



NEW AND EMERGING MODELS OF COMMUNITY SAFETY AND POLICING

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Introduction

The National Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (NICJR) was commissioned to conduct an assessment of programs and models that increase safety, properly respond to emergencies, reduce crime and violence, and improve policing. The New and Emerging Models of Community Safety and Policing report has been prepared in response to that charge.

The report comprises a brief overview of several examples of Emerging Non-Enforcement Models of Community Response; Non-Law Enforcement Crime Reduction Strategies; Community Driven Violence Reduction Strategies; and Policing Strategies. As hundreds of cities across the country engage in reimagining public safety processes and launching new programs or altering existing models, this report could not possibly be universally comprehensive; it does however provide illustrative examples of key options to consider. The programs and strategies featured in this report were selected based on a number of factors including their relationship to the core pillars of NICJR's reimagining framework: **Reduce, Improve, Reinvest**; the level of institutionalization; and track record.

Emerging Non-Enforcement Models of Community Response



Police departments receive a large volume of 911 calls or other Calls for Service (CFS) requesting emergency response. In the past several decades policing has evolved from officers walking beats to departments primarily responding to CFS with patrol officers in squad cars. A number of new assessments of these CFS have revealed that a majority are low-level or even non-criminal in nature, like noise complaints, abandoned cars, and petty theft. Multiple analyses have estimated that less than 2 percent of CFS are for violent incidents.^{1,2} Retired Chicago police officer David Franco explains “We spend entire shifts dealing with noncriminal matters from disturbance and suspicious person calls... With so many low-level issues put on our shoulders, police cannot prioritize the serious crimes.”³

In addition to responding to a high volume of low-level and non-criminal 911 CFS, police have also been increasingly asked to respond to people experiencing mental health crises. Many of these encounters have resulted in uses of force by police, including deadly officer involved shootings. A number of the emerging examples of effective community driven crime reduction and emergency response models focus specifically on mental health incidents.

- 1 <https://www.vera.org/downloads/publications/understanding-police-enforcement-911-analysis.pdf#page=134>
- 2 <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/19/upshot/unrest-police-time-violent-crime.html>
- 3 <https://chicago.suntimes.com/2020/12/9/22166229/chicago-police-department-911-calls-civilian-community-responders-cpd>

Eugene Crisis Assistance Helping Out on the Streets (CAHOOTS)

Crisis Assistance Helping Out on The Streets, or CAHOOTS, is a mobile emergency intervention service established in 1989 in Eugene, Oregon.⁴ This program is free and readily available twenty-four hours a day for mental health and other non-violent related calls.⁵ CAHOOTS is directed by the White Bird Clinic, a regional health center in partnership with the City of Eugene. Each CAHOOTS unit is comprised of an emergency medical technician (EMT) and a mental health service provider.⁶

CAHOOTS staff are required to go through 40 hours of classroom education and over 500 hours of field work that is supervised by a qualified guide. Their education consists of de-escalation methods and emergency response services. CAHOOTS personnel are able to perform wellness checks, offer mental health services and substance use resources, administer medical aid, and provide mediation assistance.⁷

More than 60 percent of CAHOOTS clients are experiencing homelessness and nearly 30 percent have serious mental illness. CAHOOTS had some level of involvement in nearly 21,000 public-initiated

- 4 Id.
- 5 <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/criminal-justice/reports/2019/10/02/475220/neighborhoodstat-strengthening-public-safety-community-empowerment/>
- 6 <https://www.mentalhealthportland.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/2018CAHOOTSBROCHURE.pdf>
- 7 <https://www.mentalhealthportland.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/2018CAHOOTSBROCHURE.pdf>

CFS in 2019, with the number of calls having steadily increased since the program's inception. Among all adults involved with CAHOOTS, the average age was 45.5 years.

Numerous evaluations have shown consistent, robust results for the CAHOOTS program. Approximately 5-8 percent of calls are diverted from the police to CAHOOTS, comprising nearly 14,000 calls annually that CAHOOTS alone responds to annually, according to an analysis of 2019 CFS. Of these, only 2.2 percent necessitated backup or police involvement.⁸ The program costs approximately \$2 million annually, and generates an estimated \$8.5 million in savings for the Eugene Police Department, and an additional \$2.9 million in savings for other city government agencies, annually.^{9,10,11}

Several cities have explored or are currently implementing replications of CAHOOTS. In Oakland, the city is preparing to launch the Mobile Assistance Community Responders of Oakland (MACRO) initiative.¹² The pilot program will be managed by the Oakland Fire Department and will be available twenty-four hours per day, seven days per week in two person teams. As of June 2021, the City of Oakland has allocated \$16.5 million to fund MACRO.¹³

Denver Support Team Assisted Response (STAR)

Based on the CAHOOTS program in Eugene, Oregon, STAR is a community responder model created in 2020. STAR is a joint effort between many stakeholders, including the Denver Police Department (DPD), Denver's Paramedic Division, Mental Health Center of Denver, and community-based organizations. STAR provides direct,

8 <https://www.eugene-or.gov/DocumentCenter/View/56717/CAHOOTS-Program-Analysis>

9 <https://www.vera.org/behavioral-health-crisis-alternatives/cahoots>

10 <https://www.mentalhealthportland.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/2018CAHOOTSBROCHURE.pdf>

11 <https://www.mentalhealthportland.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/2018CAHOOTSBROCHURE.pdf>

12 https://urbanstrategies.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/USC-MACRO-REPORT-6_10_20.pdf

13 <https://oaklandnewsnow.com/06/27/2021/city-of-oakland-macro-oaklands-civilian-crisis-responders-to-get-10-million-from-california/97020/>

emergency response to residents of the community who are experiencing difficulties connected to mental health, poverty, homelessness, or substance use. The STAR transport vehicle operates Monday through Friday from 10 AM to 6 PM. The time frame of operation was chosen based on an analysis of CFS data.¹⁴ STAR unit staff are made up of unarmed personnel, with each team including a mental health service provider and a paramedic.¹⁵

Before the implementation of STAR, calls to 911 were either transmitted to the DPD or the hospital system. The majority of calls (68 percent) routed to STAR concerned individuals that were experiencing homelessness. Around 41 percent of individuals who STAR had been involved with were referred to additional services by the STAR unit staff.¹⁶

In just half a year after the program was established, the STAR unit had addressed 748 calls. The DPD was never called to support the unit in responding to these CFS. Moreover, there were no arrests made in any of the calls evaluated during the initial six months of program operation. The City of Denver is planning to invest an additional \$3 million in 2021 to expand the program.

Olympia Crisis Response Unit (CRU)

Incorporating both CAHOOTS principles and crisis intervention teams, the Crisis Response Unit (CRU) was implemented in Olympia, Washington in April 2019, as a result of a 2017 citywide safety measure that allocated an initial half million dollars for an improved crisis response model. The Olympia Police Department (OPD) contracted with a community-based organization to serve as a new option for behavioral health calls for service. The CRU team consists of six mental health professionals that operate in pairs. Along with a state certification in behavioral health, CRU staff must undergo training that includes police patrol exposure, community engagement, and education about available community support.¹⁷

14 https://wp-denverite.s3.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2021/02/STAR_Pilot_6_Month_Evaluation_FINAL-REPORT.pdf

15 <https://www.9news.com/article/news/denver-star-program-results-police/73-90e50e08-94c5-474d-8e94-926d42f8f41d>

16 Id.

17 <https://www.vera.org/behavioral-health-crisis-alternatives/cru-and-familiar-faces>



CRU operates from 7 AM to 9 PM daily, supplying clients with supports such as mediation, housing assistance, and referrals to additional services.¹⁸ Police lines of communication are utilized by CRU staff to identify situations that necessitate CRU response. The City's 911 operations hub and law enforcement personnel can also refer callers directly to CRU. Often, 911 callers request CRU assistance specifically, as the team has fostered strong community ties. Moreover, a significant portion of calls for service referred to CRU originate from community-based service providers, as opposed to the 911 system itself. When CRU staff encounter an individual the team has been called on to support multiple times, they refer the individual to Familiar Faces, a peer navigation program.¹⁹

Most individuals who were assisted by CRU were experiencing homelessness or mental health issues at the time of service. Out of the 511 calls CRU engaged with from April to June of 2020, OPD was

only needed 86 times. Establishing and maintaining trust between CRU and residents is an essential part of the initiative.²⁰ Post-implementation surveys show that many police officers became advocates of the model after seeing the program in action for six months.

