Beyond Confrontation:
Community-Centered
Policing Tools

PolicyLink

Advancement Project

Values, Leadership, and Sustainability: Institutionalizing Community-Centered Policing

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Foreword

On August 9, 2014, Michael Brown, an unarmed Black teenager, was shot multiple times and killed by Darren Wilson, a White police officer, in Ferguson, Missouri. This tragic act provoked grief and outrage in Ferguson and across the country. We mourned the loss of an innocent young man, taken before his time, and recognized that his killing was the latest in a long and rapidly growing succession of cases involving police use of lethal force against unarmed people of color.

The disproportionate, militarized police response to subsequent community protests in Ferguson—including the use of tear gas and snipers, curfews enforced by armored trucks and tactical units, and the unwarranted arrest of multiple journalists—further incensed the country and, in conjunction with Michael Brown's killing, raised an urgent question:

What must change so that **not one more** person of color is unjustifiably and indefensibly killed by the police?

While there are no definitive figures on how many Americans are shot by police every year, existing data point to grave differences by race. In 2014 alone, police were responsible for the deaths of 302 Black people across the country.From 2010 – 2012, Black men were 21 times more likely than their White peers to be killed by police.[1] Similar racial disparities hold true among those injured by police.[2]

From 2010 – 2012, Black men were 21 times more likely than their White peers to be killed by police.

Local law enforcement units too often treat low-income neighborhoods populated by people of color—communities where people strive to live, learn, work, play, and pray in peace and harmony—as if they are enemy territory. Youth of color who should be growing up in supportive, affirming environments are instead presumed to be criminals and relentlessly subjected to aggressive police tactics that result in unnecessary fear, arrests, injuries, and deaths. This approach prevents police from being seen as trusted community partners, undermining neighborhood safety when coordinated efforts are most needed.

The militarization of police departments further erodes the trust that should exist between residents and the police who serve them. The proliferation of machine guns, armored vehicles and aircraft, and camouflage in local law enforcement units does not help police-community relations, the future of our cities, or our country.

To move forward, the country must also acknowledge and counter the effects of systemic racial bias, which impairs the perceptions, judgment, and behavior of too many of our law enforcement personnel and obstructs the ability of our police departments and criminal justice institutions to protect and serve all communities in a fair and just manner.

In the aftermath of Michael Brown's death, PolicyLink, the Center for Global Policy Solutions, and over 1,400 social justice leaders, congressional members, faith leaders, artists, and activists signed an open letter to President Obama, urging federal action through the Justice Department to improve police-community relations through seven principles.

Soon after the letter was issued, the Justice Department launched the National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice. Funded with a three-year, $4.75 million federal grant, the initiative invests in training, evidence-based strategies, policy development, and research to

combat distrust and hostility between law enforcement and the communities they serve. The initiative brings together a consortium of national law enforcement experts, including the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, Yale Law School, the Center for Policing Equity at UCLA, and the Urban Institute.[3]

Several weeks later, the Department of Justice completed its investigation of the Ferguson Police Department, uncovering deep-seated injustice and racism in nearly every facet of the department's practices. Soon after the report's release, a Ferguson municipal judge and several Ferguson police officers—including Police Chief Thomas Jackson—resigned or were fired. At the same time, the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing released a robust report, complete with thoughtful and comprehensive recommendations and action steps to help overhaul policing practices in a way that benefits communities.

While these represent promising steps at the federal level to advance "community-centered policing," local efforts and leadership are also needed. The seven principles in the open letter to President Obama can guide actions by community leaders to help improve police-community relations and institute community-centered policing at the local level. They can help build mutual trust and respect, increase safety in communities, and minimize senseless killings and excessive use of force by police:

1. **Ensure Transparency and Accountability**: Police departments are funded by the public and should be accountable to the public. Therefore, police departments should not investigate themselves. Departments should establish enforceable, impartial accountability measures in instances where police brutality, racial profiling, and/or improper use of force are in question. This includes establishing effective and independent review boards broadly representative of the community, not just police interests. The actions, investigations, and publication of all relevant information, evidence, and policy recommendations of departments and review boards should be transparent and enforceable. Departments should also ensure that data and summary information are properly collected and made publicly available on particular incidents, progress, and trends that relate to suspected police brutality and racial profiling over the years for the department.

2. **Invest in Training:** Racial bias is real. Whether implicit or explicit, it influences perceptions and behaviors and can be deadly. Law enforcement personnel should be required to undergo racial bias training in addition to building skills that exemplify problem-solving strategies, conflict mediation techniques, and de-escalation tactics. Officers should become adept at being responsive to community needs and voices, and achieving consistency and continuity in engaging community while enforcing the law.

3. **Ensure Diversity:** Police department personnel should be representative of the communities they protect and serve. Therefore, police departments should adopt personnel practices that result in the hiring and retention of diverse law enforcement professionals who are culturally sensitive, speak the communities' languages, and are residents of their patrolled communities. Departments should implement and monitor diversity hiring and retention guidelines to further community trust and partnerships.

