "Look, sir, I'm really concerned about the safety of your kids with driving on such bald tires. When do you get paid next? I'll cut you a break here and give you a warning if you'll promise me you'll get some new tires after you get paid. I patrol this area a lot, so if I see you later and you don't have better tires in a couple of weeks I'll have no choice but to give you a citation. But I think your money would be better spent on a better set of tires than on a ticket." This type of language and reasoning is professional and boosts your legitimacy with the agreeable person.

Conclusion

We cover all of this in our Surviving Verbal Conflict® course that we at Dolan Consulting Group offer. Remember that the majority of the folks out there are agreeable persons. We need their support to maintain our public legitimacy and a democracy. We need their cooperation when it comes to tips for helping solve crimes. We need them to be willing to step up and testify on our behalf when we are wrongly accused. We need them to come to our defense at the local coffee shop, barbershop, factory break room, or family picnic when the conversation starts bashing the police. We need their support when asking for tax increases to fund raises, new stations, or more officers. Luckily, their support is easy to get as long as we use our ethical appeal. Look sharp, speak respectfully and professionally, and treat them fairly in your use of discretion.

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Chief's Wisdom: Don't Get "Rope-A-Doped"!

Chief Harry P. Dolan (Ret.)

July, 2016

Boxing champion Muhammad Ali recently passed away and as I was growing up I admired him as a boxer. Besides being a talented athlete, Ali was a master at using psychology against his opponents. One of his most successful psychological tricks was what he called the "rope-a-dope." The rope-a-dope technique was primarily focused on getting his opponent to "lose his cool."

Ali would allow his opponent to get in close and pummel him for a while. Ali would use his arms to protect his face and torso, and lean back against the ropes, using the elasticity in the ropes to help absorb the impacts of his opponent's blows. While his opponent would swing at him, Ali would *verbally taunt* his opponent as he ducked, weaved, and absorbed some blows. The verbal taunts and insults would enrage his opponent—who would swing harder and faster, over and over again. Before long his opponent would become exhausted from the exertion of all of the swings, and would no longer be thinking clearly because of his anger over the verbal insults. It was at this point that Ali would strike, coming off the ropes full of energy and with a clear mind to fight his opponent. This strategy won him many fights. He called it the rope-a-dope because he was able to *rope* in his opponent and get him to act like a *dope*. Ali's goal, as he would later describe, was not to put fear in his opponent but to fill them with anger.

Far too often today, I believe, police officers are being rope-a-doped by manipulative people out on the street. YouTube© is filled with videos of officers who have fallen prey to the rope-a-dope by a citizen who has taunted the officer into acting like a dope. Individuals and organized groups with anti-police agendas are actively trying to entice officers to act inappropriately so that they can catch the officer's reaction on video and become the next viral video sensation. We need to keep our guard up against the rope-a-dope.

How Do You Know When You Have Been Rope-A-Doped?

There are several clear warning signs that you have been successfully rope-a-doped and are about to say or do something that will have a negative impact on your career. One is the "resume recital" which sounds something like, "Do you know how long I have been a police officer? I don't have to take this crap. I was a cop since before you were born!"

Another warning sign is the Robert De Niro impression from the movie *Taxi Driver*. You know what this sounds like – "You talkin' to me? ARE YOU TALKIN' TO ME? I know you aren't talkin' to ME like that."

A third warning sign, as described by Sgt. Danny Nieters of the Raleigh Police Department, is the *insult see-saw*. For example, the citizen taunts you with an insult and you reply back with the same insult. This sound like, "F*** me? No, f*** you!"

A fourth warning sign is when you start to say things like, "You know, I don't get paid to take this s***" or "I don't have time for this s***." Sorry folks, but those of us who voluntarily signed up to work in public safety signed up to take "this s***." As for having enough time for "this shit," unless it is an emergency situation, you *do* have time for "this s***."

A fifth warning sign that you are off your game and have been successfully rope-a-doped by a manipulative person is when you disregard your officer safety tactics by puffing up your chest and moving in close, nose-to-nose with them, often with your hand raised and finger pointed at the person. You know better. You know that the safest position is the stance 45 degrees bladed away from the citizen, with your firearm side away from the citizen, and beyond easy punching or kicking range. If you give up this position of safety and move in close, you are off your game.