San Francisco Street Crisis Response Team (SCRT)

The City and County of San Francisco, California has implemented a pilot alternative response program for individuals experiencing a behavioral health crisis. The San Francisco Fire Department, in conjunction with the Public Health Department, responds to 911 calls related to these issues via Street Crisis Response Teams (SCRT). Street Crisis Response Teams include a behavioral health specialist, peer interventionist, and a first responder. Currently, there are two teams that work 12-hour

18 <https://olympiawa.gov/city-services/police-department/Crisis-Response-Peer-Navigator.aspx>

19 <https://www.vera.org/behavioral-health-crisis-alternatives/cru-and-familiar-faces>

20 <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/criminal-justice/reports/2020/10/28/492492/community-responder-model/>

shifts, but there are plans to expand to six teams to provide an around-the-clock response.²¹

SCRT collaborated with community-based organizations including the Glide Foundation and HealthRIGHT360 to ensure that community providers and local residents would be able to provide feedback and input about the new program. The proposed SCRT budget for fiscal year 2021-2022 is approximately \$13.5 million, which includes staff training and team expansion. An evaluation of the pilot program is currently underway.²²

When 911 calls come into the dispatch center that are determined to be appropriate for SCRT, SCRT is dispatched; a team responds on average in fifteen minutes. No calls for service routed to SCRT required police action or backup in the first two months of the pilot. Approximately 74 percent of individuals assisted by SCRT had their issues resolved, whether it be through transfers to additional supports or de-escalation techniques.²³ Initial analyses show that SCRT could respond to up to 17,000 behavioral health calls each year. Because of the small scope of the initial pilot, only 20 percent of behavioral health calls received during the first two months of implementation were able to be responded to by the SCRT.

Austin Expanded Mobile Crisis Outreach Team (EMCOT)

In order to reduce the burden on the Austin Police Department (APD) associated with mental health calls, the City of Austin, Texas established the Expanded Mobile Crisis Outreach Team (EMCOT) in conjunction with Integral Care, the City's community-based mental health service provider. EMCOT assists individuals undergoing a behavioral or mental health crisis. Agencies such as APD or the Sheriff's Office are able to call for EMCOT services by way of the 911 dispatch hub. EMCOT provides its clients with supports in the form of therapy, life coaching, rehabilitation, and other services.²⁴

21 <https://sfmayor.org/article/san-franciscos-new-street-crisis-response-team-launches-today>

22 https://www.sfdph.org/dph/files/IWG/SCRT_IWG_Is_sue_Brief_FINAL.pdf

23 Id.

24 <https://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=302634>

Since its establishment in 2013, EMCOT has assisted 6,859 clients. The most recently available data is from FY2017, which shows that EMCOT responded to 3,244 CFS, at a rate of approximately 9 times per day. Each client was served for an average of 21 days and provided three different types of supports. In general, post-crisis services are available for up to 3 months after initial contact.²⁵ Integral Care reported that 86 percent of calls routed to a mental health response did not require police backup.²⁶

EMCOT is currently available from 8AM to 12AM Monday through Friday and 10AM to 8PM on Saturday and Sunday.²⁷ With the additional funding, EMCOT is now projected to provide around-the-clock availability for calls for service. Expansion of telehealth services for the program is also included in the new funding.²⁸ For all CFS involving EMCOT, 85.4 percent were handled without police officers.²⁹

In 2020, a new dispatch system was established in Austin and a mental health paraprofessional was permanently stationed in the 911 dispatch center. Callers to 911 now have the option to request mental health services instead of police.³⁰ If the operator determines the caller would benefit from these supports, the call is handed over to a mental health professional. If a clinician is unavailable at the time, an EMCOT staff member is deployed. Currently, the clinicians are present all week for a set number of hours each day. This initiative was funded by the reallocation of \$11 million from the Austin Police Department's budget. The EMCOT budget itself was also recently increased to \$3.15 million, a 75 percent increase in funding for the program.³¹

25 Id.

26 <https://www.kxan.com/news/local/austin/new-911-call-option-offers-direct-mental-health-help-that-one-attorney-says-may-have-saved-one-familys-son/>

27 <https://www.fox7austin.com/news/crisis-counselors-responding-to-more-mental-health-calls-in-austin>

28 <http://www.austintexas.gov/edims/pio/document.cfm?id=320044>

29 <https://www.austinmonitor.com/stories/2020/08/integral-care-set-to-address-most-mental-health-emergency-calls-without-involving-apd/>

30 <https://www.kvue.com/article/news/health/apd-adds-mental-health-services-to-911-answering-script/269-e7dde2e6-4a65-4d5c-a2a7-a26e57110a81>

31 <https://www.austinmonitor.com/stories/2020/08/integral-care-set-to-address-most-mental-health-emergency-calls-without-involving-apd/>

Houston Crisis Call Diversion (CCD)

The Crisis Call Diversion (CCD) program in Houston, Texas is a joint effort between the fire department, police department, emergency center, and mental health service providers in the area. In 2017, the Houston Police Department (HPD) received 37,032 calls for service that involved behavior or mental health problems. When calls for service come in, dispatchers flag any that would necessitate CCD response— non-emergency behavioral and mental health calls. Once flagged, these callers are connected to CCD counselors. The CCD counselor evaluates the situation and the mental health of the caller and attempts to provide assistance over the phone.³²

If additional community response or police presence is needed, the dispatcher can request that as well. The call is taken off the police dispatch line when the CCD dispatcher verifies that the CCD team is on the way to the scene. CCD teams can contact the caller while traveling to the specified location in order to collect as much relevant information as possible. Upon examination of the data, each rerouted call generates savings of nearly \$4,500. The CCD costs approximately \$460,000 annually and is estimated to generate over \$860,000 in annual savings.³³

Seattle Department of Community Safety & Violence Prevention

The Seattle City Council passed Resolution 31962 in August 2020, which lays the foundation for a civilian led Department of Community Safety & Violence Prevention. This Department, which is expected to be up and running by the fourth quarter of 2021, will assume responsibility for manning 911 call lines, replacing police operators with “civilian-controlled systems.”³⁴

32 <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/criminal-justice/reports/2020/10/28/492492/community-responder-model/>

33 <https://www.houstoncit.org/ccd/>

34 <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/seattle-city-council-passes-cuts-to-police-budget-and-resolution-to-establish-civilian-led-department-of-community-safety-violence-prevention>

Ithaca Department of Community Solutions and Public Safety

In February 2021, the Mayor of Ithaca, New York, proposed the creation of a new Department of Community Solutions and Public Safety that would replace the Ithaca Police Department.³⁵ This new department would include both armed officers and unarmed workers who focus on crime and neighborhood service. The department would work with a new alternative service provider that provides non-law enforcement crisis intervention and support. All current police officers would have to reapply to be employed by the new department.

The proposal is a part of the Ithaca Reimagining Public Safety Collaborative and a response to the New York State Governor’s Executive Order mandating every police department in the state to submit a reform plan by April 1, 2021.³⁶

The new Department of Community Solutions and Public Safety would be charged with implementing an alternative to the police response system and establishing a pilot program for non-emergency calls, implementing a culturally responsive training program that includes de-escalation techniques, and developing a comprehensive community healing plan.