4. **Proactively Engage Communities:** Too often, law enforcement personnel hold stereotypes about Black and brown youth and vice versa. Lack of familiarity breeds lack of understanding and increases opportunities for conflict. Police departments should work to deconstruct stereotypes and bias by identifying regular opportunities for

constructive and quality engagement with youth and others living in the communities they serve. Departments should therefore partner with our communities in solving and preventing problems *before* they occur.

5. **Reject Militarization:** Police should not become an occupying force in our neighborhoods. Emergencies and terrorism are real concerns for our communities, but departments should not rely on military equipment and tactics to police everyday problems or peaceful protests. Departments and communities should reject the transfer of military equipment into local police departments.

6. **Examine and Implement Good Models:** It is possible to develop police departments that respect, serve, and protect all people in our communities regardless of age, race, physical and mental ability, gender, or class. Every department should partner with other local, state, and federal entities to quickly identify and establish new policies and practices to improve policing in communities.

7. **Implement Technology and Tools for Oversight:** Departments should implement technology that helps to investigate and hold officers accountable for misconduct, such as profiling due to a person's race, class, religion, gender, physical or mental ability, or sexual orientation. The technology should only be used when legitimately apprehending suspects with probable cause, and all information gathered by the use of technology should be made publicly accessible immediately.

In 2001, PolicyLink and Advancement Project released Community-Centered Policing: A Force for Change, a report intended to help advocates, policymakers, and police officials understand models addressing the myriad challenges facing police departments, police-community relations, and the advancement of community-centered policing practices. With the same goal, PolicyLink and Advancement Project have come together once more to lift up solutions, this time with a series of issue briefs that will update some of the examples and best practices originally presented and explore critical new issues in the following areas:

- Limiting Police Use of Force
- Engaging Communities as Partners
- Demilitarizing Local Police Departments
- Sustaining and Institutionalizing Best Practices and Strategies

The fourth and final brief, presented below, explores leadership practices and values necessary to institutionalize community-centered policing. We hope these new and updated briefs will be tools for community leaders to use in conversations with local police forces and policymakers that can shape new policies to help communities—including low-income communities and communities of color—become healthier, more vibrant, and safer for all to participate and prosper.

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Introduction

The national landscape has shifted in the weeks since PolicyLink and Advancement Project first launched *Beyond Confrontation: Community-Centered Policing Tools*—a series of briefs intended to identify and promote elements necessary to achieve community-centered policing across the country, including programs and practices that exemplify police-community partnerships.

Perhaps most promising, a movement led by inspiring, passionate young people—made up of groups like Ferguson Action, #BlackLivesMatter, WeTheProtestors, and Dream Defenders—emerged, determined to ensure that the country's attention stays focused on the crisis of police violence against people of color as a symptom of broad, systemic racial injustice. Among its achievements thus far, the movement has established ambitious, yet attainable, demands, captured data on police killings, and made other progress. The movement has also spurred a new and needed conversation about race and justice in America, including the expression of solidarity by other communities of color with Black communities.[4]

The federal government has taken notable steps to address the policing crisis. Although it declined to press federal charges against Darren Wilson—the officer who shot and killed Michael Brown—the Department of Justice completed its investigation of the Ferguson Police Department and uncovered deep-seated injustice and racism in nearly every facet of the department's practices. Since the report's release, a Ferguson municipal judge, the town manager, and several Ferguson police officers—including Police Chief Thomas Jackson—have resigned or been fired. In April 2015, Ferguson residents elected three new city council members, including the first-ever Black female council member. The six-member council now has three Black members.[5]

Further, the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing[6] released a comprehensive and robust report, complete with thoughtful recommendations and action steps that reflect many of the recommendations advanced in this series of briefs. PolicyLink and Advancement Project strongly agree with the report's recommendations and hope they are adopted wholesale by police departments, elected officials, the Department of Justice, and other stakeholders.

Even if the recommendations are fully adopted, however, strong leadership and culture shifts will still be necessary to implement the recommendations in an effective and sustainable way. *Values, Leadership, and Sustainability: Institutionalizing Community-Centered Policing*, the fourth and final brief in our series, identifies examples of promising leadership, programs, and practices that help to institutionalize community-centered policing across the country.

Overview

Darren Wilson's description of 18-year-old Michael Brown paints a picture of a dehumanized monster:

> When I grabbed him, the only way I can describe it is I felt like a five-year-old holding onto Hulk Hogan....He looked up at me and had the most intense aggressive face. The only way I can describe it, it looks like a demon, that's how angry he looked.[7]

It is impossible to know precisely what the White police officer was thinking as he fired sixteen shots at Michael Brown, an unarmed young Black man, on the streets of Ferguson, Missouri, in August 2014. However, Wilson's statement—if true—indicates a high probability that his actions were fueled by emotion and bias rather than a level-headed assessment of the situation.

In an interview following the grand jury decision to not indict him, Wilson claimed that he had a clear conscience because "he did his job right."[8] If Wilson's assessment is correct, it is imperative to change what the "job" is.

Would the events in Ferguson that day have unfolded differently if the Ferguson police department had put different recruitment policies in place, had provided different training to Wilson and other officers, had evaluated officers' work by different performance standards, or had stronger community oversight in place?