Finally, the ultimate warning sign that you have been rope-a-doped is when you threaten the person with arrest when the person has cleverly avoided doing anything that would give you probable cause to support an arrest. "Do you wanna go to jail?!" This angry rhetorical question looks ridiculous when the person responds with the question that cannot be intelligently answered in such a situation: "Go to jail for what?" Some painfully unwise responses to this last question have been uttered by officers in viral videos.

How Should You Handle the Rope-A-Dope?

The first step in preparing to handle the rope-a-dope is to be aware that the tactic exists, to watch for it, and identify it for what it is. Just as you watch the driver's hands on a traffic stop, scanning for a weapon or any furtive movements indicating an attack, you need to listen to the citizen's words and scan for signs of a rope-a-dope**. Consider a rope-a-dope to be an attack on your career because *it is*. If you fall prey to it, you could easily do or say something that could ruin your career and deny you that pay, benefits package, and pension you have worked so hard to earn.**

When you spot the rope-a-dope, you should be able to say to yourself, "Aha, the rope-a-dope. Well this guy isn't going to get me. I'm not bringing this miserable human being home for dinner with me." You may ask what I mean by, "bringing him home for dinner?" This means you talk about this person at the dinner table with your family staying things like, "I don't care if he complains" or "He was a jerk." We know, however, that you do care about the complaint. Down deep you know he or she performed a solid rope-a-dope on you and you agonize inside, or with your significant other, about what might happen to your career because of what you said. So watch for, and spot, the rope-a-dope.

The next step is to use verbal deflectors to get past the verbal abuse. **A verbal deflector briefly acknowledges the insult, but then immediately follows with a conjunction that redirects the conversation back to the point at hand.** For example, a citizen might say, "This is profiling and you're a racist." Your response could be, "I hear what you're saying, you think I'm a racist, however here is my reason for stopping you today." A complainant at a call may yell, "What took you so long? I called a half an hour ago! Where were you, at a donut shop?" Your response could be, "I hear what you're saying. You're angry we weren't here quicker, but we're here now. What can we do to help you now?" Other common deflector statements include, "I appreciate that," "nothing wrong with that," "I understand that," and "I might feel the same way if I was in your situation." These deflectors have been used for decades by experienced officers on the street, and their effectiveness has been studied and advocated by authors like Dr. George Thompson, creator of *Verbal Judo*©. Always remember that the deflector is followed by "however" and a redirection back to the business at hand. "I hear you and I see you're upset, HOWEVER, I need to see where the burglar entered the home".

Another step to handling the rope-a-dope is when you realize that you have just been successfully sucked in and fallen for the ploy. When you catch yourself having been successfully rope-a-doped, call a time out. Some damage to your career may have already been done, but the situation still might be salvageable if you reverse course now. If you continue down the rope-a-dope path, it will only get worse for you. To call a time out, use the nonverbal "time-out" signal used in basketball and say, "Whoa, that didn't come out right. Can I start over? We got off to a bad start there, so let's start over."

Finally, let's watch out for one another on the street. Law enforcement officers across the country won't hesitate to risk their lives to ensure one another's physical safety, but we also need to be doing the same to protect one another's *career safety*. You might start to see the warning signs that a colleague is about to make a career-altering statement or action, so step in to save that officer. You can step up and take over the interaction while allowing your fellow officer to take a break from dealing with the manipulative citizen.

Conclusion

Too many officers are allowing themselves to be rope-a-doped by manipulative citizens and becoming YouTube© sensations that make all of us look bad. These officers, most of whom are excellent officers 99% of the time, were trapped into a rope-a-dope situation where they lost their tempers, embarrassed our entire profession, and did serious damage to their own careers. This doesn't have to keep happening. Yes, there are manipulative people out there intentionally trying to push our buttons by insulting us and taunting us. But just as we must not let them win in a physical confrontation, we cannot let them achieve their goals of ruining our careers with mere words. Exercise the skills we teach in our *Surviving Verbal Conflict*® courses. Watch for the rope-a-dope and identify it when it comes. Defend against it with verbal deflectors and practice these verbal deflectors with your fellow officers when you have down time so you can hone your verbal skills. If you find yourself being rope-a-doped, call a time out and start over. Finally, watch your colleagues' backs. Save them if you see them falling for the rope-a-dope.

Don't get rope-a-doped!

Verbal De-escalation Techniques: How They Actually Work

Chief Harry P. Dolan (ret.)

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Our verbal de-escalation courses help public safety professionals deal with difficult and argumentative verbal interactions with citizens without risking their careers.