Other initiatives proposed under this strategy include standardizing a data review process on traffic stops as well as consistent reviews of officers’ body camera footage. Minor grievances would be outsourced to neighborhood mediation centers. Adolescent engagement support programs would be broadened in order to reach those at high risk of violence. The new personnel of the Department would be recruited from a more varied body of applicants as well to reflect the residents of the city in which they operate.³⁷

In order to oversee the recommendations made by the Mayor and Ithaca Reimagining Public Safety Collaborative, the City of Ithaca has arranged for the creation of an operations hub known as the

35 <https://www.gq.com/story/ithaca-mayor-svante-myrick-police-reform>

36 <https://www.governor.ny.gov/news/governor-cuomo-announces-new-guidance-police-reform-collaborative-reinvent-and-modernize>

37 <https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1NTZ6j6WRze75m5fTuf-wC4BgC-1ddJn0>

Community Justice Center (CJC). The CJC will have its own full-time staff including but not limited to a project manager and a data analyst. The CJC is set to give progress updates to the Tompkins County Legislature and the City of Ithaca Mayor to ensure each recommendation is properly addressed.³⁸

Tiered Dispatch & Community Emergency Response Network

NICJR has developed a tiered dispatch model for CFS, one that includes a robust, structured, and well-trained team of community responders – a Community Emergency Response Network (CERN). Pursuant to the NICJR methodology, CFS are initially allocated to CERN Tiers based on a standardized approach outlined below:



Tier 1: CERN dispatched only

- › Event type: Non-Criminal



Tier 2: CERN lead, with officers present

- › Event type: Misdemeanor with low potential of violence
- › If CERN arrives on scene and determines there is low potential for violence and an arrest is unnecessary or unlikely, officers leave.



Tier 3: Officers lead, with CERN present

- › Event type: Non-Violent Felony or an arrest is likely
- › If officers arrive on scene and determine there is no need for an arrest or an arrest is unlikely and violence is unlikely, officers step back and CERN takes the lead.



Type 4: Officers only

- › Event type: Serious Violent Felony or high likelihood of arrest

³⁸ <https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1NTZ6j6WRze75m5fTuf-wC4BgC-1ddJnO>

Non-Law Enforcement Crime Reduction Strategies



New York City Mayor's Action Plan (MAP) for Neighborhood Safety

The Mayor's Action Plan for Neighborhood Safety (MAP) was launched in 2014 in fifteen New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) properties. MAP was designed to foster productive dialogue between local residents and law enforcement agencies, address physical disorganization, and bolster pro-social community bonds. Disorganized neighborhoods are characterized by dense poverty, a lack of social mobility, and underdeveloped community connections. These factors contribute to circumstances that make a given neighborhood more vulnerable to crime and violence.³⁹ The 15 housing developments chosen for the program account for approximately 20 percent of violence in NYCHA housing.⁴⁰

MAP's focal point is NeighborhoodStat, a process that allows local officials and residents to communicate directly with each other. Issues in each particular housing development are addressed in local meetings which involve multiple stakeholders, including residents, community-based organizations, law enforcement, and government officials. NeighborhoodStat allows residents to have a say in the way New York City (NYC) allocates its public safety resources. The process is facilitated by a team of 15 community members who conduct polls and interviews to determine what the residents feel are the biggest

issues in their neighborhoods. NeighborhoodStat also utilizes data analyses regarding employment, physical structure, access to resources, and other metrics in developing its recommendations for key areas of focus. At community meetings, this data and other benchmarks for performance are presented by community-based partners, allowing for full transparency. Residents and law enforcement also put forward their concerns and ideas. Once problems are pinpointed through meaningful dialogue, residents and NYC officials come together to generate solutions, which are then implemented by the Mayor's Office and assessed over time.⁴¹

Other initiatives MAP has undertaken include providing employment and life coaching services to youth who are at most risk for violence. MAP also focuses on addressing major chronic disease determinants, including low physical activity levels and nutrient-poor diets. Programs such as NYPD Anti-Violence basketball games and pop-up healthy food stands have been established. In addition, public infrastructure has been improved through enhanced lighting, green spaces, and park improvements.⁴²

Early evaluations of MAP show promising results for a reduction in various crimes as well as increased perception of healthier neighborhoods. Significantly, misdemeanor offenses against individuals decreased in developments where residents expressed a

39 http://www.children.gov.on.ca/htdocs/English/professionals/oyap/roots/volume5/chapter04_social_disorganization.aspx

40 <https://criminaljustice.cityofnewyork.us/programs/map/>

41 <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/criminal-justice/reports/2019/10/02/475220/neighborhoodstat-strengthening-public-safety-community-empowerment/>

42 <https://criminaljustice.cityofnewyork.us/programs/map/>

positive change in their neighborhood's condition.⁴³ Furthermore, shootings in MAP sites decreased by 17.1 percent in 2015 and 2016 when compared with non-MAP sites.⁴⁴

Domestic Violence

Every year, an estimated 10 million people in the US experience domestic and family violence. Often a cycle of abuse is perpetuated in these situations, as experience with previous violence is a strong predictor for future abuse.⁴⁵ The financial expense of domestic and family violence is projected to be \$12 billion each year.

Domestic violence is a difficult and complex problem. Laws have been established that mandate arrests even for minor incidents; these same laws have generated a growing movement of survivors calling for non-enforcement responses. The challenges here are significant, as a lack of intervention can lead to serious injury and death, primarily of women and transgender women.

An additional complication in domestic violence work is the retraumatization of survivors that occurs in the judicial system. When survivors of domestic violence endeavor to obtain recourse through the courts, they are often blamed for the abuse and undergo a disparagement of their character. Moreover, testimony is often given in an open court setting, which requires that a survivor recount the abuse they have undergone while simultaneously appearing composed in order to credibly convey their trauma, often in the presence of their abuser.⁴⁶ Reliving one's trauma and facing an abuser can cause feelings of helplessness, anxiety, and PTSD to surface in the survivor. Unfortunately, retraumatization often results in a major roadblock for survivors to pursue justice in domestic violence cases.⁴⁷

There is a significant overlap in addressing domestic violence incidence and anti-poverty work, as intimate partner violence is correlated with

devastating monetary effects on survivors who seek to leave their abusive situations. Interventions such as economic education and employment training can both reduce violence and provide critically necessary financial support.

Major domestic violence support programs implemented by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) include STOP Sexual Violence (SV) and the Preventing Intimate Partner Violence (IPV).⁴⁸ According to the CDC, these strategies focus on promoting social norms that protect against violence; teaching skills to prevent SV; providing opportunities, both economic and social, to empower and support girls and women; creating protective environments; and supporting victims/survivors to reduce harms. Research indicates that IPV is most prevalent in adolescence and young adulthood and then begins to decline with age, demonstrating the critical importance of early prevention efforts.⁴⁹ Analyses of these financial support programs have demonstrated results including increased confidence for survivors as well as decreases in domestic assault incidences.⁵⁰

Another area of focus has been to revisit the mandatory arrest policies for domestic violence calls in place in many jurisdictions.⁵¹ Alternatives to this approach emphasize coordinated community response teams that maximize the role of community. An effective model integrates other providers, including faith leaders and the courts.⁵²

Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Sexual exploitation of minors has historically been difficult to adequately address. This is due to a plethora of factors, ranging from difficulty in identifying adolescents who experience sexual exploitation to a limited understanding of the various methods used to traffic children and the best approaches to engage the victims.⁵³ Too often, sexually exploited minors have faced arrest

43 https://johnjayrec.nyc/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/MAP_EvalUpdate06.pdf

44 https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/operations/downloads/pdf/mmr2016/mayors_action_plan_for_neighborhood_safety.pdf

45 <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK499891/>

46 <https://www.seattletimes.com/opinion/a-justice-system-that-re-traumatizes-assault-survivors/>

47 <https://arizonalawreview.org/pdf/62-1/62arizrev81.pdf>

48 <http://www.preventconnect.org/2019/08/addressing-poverty-to-prevent-violence/>