The way police departments address the following questions can shape day-to-day police behavior on the streets and have an enormous impact on communities across the country, particularly communities of color:

- How can visionary leadership shift the current policing paradigm to a community-centered focus, and how can civic and neighborhood leaders support this shift?
- What steps can law enforcement agencies take to recruit officers best suited to respect and work with the communities they are charged with serving?
- How can they train their officers to recognize their biases and counter them?
- What strategies can agencies use to promote and reward officers who carry out effective and collaborative work for community safety and discipline those who deviate from department standards?

This brief, the fourth and final installment in the *Beyond Confrontation* series, examines how leadership can build the values and institutional culture necessary to implement and sustain community-centered policing. The brief also highlights workforce management, information sharing, and accountability practices that integrate community policing into law enforcement agency operations over the long term. Promising practices include:

- Building community policing into department structure and assignments, including acting proactively to recognize and address internal departmental problems.
- Recruiting from the community.

- Building community-centered policing values and skills through training and rewarding these values and skills through performance assessment.
- Making information on policies, procedures, and police interaction with the community available online.
- Building effective community oversight and implementing internal discipline procedures that are rigorous, transparent, and consistent with the principles of community-centered policing.

Leadership Practices that Build Community-Centered Policing

Community-centered policing takes root through culture, leadership style, transparency, and shared decision making. It relies on police being in and valuing the communities they serve and working with residents as problem solvers and partners. Sustaining community-centered policing requires that police executives, command staff, and supervisors consistently champion and reinforce this paradigm within their organizations.

According to former Las Vegas Sheriff Doug Gillespie, "You can have the best policies in the world, but if your institutional culture doesn't support them, they won't work."[9] Making community-centered policing a daily reality requires transformational police leaders who truly believe in and can articulate and become champions for the shared vision and values that define it.

"You can have the best policies in the world, but if your institutional culture doesn't support them, they won't work." -Doug Gillespie, former Las Vegas Sheriff

Department Structure and Assignments

Decentralization—redistributing problem-solving authority from high-level command to officers on the ground—is a key feature of departments committed to community policing. Distributing decision-making authority to different organizational levels and instituting geographic accountability allow frontline officers to take leadership within their problem-solving role. Decentralization is a strong foundation for a community-centered policing approach in the way it fosters creative thinking, teamwork, and innovation. In this model, individual officers are responsible for crime and safety conditions in an assigned beat and have ongoing contact with residents and business owners, helping to build relationships and mutual accountability. Less rigid supervision and more autonomy helps motivate officers to identify problems and collaborate with the community to develop appropriate solutions.[10] Components that aid decentralization include geographically based police facilities and command structures, assigning beat officers to neighborhoods for the long term, and utilizing geographically displayed crime data.[11]

Chicago Police Superintendent Garry McCarthy reorganized the Chicago police department into geographic commands. He put officers on beats and holds them accountable for building relationships and collaborating with neighborhood stakeholders, helping to infuse this approach throughout the hierarchy.

In Richmond, California, Police Chief Chris Magnus also assigned his officers to permanent beats and directed them to spend more time on foot rather than in squad cars. According to Magnus,

"They are in and out of businesses, nonprofits, churches, a wide variety of community organizations, and they come to be seen as a partner in crime reduction."[12]

Spotlight on What Works

New Haven Police Chief Dean Esserman is not one to mince words. "Enlightened policies are just b.s. to cops," he said. "They're not going to read them."

From his experience at four police departments in 23 years, Esserman believes change happens by changing the structure of the department. "If you change your strategy and not your structure, it's just nonsense," he said.

As assistant chief in New Haven in the '90s, Esserman led the department's shift to community policing. He left and was recruited back 20 years later to revitalize the approach, which he said had been marginalized.

Having officers walk their beats is the fundamental core of Esserman's strategy.

"When they graduate the academy, they walk the beat for a year," he said. "The first week everyone (officers and community members) is eyeballing each other, there's an uncomfortable silence. By the end of the next week, they're talking. By the end of the month, the officer is having half a dozen conversations, neighbors know their kids' names."

According to Esserman, an officer's most important tool is not his gun, taser, or body camera—it's his cell phone, making him accessible to the community. It's those relationships that lead to effective policing. "The neighbors build a relationship with the beat cop and the beat cop builds a relationship with the neighbors," he said. "Relationships matter. Trust and respect and dignity matter... Your detective solves the case because someone called the beat cop and said, 'This is who did it.'"

Proactive Evaluation and Problem Solving

Police leaders committed to a fair and effective department are proactive about seeking outside assistance when problems come to light. Bringing in others can provide a valuable outside perspective, enlist specialized resources to analyze and solve problems, and help establish credibility with the community.

For example, when a local newspaper uncovered that the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department had more officer-involved shootings than other cities of its size, Sheriff Doug Gillespie asked the Department of Justice Community Oriented Policing Services Office to assess the department and make recommendations.[13] This effort took place as part of an initiative known as the "collaborative reform model" and included an in-depth examination of LVPD's use of force and a series of recommended reforms to reduce officer-involved shootings.