At the heart of this is the *Rhetorical Continuum*—in other words, just like there are ranges of force, there are also various levels of rhetoric that you can use to overcome citizen resistance. **Like the use of force continuum, the *Rhetorical Continuum* provides public safety personnel with a range of response techniques that are applied to the situation in proportion to the citizen's level of verbal resistance.**

It is crucial that we understand how this works, because we must operate under an unprecedented amount of transparency today. Every conversation you have with a citizen can be recorded and posted online. With that in mind, it's crucial for you to understand how verbal de-escalation techniques can be applied in the situations you respond to every day.

In this article, we'll look at the various forms of persuasion along the *Rhetorical Continuum* and what it looks like to use them in common situations faced by public safety professionals. The examples in this article are things that every public safety professional of any rank can use when talking to the public or responding to a potentially dangerous call.

Types of Persuasion

The principles underlying the *Rhetorical Continuum* come from Aristotle's principles of rhetoric.[1] Rhetoric is another term for persuasion with words, the art of changing someone's mind through reasoning, and Aristotle revealed three methods of persuasion—ethos, logos, and pathos. **Today these can be understood as the ethical appeal, the logical appeal and the emotional appeal**.

Ethos, or one's ethical appeal, refers to people being persuaded to comply because it is perceived as the ethical or moral thing to do. The ethical appeal only works when people accept that you, and your requests, are legitimate. **If people perceive that you lack legitimacy because of your appearance, words, or actions, then it is hard to gain compliance**. Logos, or one's logical appeal, refers to the use of logical explanation in order to change a person's mind. **Some people need to hear a logical reason for a request before they will comply**. Pathos, or appeals to one's passions, refers to people being persuaded by reasoning that touches their personal sentiments or emotions. **Pathos persuasion shows people how they will personally benefit from cooperating**.[2]

Language—Verbal and Nonverbal

How do these three concepts apply to helping public safety professionals deal with difficult and argumentative verbal interactions with citizens? **People respond better to one type of persuasion over another depending on their personality, the context of the situation, or their mood at the moment. Public safety professionals need to be able to determine the most appropriate method of persuasion for each specific situation**, and apply the appropriate persuasion method to gain citizen compliance or cooperation.

Public safety professionals exercise the ethical appeal by conveying legitimacy through their official position, physical appearance, and professional communication. Most people in society are agreeable, and they will comply with authority figures if they believe the authority figures are legitimate. Public safety professionals carry legitimacy in their official position, being a law enforcement officer, firefighter, or EMT. Citizens most often determine your authority by your uniform.[3] For the ethical appeal to work, how you dress needs to communicate your legitimate authority. Do the clothes you wear at work clearly communicate to citizens your profession? Can a citizen easily determine that you are a public safety professional. Will people have difficulty determining if you are a police officer, soldier, or firefighter based on your uniform choice? Does the neatness of your uniform communicate that you are detail-oriented and competent? In order to effectively persuade citizens with your ethical appeal, your appearance needs to convey that your official position and your competence.

Ethical appeal also includes your words and nonverbal body movements. To establish your legitimacy with words, you should introduce yourself and briefly state the reason for your interaction. Besides being a universal human cultural norm, introducing yourself reinforces your legitimate authority. Just as your uniform says "I'm a police officer," so does your introduction. "Hello, sir. I'm Officer Dolan with the Raleigh Police Department." This statement respectfully conveys that you have certain authority (police authority) in this specific context (Raleigh). It politely and subconsciously communicates, "I'm a cop. You should obey what I say." Following this with a brief explanation for your interaction provides a legitimate reason for interrupting or detaining the citizen. "The reason I stopped you today is because of your excessive speed." Quick sentences like this explain that you have a legitimate legal right to be there and to intrude on the citizen's life. Your nonverbal behaviors, such as your stance, tone of voice, and facial expression, should also be consistent with your statements, so that there are no mixed messages to confuse the citizen.

The ethical appeal will usually work to gain compliance from most citizens, especially law-abiding ones. Failure to use at least the ethical appeal, however, will cause even agreeable people to turn against you. If you ~~do not~~ look unprofessional, and address people in an unprofessional manner, then even law-abiding citizens may be reluctant to cooperate with you.