49 <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/ipv-technicalpackages.pdf>

50 <https://vawnet.org/material/economic-empowerment-domestic-violence-survivors>

51 <https://opdv.ny.gov/help/fss/part22.html>

52 <https://www.bwjp.org/our-work/topics/ccr-models.html>

53 <https://ojdp.ojp.gov/mpg/literature-review/csec-sex-trafficking.pdf>

and incarceration instead of intervention and support.⁵⁴ More than 1,000 children are arrested for “prostitution” annually. However, anywhere from 57,000 to 63,000 individuals are estimated to be involved in commercial sexual exploitation in the United States, a disproportionate number being youth of color.⁵⁵

The Vera Institute has produced a screening procedure for service providers to follow when encountering an individual who could potentially be a survivor of sexual exploitation. Consisting of a thirty-subject questionnaire, the Trafficking Victim Identification Tool (TVIT), serves to aid in trafficking victim identification. Evaluations have proven that the tool has high accuracy and validity rates.⁵⁶ Health care providers, social workers, legal aid personnel, and others can use the screening tool to better identify those who have experienced commercial sexual exploitation.⁵⁷

Jurisdictions have also begun to halt prosecution of prostitution. In April of 2021, the District Attorney’s Office of Manhattan, New York, announced it would dismiss all open cases with a prostitution charge. Prostitution adjacent crimes such as sex trafficking and soliciting sex workers would still be charged. The cities of Baltimore, Maryland, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, have stopped any prosecution of sex workers as well.⁵⁸

Many community-based organizations have established programs that outreach, support, and provide services to minors who have been sexually exploited. It is critical that community-based service providers have the requisite training and education to provide appropriate services and interventions to this population who have experienced abuse, trauma, and exploitation. The training should be trauma-informed, and screeners should be focused on establishing trust with their

54 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2014/12/05/child-prostitutes-arent-criminals-so-why-do-we-keep-putting-them-in-jail/>

55 <https://www.vera.org/publications/out-of-the-shadows-identification-of-victims-of-human-trafficking>

56 <https://www.vera.org/downloads/publications/human-trafficking-identification-tool-summary-v2.pdf>

57 <https://www.vera.org/publications/out-of-the-shadows-identification-of-victims-of-human-trafficking>

58 <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/21/nyregion/manhattan-to-stop-prosecuting-prostitution.html>



clients.⁵⁹ Organizations like FAIR Girls (Washington, D.C.) and MISSEY (Oakland, CA) have initiatives that intervene directly with girls who have been exploited. At MISSEY, case workers engage at-risk youth in the Alameda County foster system and offer them support and services in the form of financial resources, life coaching, and housing.⁶⁰ In Washington D.C., young girls that stayed at the FAIR Girls group home had a 58 percent higher likelihood of permanently withdrawing from commercial sexual exploitation when compared with those who were not provided housing.⁶¹

Traffic Enforcement

Data from The Stanford Open Policing Project shows that Black men and women are stopped at a higher rate than white drivers and are more likely to be fatally shot during the course of that traffic stop.⁶² To significantly lessen the exposure of the general public to the police and instead address transportation violations without law

59 <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/21/nyregion/manhattan-to-stop-prosecuting-prostitution.html>

60 <https://missey.org/foster-youth-program/>

61 <https://fairgirls.org/vida-home/>

62 <https://openpolicing.stanford.edu/findings/>

enforcement involvement, a number of strategies have been employed including: reallocation of certain traffic services to non-law enforcement organizations; the implementation of automation; and decriminalization.

Reducing the use of police officers in traffic enforcement is one potential solution; this approach can be greatly enabled by technology. Speeding and red-light violations are two areas that constitute a large portion of traffic enforcement. There are 19 states that allow speed cameras, and 21 states that allow red-light camera usage.⁶³ Implementing automatic speed citations along with red-light cameras could allow for a reduction of up to 20 percent of police interactions. It is important to note that although this technology is successful at reducing the need for police, it can generate other issues such as enforcement problems and privacy concerns.⁶⁴

Transferring traffic enforcement duties to an agency of unarmed staff can limit problematic police contact with motorists. Programs that do so have been proposed in Cambridge, Massachusetts; St. Louis Park, Minnesota; and Montgomery County, Maryland.⁶⁵ In 2019, automation-based traffic enforcement capabilities were transferred to the Department of Transportation in Washington, D.C.⁶⁶ New York's Attorney General proposed the end of the NYPD's involvement with traffic enforcement in September of 2020.⁶⁷

Another potential strategy can be illustrated by a pilot program in Staten Island, New York, aimed at reducing the number of calls for service related to minor collision.⁶⁸ When a call comes in regarding a collision, dispatch will determine if the collision is minor or serious enough to merit police response. If a collision is deemed to be minor, all individuals involved in the crash simply complete a collision

report and then exchange contact and identification information.⁶⁹

Lastly, ending pre-textual stops for minor traffic infractions could significantly reduce traffic stops. This issue is addressed in more detail in the Policing section of this report.

Neighbor Disputes

Police officers are frequently the first personnel called in when there is a dispute, even a minor one, between neighbors. These events can encompass a broad array of issues, from property damage, blocking a driveway, to noise complaints. Even if police do intervene, the solution is often only temporarily, rather than resolving the root problems that caused the conflict. Police response wastes time and resources and can lead to escalation and violence. Furthermore, neighbor conflicts in low-income and communities of color have a higher likelihood of resulting in an arrest.⁷⁰

Community mediation is a strategy that has proven to reduce police calls for service and decrease the burden on police for nuisance complaints. Several cities have implemented community mediation programs to utilize non-enforcement options to resolve neighbor disputes. In areas where community mediation is prioritized, neighborhood social ties are strengthened, and communities are more harmonious. Moreover, residents who participate in community mediation use less court and police resources. In a study analyzing mediation's effect in Baltimore, Maryland, for example, researchers found that community mediation for neighbor disputes decreased calls for service to the Baltimore Police Department. For a single mediation session, the Baltimore Police Department produced cost savings between \$208 and \$1,649. Among individuals who went through a mediation, the likelihood of arrest and prosecution was lower when compared to those who did not participate.⁷¹

63 <https://www.ghsa.org/state-laws/issues/speed%20and%20red%20light%20cameras>

64 <https://www.governing.com/archive/gov-cities-hit-brakes-red-light-cameras.html>

65 <https://theappeal.org/traffic-enforcement-without-police/>

66 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/transportation/2019/10/01/bowser-does-an-end-run-around-dc-council-transfers-speed-red-light-camera-program-ddot/>

67 <https://apnews.com/article/bronx-arrests-traffic-archive-new-york-c93fa5fc03f25c2b625d36e4c75d1691>

68 <https://www.silive.com/news/2019/03/nypd-dont-call-911-for-crashes-without-injuries.html>

69 <https://abc7ny.com/traffic/nypd-rolls-out-pilot-program-wont-respond-to-every-accident/5205383/>

70 https://mdmediation.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Giving_Police_and_Court_s_a_Break.pdf

71 Id.

Neighbor disputes can also be triaged through a 311 system. Priority is given to complaints based on frequency and the potential to escalate into violence. Outsourcing responses to neighborhood organizations and associations that can operate in conjunction with police officers can be valuable in order to promote a peaceful resolution to violent disputes. These organizations can also conduct sweeps through neighborhoods in order to gain valuable information regarding any disputes.⁷²

Substance Use

In 2016, 25 percent of lethal law enforcement shootings in the US affected individuals undergoing behavioral health or substance use crises.⁷³ Data regarding drug-related charges demonstrates that Black and LGBTQIA+ individuals are disproportionately charged and experience lower rates of treatment.^{74, 75} In addition, calls for service stemming from substance use place an undue strain on emergency departments as well as jails, both of which are often ill-equipped to handle substance use crises. Amid the COVID-19 pandemic, increases in drug and opioid related overdoses have been observed across the United States, underscoring the need for adequate substance use response.⁷⁶

It is important to note that this “adequate response” must reflect the reality that successfully addressing substance use is about management, not halting usage.