As a result of this process, LVPD implemented substantive changes, including trainings in crisis intervention, de-escalation, and fair and impartial policing, and reality-based training that used

actual scenarios where department members had struggled. The department also conducted an overhaul of its critical incident review process and established new internal discipline procedures.[14] Use-of-force reports in Las Vegas dropped from 1,400 in 2005 to 842 in 2012,[15] and to 734 in 2013.[16]

Gillespie's proactive leadership in Las Vegas influenced by a precedent set years earlier by then Chief Charles Ramsey of the Washington DC Metropolitan Police Force. After a series of *Washington Post* articles identified the department as the "deadliest in the nation" in 1998, Ramsey reached out to the U.S. Department of Justice. Understanding that his department had lost credibility with the community and could not "investigate itself," he asked DOJ to investigate why DC police were resorting to force so frequently. Ultimately, city officials entered into an agreement with the Justice Department to retrain officers in how to avoid dangerous situations, bring in an outside monitor to review problems, expand internal investigations, and implement an "early warning" system for problem officers.[17] Washington, DC's officer-involved shootings have declined significantly, with 32 police-involved shootings in 1998, compared to 12 (five fatal) in 2013.[18]

After the Las Vegas Police Department did a self-assessment and implemented changes, use of force reports dropped from 1,400 in 2005 to 842 in 2012, and to 734 in 2013.

Leadership from Elected Officials

Along with police leaders, local elected officials can play key roles in helping community-centered policing take root. Mayors and city managers can institute a citywide commitment to relationship-based policing and partnerships.[19] They can also take proactive steps to implement community-centered policing by facilitating multiagency partnerships to address community issues, providing or advocating for funds to share information across systems to better understand and develop effective solutions to problems and to sustain partnerships. They can also support the implementation of their proposed solutions[20] and push for community oversight and accountability measures.

Local officials often have the power to appoint the police chief. Los Angeles Mayor James Hahn used this power to bring in an outsider—William Bratton—to lead the Los Angeles Police Department in 2002. While Bratton's policing philosophy is understandably criticized for being heavy-handed, Hahn displayed bold leadership in denying the militaristic incumbent police chief (Daryl Gates) a second term and ignoring the tradition of appointing a new chief from within the Los Angeles Police Department ranks—a politically unpopular decision, but critical to changing the direction of the department.[21]

The subsequent mayor, Antonio Villaraigosa, reappointed Bratton and provided continued political and institutional support for community-centered policing. For example, Villaraigosa created the Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development within the mayor's office and adopted a more holistic approach that included police, schools, and community programs. Villaraigosa and Bratton regularly attended community meetings together in crime-impacted neighborhoods. The LAPD also hired more people of color: the majority of its officers are now Latino, Black, and Asian.

In Philadelphia, Mayor Michael Nutter collaborated with Police Commissioner Charles Ramsey to institutionalize community-centered policing though partnerships aimed at addressing the multifaceted causes and effects of crime. The city partnered with the state and federal government and community organizations on initiatives and programs to address public safety, education, workforce and economic development, community trauma and behavioral health, quality of life, and human services. Using a place-based approach, Mayor Nutter spearheaded the establishment of the PhillyRising Collaborative in 2010. The Collaborative established

Since Philadelphia established the PhillyRising Collaborative, the city's homicide rate has dropped by 25 percent.

neighborhood partnerships to identify priority issues and a staff team to coordinate the actions of city agencies to implement solutions and supplement police response in high-crime areas with coordinated efforts from other city agencies. Originally in five neighborhoods, PhillyRising has now expanded to 15. Since 2012, Philadelphia has seen a 25 percent drop in homicides. Overall, violent crime fell 7 percent from 2013 to 2014.[22]

Under Mayor Nutter, Philadelphia also established the Youth Violence Prevention Collaborative in 2012, which seeks to embed violence prevention and reduction as a priority for every relevant city agency. This effort, focused on a single police district in northern Philadelphia, is led by stakeholders from government, academia, and the community. City leaders across a wide cross-section of disciplines participate to ensure that the city's efforts to alleviate poverty, enhance workforce development, and reform juvenile justice are aligned with this strategic effort to prevent youth violence.

In Anaheim, California, a team of city agencies came together in the 1990s to address persistent crime in a particular neighborhood. As a result of coordinated interagency efforts, crime decreased 80 percent in the neighborhood. Subsequently, the city undertook a broad Neighborhood Improvement Program in four policing districts. Each district operates an interagency team with the authority to marshal resources as needed. Team members include a police lieutenant for each district, administrative and mid-managers from code enforcement, the city attorney's office, planning, public works, utilities, fire, community development and community services, and local school principals. Each team also has a permanent neighborhood council, representing community stakeholders from nonprofits, the faith community, schools, businesses, residents, and apartment owners. The district teams and neighborhood councils work collaboratively to address immediate plans, develop long-term plans, and improve quality of life.[23]

Coordinated interagency efforts in Anaheim, California, decreased crime by 80 percent in the target neighborhood.

Neighborhood Advocacy for Public Safety

In addition to local officials, community leaders and residents have a critical role to play in helping community-centered policing take root. Communities across the country are engaging in advocacy and organizing and partnering with police to address violence, increase public safety, and improve quality of life.