While the ethical appeal can persuade many people to comply, it will not persuade everyone. In such cases, a public safety professional may need to add logical appeal. The logical appeal entails explaining to the citizen why it makes logical sense to cooperate with your requests. **"Folks, I'm going to need you to move back from the police tape, so we can get an ambulance in here. We have a person who needs immediate medical attention at the hospital." This quick statement provides a logical reason for clearing a path and is far more effective than simply yelling, "Everybody get back!"**

It is important to note that one adds the logical appeal to the ethical appeal, rather than switching from one method to the other. While employing logic to persuade the citizen, one also needs to keep employing the professionalism of the ethical appeal. If the citizen becomes argumentative or insulting, use verbal deflection to step over the distraction and get back to the point. Imagine that while you are clearing the way for the ambulance, one person is not moving and says, "I have a right to be here!" Employing both the ethical and logical appeals means not engaging in a debate with the citizen, but deflecting the statement and providing logical persuasion instead. "I hear that, sir, and I'm not saying you have to leave, But I do need to clear a path for the ambulance to save this person's life."

The vast majority of people will comply when you use the ethical appeal, or combine it with the logical appeal. Nevertheless, there might still be that individual who needs even more persuasion. In these situations, the emotional appeal is added in an attempt to reach the citizen's internal motives for compliance. For example, if the citizen still refuses to clear an ambulance path, the emotional appeal could focus on fostering feelings of guilt. **"Sir, if that person dies because you delayed the ambulance, are you willing to live with that on your conscience?** What will the people in this neighborhood think of you for doing that?" These statements tap into the person's self-centeredness and desire to maximize pleasure while minimizing pain—in this case, the pain of guilt or neighbor retribution.

The emotional appeal sometimes involves giving people options that will allow you to get your job done, yet still offer benefits for the citizen. "Sir, you got some good options for places to stand to still watch what is going on. I'm not telling you to leave. You can stand over there on the sidewalk or the grass, but I need the street clear. What do you say you work with me on this and watch from the sidewalk?" If all else fails, you may need to explain the negative consequences that will befall the citizen if he refuses to cooperate, and confirm that he really wants these consequences. "Sir, I'm going to do whatever I can to try to save that person's life. If you will not clear a path for the ambulance, then I will have no other option left but to arrest you. Sir, that would be a shame as you have lots of other options right now. Is this really what you want?"

In these statements, the professionalism of the words conveys the ethical appeal and the sensibleness of the suggestions conveys the logical appeal. The emotional appeal builds on

top of the other two persuasion styles. If the logical appeal fails, however, the situation was beyond verbal de-escalation and physical or legal action needs to be taken. Nevertheless, if an accusation later arises that you acted unprofessionally, anyone who saw or recorded the interaction would reject such an accusation.

Like the use of force continuum, the *Rhetorical Continuum* arranges verbal persuasion options from lowest to highest levels of complexity and engagement. At the low end of the continuum is the ethical appeal alone, which requires the least complexity of effort. In the middle is the addition of the logical appeal, and the high end of the continuum is the emotional appeal. Also, **like the use of force continuum, the citizen's level of resistance determines the persuasion option applied by the public safety professional.**

Verbal De-escalation in Practice

Here is what the *Rhetorical Continuum* looks like in action. Imagine that you are a law enforcement officer responding to a 911 call at an apartment. Neighbors reported hearing a women screaming for help from inside the apartment. You and your backup officer arrive at the apartment, dressed professionally in your clean and pressed duty uniforms. You do not hear any screaming, and when you knock a man answers the door looking surprised. Your uniform signals your authority, and you continue your ethical appeal with a meet and greet. "Hello, I'm Officer Smith with the police department. The reason I'm hear is we got some calls about a woman screaming in this apartment. May I come in to make sure everything is okay?" You have laid down a firm ethical appeal that a lot of Americans would accept and let you in the door to talk.

But what if he doesn't let you in? What if he stands in the way and says, "Everything is okay. They must have just heard my television. I was watching a horror movie. I'll keep the volume down." You need to verify the safety of those inside the apartment, but right now there is no evidence of an emergency situation requiring you to rush inside immediately. Plus, the guy could be telling the truth. Because of his resistance, however, you now need to add your logical appeal by explaining why it is logical that he should let you inside the apartment.

"Sir, it may have been your television as you say, but I have an obligation to make sure that it was and that there is no one in danger in this apartment. Put yourself in my shoes for a minute. If neighbors were calling saying someone in this apartment was being attacked, you wouldn't leave without making sure that wasn't the case. Right? Of course you would make sure that everyone was safe before you left, and I'm in the same boat. We cannot leave until we verify everyone in the apartment is safe." These statements lay out the clear logic behind a quick protective sweep, and anyone who wouldn't comply at this point is intentionally trying to be difficult.