The establishment of safe injection facilities (SIF) is a potential avenue for reduction of drug-related deaths. These facilities are supervised areas that allow the uptake of drugs in a safe and hygienic setting.

There are a plethora of positive impacts that stem from SIF implementation. SIF have prevented thousands of overdoses with most reporting

zero overdose fatalities.⁷⁷ Studies have noted a significant decrease in transference of blood-borne diseases such as HIV and Hepatitis B/C at SIFs due to their clinical standards.⁷⁸ An increase in uptake of treatment for substance use disorder was also observed after SIF involvement. An evaluation done by the Vancouver Mental Health and Addiction Services demonstrated a significant curtailment of drug injection in public areas as well as a reduction in associated litter post-SIF implementation.⁷⁹ SIFs have also been shown to reduce emergency ambulatory calls for service while open.⁸⁰

San Francisco, California recently approved a bill that would implement safe injection facilities in the City.⁸¹ The Department of Public Health would oversee the establishment of two pilot SIFs. The City estimates that cost savings generated by reducing HIV and Hepatitis C caseload would be approximately \$3.5 million annually.⁸²

Syringe services programs (SSPs), also known as Needle Exchange Programs (NEPs), are a harm reduction mechanism that offer individuals with hygienic and safe needles and syringes along with referrals to other services. These services can include further medical care, treatment programs, and therapy access. SSPs also provide testing for diseases, vaccinations, and naloxone dispensation. A critical component of SSPs is the communication of education regarding overdose signs and proper injection technique. They are typically overseen by local public health departments that work in conjunction with community-based organizations.⁸³

Numerous benefits have been linked to proper SSP implementation including decreases in the rate of drug use frequency when compared with individuals who have never utilized an SSP.⁸⁴ Sterile equipment provided by SSPs is also associated with a reduction

72 https://popcenter.asu.edu/sites/default/files/2020-spi_spotlight_series-retaliatoryviolentdisputes_final.pdf

73 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/police-shootings-2016/>

74 <https://www.americanprogress.org/press/release/2016/02/23/131547/release-broken-criminal-justice-system-disproportionately-targets-and-harms-lgbt-people/>

75 <https://www.marylandaddictionrecovery.com/impact-of-addiction-african-american-community/>

76 <https://www.ama-assn.org/system/files/2020-12/issue-brief-increases-in-opioid-related-overdose.pdf>

77 <https://www.ohfn.on.ca/rapid-response-83-supervised-injection/>

78 Id.

79 <http://www.healthyalamedacounty.org/promiseppractice/index/view?pid=3840c>

80 https://kingcounty.gov/~media/depts/community-human-services/behavioral-health-recovery/documents/herointf/Safe_Consumption_Facilities_Evidence_Models.ashx?la=en

81 <https://www.ktvu.com/news/san-francisco-supervisors-unanimously-approve-legislation-for-safe-injection-sites>

82 <https://www.glide.org/safe-injection-sites-are-coming-to-san-francisco/>

83 <https://www.cdc.gov/ssp/syringe-services-programs-faq.html>

84 <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/11027894/>

in bloodborne infections, sexually transmitted diseases, and other health issues. When an SSP is instituted in a community, there is no corresponding increase in drug usage or crime in the area.⁸⁵

The Needle Exchange Program in Baltimore, Maryland provides clean needles to intravenous drug users in order to reduce related health issues. There are currently 16 locations across Baltimore, with plans for expansion.⁸⁶ An evaluation of the intervention program found that participation in the program was correlated with a 33 percent increase in the likelihood of entering treatment.⁸⁷

Street outreach programs that connect intravenous drug users and individuals suffering from substance use disorder to services are also beneficial.

The City of San Francisco, California is launching a sobering site for individuals using methamphetamines. In non-emergent cases, clients will be transported to the sobering site and offered medication such as antipsychotics or sedatives. This site will reduce the burden on emergency departments and free up psychiatric services in hospitals.⁸⁸ HealthRIGHT 360, a community-based organization, will oversee the sobering site after it is opened.⁸⁹ In order to recruit clients to the sobering center, the site will collaborate with San Francisco's Street Crisis Response Team (SCRT), referenced in detail in the Emerging Non-Enforcement Models of Community Response section of this report.

The Arlington Opiate Outreach Initiative was created in 2015 in Arlington, Massachusetts. The partnership brings together social workers, community-based organizations, health workers, and public health clinicians housed in the Arlington Police Department in order to foster relationships with residents of the community and then connect them to treatment and supports. Individuals in the community are identified for possible treatment after frequent police encounters, prior history of drug usage, or previous

hospitalization related to overdoses.⁹⁰ Public health clinicians will then attempt to engage the identified community member through home visits, contact with family/ friends, and provision of naloxone kits.

Conversations for Change, a program based in Dayton, Ohio, is marked by its emphasis on meetings that serve to engage the community and offer residents education regarding potential treatment choices and services. The program is a partnership between the Dayton Police Department and East End Community Services, a non-profit, community-based organization. Individuals are recruited through an array of avenues, from parole officers to community-based organizations that are involved with substance use disorders. Monetary benefits in the form of grocery store gift cards are used to incentivize individuals to attend meetings.

Meetings first involve a direct, one-on-one conversation with a motivational mediator from the Dayton Mediation Center about a client's current status and goals. After this initial conversation, presentations from health officials and residents with similar lived experiences are given. Providers finally offer naloxone training to the clients at the meetings.⁹¹ The Conversations for Change program also includes an SSP.⁹²

A more direct approach to curbing the impact of substance use disorders on the demand for policing is decriminalization.

Oregon became the first state in the United States to decriminalize the possession of all drugs effective February 2021. Possessing heroin, cocaine, methamphetamine and other drugs for personal use is no longer a criminal offense in Oregon.⁹³

Those drugs are still against the law, as is selling them. But possession is now a civil – not criminal – violation that may result in a fine or court-ordered therapy, not jail.

85 <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1446444/>

86 <https://health.baltimorecity.gov/hiv-std-services/community-risk-reduction>

87 <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/16364566/>

88 https://www.sfdph.org/dph/files/MethTaskForce/Meth%20Task%20Force%20Final%20Report_FULL.pdf

89 <https://www.sfexaminer.com/news-columnists/new-search-launched-for-meth-sobering-center-site/>

90 <https://icjia.illinois.gov/researchhub/articles/rethinking-law-enforcement-s-role-on-drugs-community-drug-intervention-and-diversion-efforts#fnref52#fn44>

91 Id.

92 <https://icjia.illinois.gov/researchhub/articles/rethinking-law-enforcement-s-role-on-drugs-community-drug-intervention-and-diversion-efforts#fnref52#fn46>

93 Oregon discussion draws heavily from: <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/articles/2020-12-10/oregon-just-decriminalized-all-drugs-heres-why-voters-passed-this-groundbreaking-reform>

There are three main arguments for decriminalization:

1 Criminalization has failed

The reason for punishing drug users is to deter drug use. But decades of research have found the deterrent effect of strict criminal punishment to be small, if it exists at all. This is especially true among young people.

Because criminalizing drugs does not really prevent drug use, **decriminalizing has not been found to increase it**. Portugal, **which decriminalized the personal possession of all drugs in 2001** in response to high illicit drug use, has much lower rates of drug use than the European average. Use of cocaine among young adults age 15 to 34, for example, is 0.3 percent in Portugal, compared to 2.1 percent across the EU.

2 Decriminalization allows reinvestment in treatment

Arresting, prosecuting, and imprisoning people for drug-related crimes is expensive.