After Oakland Community Organizations pushed the city of Oakland, California, to adopt the Ceasefire violence reduction model, community leaders started serving with law enforcement officials on the Ceasefire steering committee. Neighborhood and faith leaders participate in Ceasefire "call-ins," where law enforcement officers and community representatives urge young men at risk of violence to stop criminal activity and offer them resources such as job training and education. Oakland Community Organizations also organizes Ceasefire "walks" every Friday night where volunteers walk the neighborhood to demand an end to gun violence and convey their concern for those most at risk. Assistant Chief of Police Paul Figueroa lauded the role of Oakland Community Organizations and affirmed, "with that kind of partnership, really good things can happen."[24] Indeed, violent crime in Oakland decreased significantly in 2014—homicides and shootings fell 11 percent and 13 percent respectively, while robberies and burglaries dropped nearly 30 percent combined.[25]

Institutionalizing Community-Centered Policing Through Workforce Management, Information Sharing, and Accountability

How can police department policies and practices contribute to the larger mission of building community trust and relationships—the cornerstone of community-centered policing?[26] This section seeks to answer this question by highlighting promising personnel, information sharing, and accountability policies and practices.

Recruiting from the Community: Building a Pipeline

Community-centered policing works best when the demographics of the police department reflect the demographics of the community. While community-centered policing relies on the support and assistance of the public, many communities of color have a high level of mistrust toward police officers, often cultivated over decades of historic and recent police violence against these communities. According to Phillip Atiba Goff, a professor of social psychology and founder of the Center for Policing Equity at the University of California at Los Angeles, "When you diversify, you protect against the suspicion that the police don't care about what happens in the community." Goff notes that if the composition of law enforcement does not reflect community demographics, it is easier to view officers as an occupying force, as opposed to peacekeepers.[27]

Recruiting from diverse communities is a personnel practice widely utilized in departments across the country. It has become common practice for many police departments to tailor recruitment efforts to specific communities whose members they want to attract by advertising positions in media sources seen by those communities and by working with community institutions such as faith-based organizations and schools to identify potential recruits.

In spite of these efforts, law enforcement agencies face ongoing challenges in building and maintaining a diverse force. Departments require a criminal background check and have differing policies on what prior offenses disqualify an applicant. Many jurisdictions automatically disqualify candidates without a clean credit history. A number of departments also require applicants to have some college credits before entering the academy, further reducing the pool of diverse eligible candidates. Some of the psychological assessments given are not sensitive to the diverse social and economic backgrounds of the applicants, tending to screen out many candidates of color.[28] Finally, competition among law enforcement agencies is fierce for qualified applicants and rather than join their local force, applicants may opt to work in larger jurisdictions with higher pay. Others may pursue federal law enforcement or a military career.[29]

The Washington DC Metropolitan Police Department has institutionalized a strategy to support community youth in preparing for a policing career. Each year, the Cadet Program brings 15 to 20 DC high school graduates into an education and work pipeline that readies them to be police recruits. Upon entering the program, the police department employs cadets part-time and

concurrently pays their tuition at the Community College of the District of Columbia. When cadets turn 21 and have earned 62 college credits, they are accepted into the police academy. Virtually all cadets who have been through the program continue into the academy and become police officers. Reflecting the historical demographics of DC, the majority of cadets are Black. A cadet coordinator oversees cadets' day-to-day activities and assists them in choosing college courses. Cadets' employment includes assignments with the detective units, Special Operations, training, and recruiting. In addition to getting hands-on experience, cadets also benefit from mentorship from police officers.[30]

The DC Police Foundation provides financial support for the program. In an effort to provide positive law enforcement role models who teach and mentor students, the Foundation has recently established a Junior Cadet Program in public elementary schools in high-risk neighborhoods. The program also engages families and community stakeholders in an effort to keep youth on track for academic and career success and avoid behaviors that could disqualify them from law enforcement or other job opportunities.[31] This emphasis on building a pipeline has helped the DC Metropolitan Police Department maintain the diversity of its force. Fifty-seven percent of sworn officers are Black, 33 percent are White and 7 percent are Hispanic. In addition, women make up 22 percent of sworn personnel.[32]

Teaching Community Policing Skills through Field Training

Field training constitutes the teaching bridge from academy training to functioning as an independent police officer. Departments may provide community-centered academy training, but fail to reinforce it in the field training that follows. Community-centered policing relies on context and a deep understanding of communities. Field training should support and strengthen community-centered policing practices that recruits have learned in the academy by focusing on situational critical thinking and problem solving rather than non-contextualized tactical skills.[33]

In Reno, Nevada, the Post-Academy Police Training Officer Program is an alternative to the traditional field training model. Originally developed in 2003 through a collaborative effort between the Department of Justice Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Office, the Police Executive Research Forum, and the Reno Police Department, the program is based on community-centered policing and collaborative problem-solving principles. It addresses the traditional duties of policing in the context of specific neighborhood problems and challenges recruits to think creatively and to use community resources.[34]

Similar to traditional field training, the trainee and trainer answer calls and carry out routine police activities. Simultaneously, the trainees solve various problems—called Problem-Based Learning Exercises—assigned by the trainer, which train the recruit to think critically and develop partnerships in the context of the real-world experience.[35]

Reno is modifying and expanding the program for personnel other than entry-level patrol officers, including executive leadership, front-line supervisors, and gang investigators. Evaluations of the training program suggest that it improves critical thinking and problem-solving skills and helps officers to be more effective at developing community networks.[36]

Training on Implicit Bias

Distinct from consciously held prejudicial perceptions and actions, implicit bias shapes attitudes, decisions, and behavior in ways that an individual may not even be aware of. While some of the bias in policing is caused by intentional discrimination against people of color and other groups, "implicit" or "unconscious" bias also affects what people perceive and do, even people who consciously hold non-prejudiced attitudes.[37] Research designed to measure these subconscious processes show that the majority of Americans harbor implicit bias.[38]

Implicit bias among police officers can have deadly consequences, since police are armed and given discretion to use force where they deem appropriate.[39] Training on implicit bias is a strategy that many departments are undertaking to improve interactions with community residents.