What if the man starts arguing or insulting you? Verbal deflectors are used to avoid being sidetracked with a debate, and keep on topic. For example, the man says, "You need a warrant to come in here." You respond by saying, "In many cases we would need a warrant to enter, however not this time. The courts have ruled that 911 calls create exigent circumstances that allow us to come in. Could you please step aside so we can obey the law?" The man says, "You fascist thugs are violating my rights!" You respond, "I hear what you're saying, Sir. I wouldn't want the police in my house either, however the circumstances right now require it. What do you say we do this

quickly? If everything checks out, we'll be out of here in just a couple of minutes. Can you work with me here?"

If he still refuses to comply, it is time to add the emotional appeal by appealing to the man's self-interests, explaining his positive options, explaining his potential negative consequences, and asking him to confirm noncompliance. "Sir, your neighbors are probably watching us right now. Why don't you let us in so we talk about this in private so the neighbors won't hear? Sir, this is taking up more of your time and we cannot leave until we check the apartment. You got a good option here. The faster you let us check the apartment, the faster we get out of here, leave you in peace, and stop making a scene for the neighbors. What do you say you let us make a quick check?" These statements appeal to the man's self-interests and present cooperation as a positive, self-serving option for the man.

The man continues to block the door. You say, "Sir, I've explained we cannot leave without doing this first. I have explained I have a legal obligation to check the safety of anyone who might be in this apartment, and I've given you some good options for handling this. But if you delay me further I am going to have to physically move you. If that has to happen, someone might get hurt and you will probably end up getting arrested tonight. Do you really want to risk getting injured and spending the night in jail over this? Is it really worth it, and is it really what you want?"

At this point, if the man refuses to comply, the situation is beyond the *Rhetorical Continuum* and now moves to taking physical action. Depending on the situation, taking physical action can mean ending the encounter and withdrawing, requesting backup or SWAT, making an arrest, or using force. In this particular scenario, taking action would mean pushing past the man and arresting him if he physically resisted your efforts.

Conclusion

We offer two types of verbal de-escalation classes: *Surviving Verbal Conflict©* and the *Train the Trainer* program. Both classes emphasize the *Rhetorical Continuum* when dealing with verbal resistance and argument from a citizen. **Like the use of force continuum gives you physical force options, the *Rhetorical Continuum* gives you verbal persuasion options—ethical, logical, and emotional appeal—that correspond in complexity with the level of verbal resistance encountered. Using this tool helps public safety professionals visualize their verbal options, and understand when it is best to use each one. The *Rhetorical Continuum* helps officers use these options to survive verbal conflict.**

References

[1] Aristotle (2004). *Rhetoric*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Johnson, R. (2001). The psychological influence of the police uniform. *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 70*, 27-31.

Verbal Contact and Cover

Protecting Your Colleagues and Your Profession

Chief Harry P. Dolan (Ret.)

March, 2017

Far too often today, I believe, police officers are being 'rope-a-doped' by manipulative people out on the street. Taken from the tactic famously employed by boxing legend Muhammad Ali, the 'rope-a-dope' is when a challenging or manipulative person says things that are intentionally crafted to get under your skin, make you angry, and get you to act unprofessionally. YouTube© is filled with videos of officers who have fallen prey to the rope-a-dope by a citizen who has taunted the officer into acting like a "dope". Individuals and organized groups with anti-police agendas are actively trying to entice officers to act inappropriately so that they can catch the officer's reaction on video and become the next viral video sensation.

We need to keep our guard up against the rope-a-dope. We need to be aware that the tactic exists, watch for it, and identify it for what it is. Just as you watch the driver's hands, scanning for weapons or any furtive movements indicating an attack, we need to listen to the citizen's words and scan for signs of a rope-a-dope. Consider a rope-a-dope to be an attack on your career because ***it is***. If you fall prey to it, you could easily do or say something that could ruin your career and deny you that pay, benefits package, and pension you have worked so hard to earn. Falling prey to the rope-a-dope also tarnishes our entire profession as video of your unprofessional response is broadcast around the world on the internet.