The Harvard economist Jeffrey Miron estimates that all government drug prohibition-related expenditures were \$47.8 billion in 2016. Money spent arresting, prosecuting, and incarcerating individuals for drug-related offenses can be more effectively, from both outcomes and cost perspectives, reinvested in treatment services.

3 The drug war disproportionately impacts people of color

Another aim of decriminalization is to mitigate the significant **racial and ethnic disparities associated with drug enforcement**.

Illegal drug use is roughly comparable across races in the U.S. But people of color are significantly more likely to be **searched, arrested and imprisoned for a drug-related offense**.

Community Driven Violence Reduction Strategies



Crime is often concentrated low-income neighborhoods, with Black and Latinx individuals disproportionately experiencing higher rates of violence. These ‘hot spots’ of violent crime experience a complex array of challenges, ranging from high rates of poverty and incarceration to poor quality education and a lack of trust in government institutions. Unfortunately, the effects of exposure to violence are widespread, affecting the health and development of not only those directly involved but also that of their families and communities. Neighborhoods with these characteristics necessitate immediate intervention to disrupt the cycle of interpersonal violence and its devastating consequences.⁹⁴

There has however been consistent success in a small number of effective strategies summarized briefly below and described more comprehensively in a 2021 NICJR publication, *Four Proven Violence Reduction Strategies*. When implemented with fidelity, these interventions have been successful at reducing violence, with many initiatives showing improvements in the first six to twelve months of implementation.

The four highlighted strategies, Gun Violence Reduction Strategy, Hospital- Based Violence Intervention, Office of Neighborhood Safety/ Advance Peace, and Street Outreach – all incorporate similar best practices:

- Identifying and focusing on individuals, groups, and communities at the highest risk of being involved in violence;
- Employing Credible Messengers/community outreach workers to engage those individuals/ groups in a positive and trusting manner; and
- Providing ongoing services, supports, and opportunities to high- risk individuals.

These core elements are essential to the success of any violence intervention strategy.

Gun Violence Reduction Strategy

Gun Violence Reduction Strategy (GVRS) is known by many other names: Ceasefire, Focused Deterrence, and Group Violence Intervention. GVRS is a comprehensive strategy that utilizes a data-driven process to identify the individuals and groups at the highest risk of committing or being involved in gun violence and deploying effective interventions with these individuals.

Initially developed in Boston, where it was referred to as the “Boston Miracle”, GVRS has evolved as it has been implemented in cities including Oakland and Stockton, California, to include more in-depth and intensive services and supports.⁹⁵

94 <https://www.huduser.gov/portal/periodicals/em/summer16/highlight2.html>

95 <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2018/dec/06/bostons-miracle-how-free-nappies-and-a-little-mentoring-are-curbing>



Identification of Program Participants

GVRS employs a data-driven process to identify the individual and groups who are at the very highest risk of being involved in a shooting. This involves an initial Gun Violence Problem Analysis, which provides a thorough examination of the shootings and homicides in a given city over the past two to three years in order to produce information about victim and suspect demographics, group conflicts in the area, prior history of violence, and general trends.

Engagement: Direct and Respectful Communication

Once high-risk individuals and groups are identified, the GVRS strategy requires immediate engagement. This engagement involves direct and respectful communication to inform identified individuals of their risk and offering them services. There are two primary formats for these discussions: Group meetings, referred to as “Call-Ins” and individual meetings, sometimes referred to as “Customized

Notifications”. At Call-Ins, the recently identified very high-risk individuals are invited to attend a meeting with community leaders, law enforcement officials, formerly incarcerated individuals, survivors of violence, and service providers. Custom Notifications convey similar messages about the risk of violence and the availability of services. However, Custom Notifications are individual meetings where a high-ranking police officer and a community leader directly make contact with an individual at their home or community.

Provision of Services

Subsequent to a Call-In or a Custom Notification, individuals identified as being at very high risk of gun violence are directly connected to available services, supports, and opportunities. The first and primary service is a positive and trusting relationship with a Life Coach or Violence Intervention worker, someone with similar lived experiences as the people they are serving. These individuals are often known as Credible Messengers. The Life Coach or

GOALS

1. Reduce Homicides & Shootings
2. Improve Outcomes
3. Build Police-Community Trust

01

Data-driven ID of Groups & Individuals
(Data & Intel, Shooting Reviews)

02

Direct Communication
(Call-Ins, Custom Notifications)

03

Services, Supports, & Opportunities
(Interested Direct Communication participants)

04

Focused Enforcement
(on actively violent people)

Intervention Worker is an intensive and personal relationship – which is the most important aspect of the services. Unlike service brokering based case management, contact between the Life Coach and the client must be frequent, flexible, consistent, and on-going for a long period of time.

In Oakland, California’s GVRs, clients are also eligible to receive monthly, modest financial incentive stipends for achieving certain milestones.

Focused Enforcement

One of the overt goals of GVRs is to reduce the footprint of police by focusing enforcement on serious and violent crime. For those individuals and groups who do not respond to the GVRs message and continue to engage in violence, this means that there is follow-up supervision and focused enforcement by police, probation, parole, and prosecutors; enforcement action is not taken simply for failure to participate in GVRs programming.

Hospital-Based Violence Intervention Programs (HVIPs)

Hospital-Based Violence Intervention Programs (HVIP), view violence through a public health-centered lens. Analogous to the spread of an illness, violence has been shown to proliferate with increased proximity and exposure to others.⁹⁶ That is, contact with violence itself increases the probability that those exposed will be directly involved in violence.⁹⁷

Identification of Program Participants

Under the HVIP model, the physical location of a trauma center or emergency room is seen as valuable in the fight against violence. One of the major risk factors for future violence is a history of previous violence. With this in mind, the HVIP model places the responsibility for identifying clients with hospital workers who pinpoint patients that are at highest likelihood for future victimization.

⁹⁶ <https://www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars/fatal.html>

⁹⁷ <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK207245/>

Engagement Strategy

HVIPs make use of the distinct cross-section of time—known as a “teachable moment”—in which after an injury an individual is open to making changes in their behavior and circumstances. During this time period, specialized hospital staff and community-based partners come together in support of the patient in order to diminish the chance of retaliation and further violence. HIVIPs are especially important right now in the fight against violence, as injury recidivism rates have been shown to be as high as 60 percent in certain areas.⁹⁸

Provision of Services

Once this initial bond is created, Intervention Specialists construct a comprehensive plan with their clients to spur on meaningful change. These plans typically include non-violent crisis management methods, counseling for both the client and their family, information on risks and outcomes associated with violence, as well as access to community services including employment assistance, mentoring, education, and court assistance. Consultation with family and health providers is necessary to develop a plan that is feasible and trauma-informed.

Office of Neighborhood Safety/ Advance Peace

In 2007, the City of Richmond, CA launched the Office of Neighborhood Safety (ONS), amid escalating homicide rates and increasing numbers of firearm cases. Prior to the establishment of the ONS, the Richmond City Council analyzed violence in Richmond and found that gun violence disproportionately affected Black men aged 18-24, with that population constituting 73 percent of homicide fatalities.⁹⁹ This finding served as the basis for the creation of the Office of Neighborhood Safety.

⁹⁸ https://journals.lww.com/jtrauma/Abstract/2020/08/000/Recidivism_rates_following_firearm_injury_as.17.aspx

⁹⁹ https://www.evidentchange.org/sites/default/files/publication_pdf/ons-process-evaluation.pdf

Identification of Program Participants

The ONS employs a data-driven approach in identification of individuals at highest risk. Leveraging their relationships in the community, ONS Neighborhood Change Agents (NCA) conduct daily sweeps of their communities, an effort that provides a continuous flow of critical information that informs staff response. NCAs are able to gather information regarding those individuals that are most prone to violence, current conflicts or family issues that may result in violence, and other information that is used to directly inform subsequent intervention activity.

In addition, ONS obtains data from the Richmond Police Department (RPD) to support identification of those individuals at highest risk based on the data from law enforcement.