> While training cannot easily undo the implicit associations that took a lifetime to develop, the social psychologists have shown that, with information and motivation, people can implement controlled (unbiased) behavioral responses that override automatic (bias-promoting) associations. The implication is that law enforcement departments need to provide training that makes personnel aware of their unconscious biases so that they are able and motivated to activate controlled responses to counteract them.[40]

The U.S. Department of Justice Office of Community Policing has developed a training curriculum titled "Fair and Impartial Policing" and, upon request, sends trainers to departments throughout the country. Principles include:

- Having biases is normal to human functioning.
- Policing based on biases or stereotypes is unsafe, ineffective, and unjust.
- Officers can learn skills to reduce and manage their own biases.
- Supervisors can learn skills to identify biased behavior in their staff and take corrective actions when they detect biased policing.
- Law enforcement executives and their command-level staff can implement a comprehensive agency program to produce fair and impartial policing.[41]

To date, 28 local police departments and 11 state law enforcement agencies have participated in the training.[42] In addition, several recent consent decrees, reached with the police departments of New Orleans, Seattle, and East Haven, Connecticut, direct the departments to include implicit bias in their training.[43]

The Oakland Police Department recently contracted with Stanford University researcher Jennifer Eberhart to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the department's police stops. According to department figures, Black people accounted for 62 percent of police stops between April and November 2014, although they comprise just 28 percent of the population.[44] Eberhart will assist the department in understanding and addressing how bias plays out in its officers' interactions with the public.

Tucson, Arizona, is in the process of training its entire police department on implicit bias. Current Arizona law requires that police determine the immigration status of someone arrested or detained when there is "reasonable suspicion" they are undocumented. According to Tucson police chief Roberto Villaseñor, this policy places local police in an "untenable position" with

regard to the Latino community. To help navigate this difficult terrain, Villaseñor initiated steps to train the entire department in implicit bias. He began by organizing a training for his command staff in October 2014, using trainers and curriculum provided by the Department of Justice.

According to Chief Villaseñor, the strength of the implicit bias training is that it is not done in an accusatory manner. Trainers acknowledge that every human being has biases, which makes it easier for police to absorb the message. He said:

> The most important thing is to recognize bias, that your reaction may be based on emotion rather than fact. We say, if you expect it, you may cause it to happen. Don't make self-fulfilling prophesies. Be aware of your bias when you go into a situation. Then you need to take counter-measures.[45]

"Don't make self-fulfilling prophesies. Be aware of your bias when you go into a situation. Then you need to take counter-measures." –Roberto Villaseñor, Tuscon police chief

The command staff training is just the first in a series of steps the department is taking. Twenty members of the department have received an implicit bias "train the trainer" course so that they can train the rest of the department. Chief Villaseñor intentionally selected train-the-trainer candidates who are particularly well respected by their peers and include commanders, supervisors, and officers. The department will offer implicit bias training to all in-service officers starting in 2015 and also make it a required component of the Tucson police recruit academy curriculum. Villaseñor admits that "cops see the worst of the worst and they get negative, cynical, and distrustful. We need to fight against this constantly. Addressing implicit bias is part of that fight."

Recognizing Community-Centered Policing Skills through Performance Assessment

Performance evaluation techniques and incentives are powerful tools to address the need for behavior and culture change in police departments. Effective performance goals that represent the next frontier in institutionalizing community-centered policing include understanding of ethics, problem solving, leadership, and interpersonal, technical, and communication skills.[46] These run counter to measures of police performance that incentivize and reward officers for making a certain number of arrests and issuing a certain number of citations. Community-centered policing calls for measuring outcomes like community satisfaction, reduced fear of crime, and the alleviation of diverse problems—from blighted properties to lack of youth recreation opportunities to gang activity—that can detract from the health and well-being of the community.

Systematic inclusion of community-centered policing criteria for performance assessment is still a work in progress. Several police departments have taken steps to ensure that community-policing skills are recognized, and in some cases, rewarded. For instance, Richmond, California, now ties job evaluations and career advancement to police officers successfully engaging and building relationships with community members.[47]

The Los Angeles Police Department demonstrated an internal reward system for community-centered policing by providing an increase in pay and a promotion to officers who were selected to serve in long-term assignments with the Community Safety Partnership in Watts. Officers serve for five years and their responsibilities include providing safe passages for students going to and from school, participating in community safety initiatives, and supporting positive youth outcomes.[48]

Data and Information Sharing as a Tool to Build Community Trust and Relationships

Implementing and institutionalizing community-centered policing requires gathering comprehensive information and sharing it with the community. The absence of information compromises efforts in a variety of areas, including neighborhood problem solving, building trust, personnel decisions, and community oversight.