When you spot the rope-a-dope, you should be able to say to yourself, "Aha, the rope-a-dope. Well this guy isn't going to get me." **Use verbal deflectors to step over the insults and keep the conversation on topic, avoid getting angry, and explain the options to the citizen to gain their compliance. You are a professional: you cannot let yourself be rope-a-doped.** However, what about letting your partner get rope-a-doped? In public safety we are very good about protecting each other and looking out for one another's physical safety. Do we also look out for each other's career safety? I believe we need to do a better job of helping each other on the street by protecting each other from the dangers posed by the citizen rope-a-dope.

Verbal Contact and Cover

Law enforcement officers, firefighters, and paramedics across the country would not hesitate to risk their lives to ensure one another's physical safety, but we also need to be doing the same to protect one another's *career safety*. You might start to see the warning signs that a colleague is about to make a career-altering statement or action. If so, it is imperative that you step in to save that officer from doing or saying something they will long regret. **Just as we use the contact and cover method to protect each other's physical safety, we also need to do the same for career safety.**

In the contact and cover method practiced for officer physical safety, the primary officer deals directly with the citizen, while the second officer stands back, remains quiet, watches the primary officer's back, and scans the area for danger. **In verbal contact and cover, the backup officer also listens to the primary officer's words and scans for signs that the primary officer is falling prey to the rope-a-dope. If the primary officer does fall prey to the rope-a-dope, the backup officer can step up and take over the interaction, allowing the rope-a-doped officer to take a break from dealing with the manipulative citizen.** The rope-a-doped officer moves back from the interaction and takes over the backup officer role, remaining silent as the other over takes over interacting with the citizen. We teach this verbal contact and cover technique in our *Surviving Verbal Conflict*® course.

How do you know when your partner is becoming rope-a-doped? There are several warning signs. One warning sign is the resume recital, which sound something like, "Do you know how long I have been a police officer? I do not have to take this crap. I was a cop since before you were born!" Another is the Robert De Niro impression from the movie *Taxi Driver*, which sounds like "Are you talking to me? I know you aren't talking to ME like that." A third warning sign is the *insult seesaw*, such as "Screw me? Well, screw you!" A fourth warning sign is statements like "You know, I don't get paid to take this crap." A fifth warning sign is when your partner disregards his or her personal safety by moving in close, nose-to-nose with the citizen. A final warning sign is when your partner threatens to arrest the person when the person has cleverly avoided doing anything that would give you probable cause to support an arrest. When you are serving as the backup officer, seeing any of these warning signs should motivate you to step in and help your partner, because your partner can no longer help himself.

One discrete and tactful way to communicate to your partner that he or she is being rope-a-doped is to develop a code word. Develop a code word on your department, or in your squad, that will signal to your partners that they have been rope-a-doped, that they need to take a breather, that you are stepping in to take over, and that does so in a manner that still allows them to save face in front of the citizen. In a past conversation with Vistelar instructors Gary Klugiewicz and Tony Pinelle, we discussed that they often trained medical professionals dealing with irate patients to advise an emotionally compromised co-worker that "Supervisor Coffee" needs their help elsewhere. In the public safety context, I always use the "Sergeant Coffee" rescue.

Say your partner is being rope-a-doped and starts playing the insult seesaw with a manipulative citizen. Step forward and say, "Hey Kevin, Sergeant Coffee wants you to call him right away. I'll talk to this guy while you take care of that." This allows your partner time to back away from the conversation and calm down while he pretends to call "Sergeant Coffee" on his cell phone or radio.

You can then take over the interaction while allowing your partner to save face in front of the manipulative citizen.

Conclusion

Always remember that public safety professionals are, in the overwhelming majority of cases, following their life's calling to be of service to others. They will risk their life at one o'clock in the morning to save a perfect stranger. They run toward danger, all the while hoping they get their first to be of service. **Why do they stand by when a partner is suffering from the rope-a-dope? The answer is that they are human beings who can suffer from the "bystander" or "groupthink" effect like anyone else in any profession.** They tend to look around at others for social clues and see that no one else is doing anything to intervene either. **When we train public safety professionals in the verbal contact and cover principle, they learn to overcome the bystander effect and act**.

In the public safety professions, we trust one another with our lives. We should also protect one another's careers, and protect the image of our entire profession. Too often public safety officials on the street, in a moment of frustration or mental exhaustion, have said or done something that cost them their careers or even their freedom. **I bet these individuals would give anything to have had a partner there who truly had their back and was willing to step in and save them from themselves. Are you willing to be that kind of partner to your colleagues?**

Thank You!

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