Provision of Services

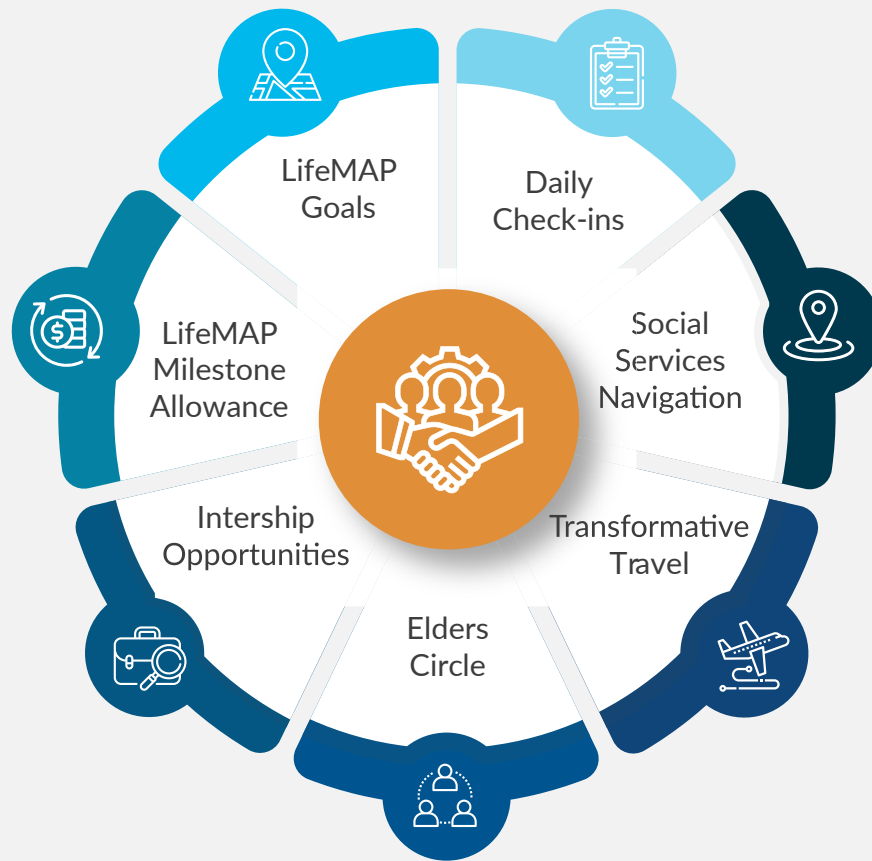
ONS's main program is the Peacemaker Fellowship.[®] The Peacemaker Fellowship interrupts gun violence by providing transformational opportunities to young men involved in lethal firearm offenses and placing them in a high-touch, personalized fellowship.

The Fellowship provides life coaching, mentoring, connection to needed services and cultural and educational excursions, known as Transformative Travel, to those deemed to be the most dangerous individuals in the city. Fellows travel across the country and to several international destinations. Fellows can also receive significant financial incentives for participation and positive behavior as a gateway to developing intrinsic motivation that arises from internal and not external rewards.

Street Outreach

Referred to by a variety of names and long seen as the primary entry point for violence reduction programs, Street Outreach can be an effective intervention when implemented correctly. A number of organizations and programs throughout the country have successfully operated Street Outreach initiatives, including **Urban Peace Initiative** in Los Angeles, who also

SEVEN TOUCHPOINTS:



provide a Street Outreach training academy; the **Newark Community Street Team**; and the **Professional Community Intervention Training Institute**.

Identification of Program Participants

Street Outreach programs are designed to address the manner in which violence spreads from person to person. Studies show that those who have been continually in contact with violence can be thirty times more likely to commit a violent act in the future.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, violence often has ripple effects in the community, whether it be in the form of retaliation or further escalation of conflict.¹⁰¹ Because of this pattern in violence, Street Outreach programs recognize potentially lethal conflicts

100 <https://1vp6u534z5kr2qmr0w11t7ub-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Infographic-Top-10- v1.pdf>

101 <https://www.lagryd.org/mission-comprehensive-strategy>

in the community by utilizing trained Violence Interrupters. These Violence Interrupters identify ongoing conflicts by speaking to key members of the community about ongoing disputes. Information regarding arrests, prison releases, and prior criminal history is also utilized to pinpoint violent outbreaks.¹⁰²

Engagement and Services Strategy

Engagement is primarily facilitated by the work of trained Violence Interrupters. Following a shooting, these individuals immediately operate in the community and at hospitals to pacify heightened emotions and prevent retaliations. This involves coordination with local groups and business owners to hold constructive dialogue around community violence and the appropriate actions to take in response. Events are then organized by Violence Interrupters to promote a change in overall neighborhood attitudes towards violence.

102 <https://cvg.org/what-we-do/>

Policing Strategies



The following strategies have shown to be effective in reducing crime, resolving incidents, and improving the quality of policing without a focus on heavy-handed enforcement.

SARA Problem Solving Model

The Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment (SARA) model was created in Virginia in 1987 to facilitate the problem-oriented policing procedure.¹⁰³ The cornerstone of this model is a priority on outcomes; the model outlines four steps that are necessary for a proper police response to problems within their jurisdictions. To ensure proper implementation, a significant facet of this method is that officers must be ready to build trust between the community and the police department through the establishment of interpersonal relationships.¹⁰⁴

Scanning. This step consists of pinpointing and then triaging repeated issues that necessitate a response from the police department.¹⁰⁵ Frequent problems that occur in the community are given priority. Relevant outcomes of the problem are matched to their corresponding cause. For example, examining which properties in a given area have the highest number of calls for service in a year or given time period is an important initial step in the SARA model.

¹⁰³ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/297556988_Police_innovation_Contrasting_perspectives

¹⁰⁴ <https://movementforward.org/a-look-inside-strategies-contributing-towards-community-policing-sara-model/>

¹⁰⁵ <https://www.evidence-basedpolicing.org/refresher-sara-model-and-problem-oriented-policing/>

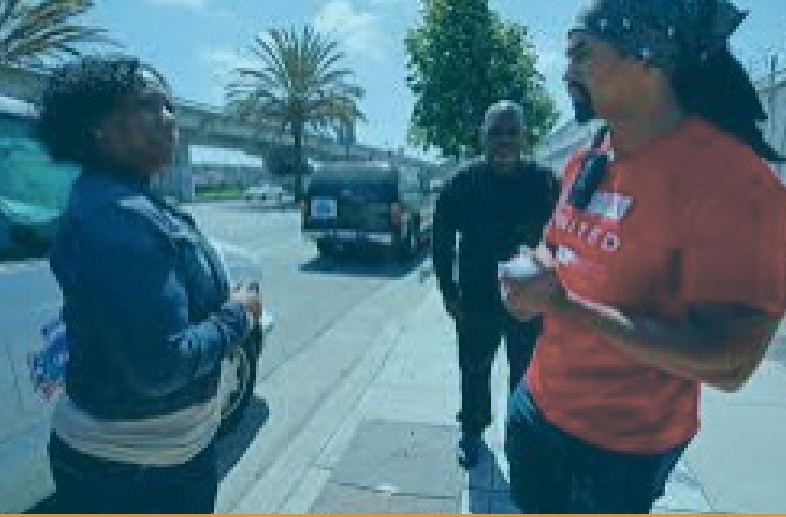
Analysis. Here, law enforcement officers examine the root causes of the issue, community sentiment regarding the problem, and gather needed contextual data. This step also involves assessing the status quo response to the problem and identifying the shortcomings of that strategy. Ultimately, the cause of the problem and potential solutions are determined during this phase.

Response. Officers utilize collected data to ascertain potential intervention strategies. When determining strategies, a thorough review of implemented interventions in different areas with comparable issues is critical. Once a strategy is selected, clear goals must also be established. Execution of the chosen plan is the last part of this step.