Recent federal action may improve data collection in an important arena. Last year, Congress passed the Death in Custody Reporting Act, requiring states and federal law enforcement to report information to the Department of Justice about anyone who dies while arrested or detained, including people who are incarcerated. The bill also requires the Attorney General to study the data and report on how it can be useful to reduce these types of deaths.[49]

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Chicago Police Superintendent Garry McCarthy and University of Illinois at Chicago Professor Dennis Rosenbaum collaborated to conduct a survey of residents who interacted with officers in nine police districts in 2012. According to McCarthy, the survey "is important to our crime-reduction strategy in that it measures our interactions with community.... For our officers to do their job well, with the most public support, they need the public to trust them and see them as legitimate authority figures."[50]

Police departments can build transparency and trust by providing members of the public with user-friendly access to pertinent data and information about their procedures. Access would also allow for greater levels of civic engagement among community residents. To improve police-community relations, police departments should cultivate and update online platforms for data and information sharing. Although many police departments have public websites, it is essential that these online platforms make the following information—disaggregated by race, ethnicity, gender, and other characteristics—readily available to the public:

- Use-of-force statistics
- Departmental demographic data
- Complaints and lawsuits

Department websites can also provide crime mapping of neighborhoods, as well as asset and deficit mapping which include locations such as parks (assets) and vacant buildings (deficits). Public surveys are also useful tools, gathering information about the public perception of police performance that can help shape or substantiate reform efforts.

Several police departments have taken the necessary steps to cultivate websites that provide community members with up-to-date information regarding arrests. In Madison, Wisconsin, the police department posts police reports on an easy-to-access online database. In Washington DC, the police department dedicates a section of its website to statistics and data on crime, juvenile arrests, and special reports that examine issues of police bias within their ranks. The Center for Policing Equity at the University of California, Los Angeles, is creating a nationwide database that will model what information police should collect and will offer resources to conduct analysis of the data.

Many police departments use COMPSTAT (Complaint Statistics), a data-driven management system focused on crime reduction. The crux of this system relies on technology—mapping tools,

computer-generated crime statistics, etc.—to guide strategies for crime reduction in targeted communities. Police departments can engage the communities they serve by having an open-door policy at COMPSTAT meetings, encouraging local residents to take an active role in improving the safety of their neighborhoods. The police department in New Haven, Connecticut, currently holds open COMPSTAT meetings, with non-police attendees who include ministers and the press.[51]

In recent years, several law enforcement agencies nationwide have taken steps to implement body camera programs that require police officers to wear video-recording devices when operating in the field. While advocates and critics of these programs agree that more research is needed to evaluate this new law enforcement technology, body cameras have the potential to make an important impact on American policing practices by providing more information on interactions between police officers and the public, if appropriately balanced with privacy rights and access to footage.

Accountability Mechanisms to Build Community Trust and Relationships

Having effective accountability systems in place is a necessary ingredient for police legitimacy in the eyes of the community. Internal accountability mechanisms serve as reinforcement for community-oriented policing skills and behavior by identifying, controlling, correcting, or punishing behavior that deviates from department standards. External accountability mechanisms, or oversight by the community, provide another layer of confidence that police departments are upholding their responsibility to serve and protect the public.

Establishing Consistent, Thorough, and Transparent Internal Discipline Procedures

Discipline can be a form of education, serving as a tool to correct inappropriate behavior. If a police department's standards and internal discipline procedures are clearly defined, communicated to officers, and routinely enforced, they can help officers avoid mistakes in the future. Disciplinary measures should escalate if an officer repeats infractions.[52] Additionally, civilian complaint procedures should be clear and accessible, with no danger of retaliation from police.

Consistency and predictability are key elements of effective disciplinary codes. Police leaders have reported that a written disciplinary schedule, clearly stating the corrections for each infraction, removes the subjectivity from discipline, allowing officers to predict how errant behavior will be addressed. In Minneapolis, the police department posts its Policy and Procedural Manual online, including the details of the internal affairs process.

Transparency about disciplinary actions can reassure communities that the leadership of the department is dedicated to enforcing its values and mission. Human Rights Watch has recommended that departments provide and post regular reports on their websites, including the name and number of officers disciplined, as well as their infractions and the type of discipline received.

Building Effective Community Oversight

Citizen review boards—composed of community representatives who investigate public complaints concerning police misconduct—can help build trust between communities and police departments. Numerous studies have found citizens are more likely to report complaints to an independent body than to the internal affairs division of a police department.[53] There are a number of models for review boards; the two most common are a board that conducts its own investigation and an auditor/monitor system that reviews police investigations. For review processes to be fair, legitimate, and effective, researchers and advocates emphasize the importance of the following elements:

- The board must have adequate human and financial resources. Hired personnel are necessary to keep the process consistent and timely.
- The appointees to the board must be independent of police departments and representative of the community.
- The board should have the ability to propose new policies and changes in existing policies. To inform this work, individual complaints should be analyzed cumulatively as well as disaggregated by race and age. Police department leadership should respond to the board's recommendations in writing.
- The review process must be accessible and timely. The location of where complaints are filed and reviewed must be accessible to community members, and translators and translated materials should be made available.
- The board should have broad investigative authority, including the authority to require police officers to testify and it should have subpoena power.[54]

In Minneapolis, the Police Conduct Oversight Commission is made up of residents appointed by the mayor and city council. The commission has the responsibility to shape police policy, audit cases, and engage the community in discussions about police procedure and culture. In 2013, the Commission adopted the National Association for Civilian Oversight of Law Enforcement Code—standards include independent and thorough oversight, transparency and confidentiality, respectful and unbiased treatment, and primary obligation to the community.

In Portland, Oregon, the Independent Police Review Division reports to the city auditor and has the authority to act on complaints against officers as well as recommend changes to policies and procedures. The division is monitored and advised by a nine-member Citizen Review Committee appointed by the city council. After local protests about events in Ferguson, the division issued a press release stating it had received over 20 complaints from community members and would investigate the Portland Police Bureau's handling of the demonstrations. The division called upon members of the public who had witnessed the interactions or had taken video to come forward to assist with the investigation.

San Francisco's Office of Citizen Complaints posts quarterly reports with detailed information on the number of cases opened, closed, and still pending. The office has a goal of concluding its investigations within 270 days; in the second quarter of 2014, 80 percent of the cases were closed within 270 days. Seven percent of the complaints were sustained. Examples of discipline included admonishment and re-training, a written reprimand, and a one-day suspension.[55]

Reforming the Grand Jury Process

Recent grand jury failures to indict the officer who fatally shot Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and the officer who applied a deadly chokehold to Eric Garner in Staten Island, New York, revealed the potential for conflicts of interest when local district attorneys are in charge of prosecuting the same police officers they typically rely upon to investigate and testify during criminal proceedings. The failure of those two grand juries to indict have led to calls for the automatic appointment of special prosecutors in cases of police misconduct.

After John Crawford, a Black man, was gunned down by White police officers in a Beavercreek, Ohio, WalMart because he was holding a BB gun, the county prosecutor said a special prosecutor was needed. Against a backdrop of simmering national discussions about police use of force following the Eric Garner and Michael Brown shootings, the Ohio attorney general assigned a special prosecutor with experience in police-involved shootings to the case.

Even before the grand jury failed to indict the officer in Ferguson, Missouri, lawmakers were considering a bill that would require the appointment of a special prosecutor in cases involving a police shooting. Missouri State Representative Jay Barnes "pre-filed" a bill in December 2014 that would require two investigators not employed by an accused officer's agency to review a fatal police shooting if requested by the attorney general.[56] Similarly, California Assemblyman Kevin McCarty introduced a bill in January 2015 that would require any officer-involved shooting resulting in the death of a civilian to be reviewed by an independent law enforcement panel established within the California Department of Justice. Other states, such as Colorado, New Jersey, and New Mexico, are considering similar legislation.

On the federal level, in December 2014, Rep. Hank Johnson (D-GA) introduced a bill (HR 5830) that would require governors to appoint a special prosecutor and outlaw secret grand jury proceedings in cases of police use of deadly force—the hearing and evidence would be made public.

Conclusion and Recommendations

To transform policing into a shared mission of community safety and to foster cooperation and partnership, community-centered policing leaders must implement day-to-day changes in policies, practices, and culture.

Law enforcement leaders and agencies should do the following to institutionalize and sustain community-centered policing:

- Reinforce the community-centered policing mission and values at every opportunity through institutional structure and culture, training, assignments, leadership style, and performance assessment.
- Ensure the demographics of the police department reflect the demographics of the community by building a pipeline of support for community youth to pursue policing careers.

- Ensure that academy training, field training, and continuing education of officers reinforces community-centered policing values and skills, including training on recognizing and addressing implicit bias.
- Develop outcome measures and performance assessment criteria that reflect and reward community-centered policing skills such as proficiency in problem solving, leadership, communication, and collaboration.
- Gather, analyze, and share with the public information on police department policies and procedures, crime data, and police interactions with the community. The following information should be easily accessible online: police reports, use-of-force statistics, complaints and lawsuits, demographic information on police stops disaggregated by race, ethnicity, gender and age, and department demographic data.
- Develop and implement internal discipline procedures that are consistent, rigorous, and transparent.

Local officials should do the following:

- Make community-centered policing a priority by appointing a police chief skilled in and committed to this approach, and facilitate and support interagency partnerships to address neighborhood issues.
- Develop an effective community oversight mechanism that includes subpoena and broad investigatory powers, has adequate human and financial resources, has members who are independent, representative of the community, and knowledgeable about policing, can make policy recommendations, and adheres to an accessible and timely investigatory process.

The U.S. Congress and state legislatures should do the following:

- Explore options for reforming the grand jury system, including prohibiting local district attorneys' offices from handling investigations of police encounters resulting in an unarmed civilian's death.

Community leaders should do the following:

- Advocate for community safety and an end to violence.
- Partner with the police to address neighborhood problems.
- Hold the police accountable for how they engage with the community.

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