Assess. After a plan is implemented and officers have attempted to address a problem, the police department must analyze the efficacy of their strategy. Continued evaluation of the intervention is necessary to guarantee lasting success. Alternatives or additions to the strategy are considered as well.¹⁰⁶

Many police departments have incorporated the SARA model into their interventions. In San Diego, California the police department reported that a trolley station was the location of gang fights, violent crimes, and narcotic activity. A squad of officers collected information to show the local transit board that the design of the station contributed to crime. Based on the information provided by the

¹⁰⁶ <https://movementforward.org/a-look-inside-strategies-contributing-towards-community-policing-sara-model/>



officers, the transit board agreed to provide funds to redesign the station.¹⁰⁷

Ethical Policing Is Courageous (EPIC)

The EPIC program is a peer-to-peer intervention strategy that was created by the police department in New Orleans, Louisiana in 2016. EPIC involves training officers to be accountable to each other and intervene before an unlawful act takes place, irrespective of hierarchy. This initiative aims to alter the culture surrounding policing in order to limit police misbehavior and promote a collaborative environment.¹⁰⁸

The EPIC program is founded on active bystandership psychology, which explains that active bystanders intercede when they are made aware of problematic behavior. EPIC training allows officers to overcome factors that may prevent them from intervening. These factors include a lack of confidence in their skills to deescalate a situation, uneasiness about potential retribution, and worry about breaking an unwritten code of silence.¹⁰⁹

Leadership in police departments who participate in the EPIC program must be committed to changing their organizational culture. Police departments implementing EPIC must provide education, training, and on-going learning and support to officers for the initiative to be successful. EPIC can also integrate with other initiatives to boost officer well-being, including counseling and trauma assistance as well as stress reduction education.¹¹⁰

107 <https://www.sandiego.gov/department/problem-oriented-policing>

108 <http://epic.nola.gov/home/>

109 <http://epic.nola.gov/epic/media/Assets/EPIC-Overview.pdf>

110 Id.

Areas where EPIC programs have been implemented have better community relations, lower rates of misconduct, and lower rates of public grievances. The majority of the feedback from New Orleans police officers has also been positive.¹¹¹ Moreover, there is strong research that peer intervention is effective when successful strategies for interceding are provided.¹¹²

Project Active Bystandership for Law Enforcement (ABLE)

Project ABLE is a joint effort between the Georgetown Innovative Policing Program and the Sheppard Mullin law firm to train officers to be able to properly intervene in a crisis situation and promote a policing atmosphere that reinforces peer intervention. Project ABLE is based on the principles of the New Orleans EPIC Peer Intervention Program and curriculum created by Dr. Ervin Staub for California law enforcement. Through Georgetown, law enforcement agencies are able to receive training in Project ABLE along with a host of other resources to assist them in advancing their own bystandership strategies.¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ The training consists of a minimum of a one-time eight hour ABLE-specific training along with a minimum of two hours of annual refresher training.¹¹⁵ All of these resources are provided to law enforcement agencies free of charge.

111 <https://www.apa.org/monitor/2017/10/police-misconduct>

112 <https://epic.nola.gov/epic/media/Assets/Aronie-Lopez,-Keeping-Each-Other-Safe.pdf>

113 <https://www.law.georgetown.edu/innovative-policing-program/active-bystandership-for-law-enforcement/>

114 <https://www.law.georgetown.edu/innovative-policing-program/active-bystandership-for-law-enforcement/our-mission/>

115 <https://www.law.georgetown.edu/innovative-policing-program/active-bystandership-for-law-enforcement/able-program-standards/>

Project ABLE's aim is to reduce police misconduct and errors and assist in improving officer health and well-being. In order to prevent any retaliation from occurring to those officers who intervene, police departments must implement stringent anti-retaliation guidelines. Since its inception, over 70 police departments have enlisted in Project ABLE.¹¹⁶

Research has shown that there are many advantages to the implementation of significant bystander training. This is critical because most police departments have a culture that dissuades officers from intervening when they see problematic behaviors.¹¹⁷ Identified benefits include a decrease in violence to civilians, a decrease in violence to police officers, enhanced relationships between community residents and the police officers, and growth in officer well-being.¹¹⁸ Evidence also suggests a strong correlation between departments that maintain robust duty to intervene protocols and decreased rates of police deaths per capita.

Community Safety Partnership (Watts)

Established in November 2011, the Community Safety Partnership (CSP) is a joint effort between the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), the Housing Authority of the City of LA (HACLA), and local residents.¹¹⁹ The program was created in order to address the high violence levels in housing developments in the Watts area and offer residents there supports and services. The broader goal of the CSP is to implement "relationship-based policing." This process involves police officers creating legitimate relationships with residents of their precinct in order to meaningfully benefit community wellness for the long-term.¹²⁰ One of the major stakeholders in the project is the Watts Gang Task Force, a team of neighborhood residents, local faith leaders, and other community-based organizations.

116 <https://www.wsj.com/articles/nypd-officers-to-get-training-on-speaking-up-against-bad-policing-11611838809>

117 https://assets.foleon.com/eu-west-2/uploads-7e3kk3/41697/pdf_-_duty_to_intervene.6e39a04b07b6.pdf

118 <https://www.law.georgetown.edu/innovative-policing-program/active-bystandership-for-law-enforcement/able-program-standards/>

119 <https://www.lamayor.org/mayor-garcetti-announces-new-expansion-community-safety-partnership>

120 [https://static1.squarespace.com/static/55b673c0e4b0cf84699bdffb/t/5a1890acec212d9bd3b8f52d/1511559341778/President%27s+Task+Force+CSP+Po](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/55b673c0e4b0cf84699bdffb/t/5a1890acec212d9bd3b8f52d/1511559341778/President%27s+Task+Force+CSP+Policy+Brief+FINAL+02-27-15updated.pdf)
[licy+Brief+FINAL+02-27-15updated.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/55b673c0e4b0cf84699bdffb/t/5a1890acec212d9bd3b8f52d/1511559341778/President%27s+Task+Force+CSP+Po)

Along with high violence rates, the community was also grappling with concentrated poverty, low education quality, and deteriorating physical infrastructure. Community engagement initiatives the CSP implemented in response include a football team coached by police officers, Fun Runs, health fairs, and organized walks for residents to interact with officers in a non-confrontational setting.^{121 122}

In 2020, the CSP Bureau was formed within LAPD to expand the work that was achieved in Watts citywide. The LAPD also consolidated CSP programs creating a centralized point of contact and engagement for the community. The main objectives of the CSP Bureau were to serve as a resource for officer-- community interaction and promotion of neighborhood safety.¹²³

The CSP Bureau is also responsible for certifying and training officers for 5-year terms. CSP officers undergo over 100 hours of education from the nonprofit Urban Peace Institute. The training centers on cultural competency, de-escalation skills, and understanding community data.¹²⁴

Originally formed for one housing site, CSP has spread to ten additional developments. In 2017, the program was broadened to the Harvard Park area due to its efficacy. During the initial three years after the CSP's formation, both violent offenses and arrest rates decreased by over 50 percent in the Watts housing developments. One Watts location even had three consecutive years without a homicide. Residents of these Watts developments have even reported increased perceptions of safety along with greater trust in the police.¹²⁵ An evaluation of CSP by UCLA found that this effort reduced crime, arrest rates, and use of force grievances from residents.¹²⁶

121 <https://lasentinel.net/hundreds-of-south-la-residents-attend-launch-of-community-safety-partnership-in-harvard-park.html>

122 <https://empowerla.org/lapds-community-relationship-division/>

123 <https://www.lamayor.org/mayor-garcetti-announces-creation-lapd-community-safety-partnership-bureau>

124 <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/55b673c0e4b0cf84699bdffb/t/5a1890acec212d9bd3b8f52d/1511559341778/President%27s+Task+Force+CSP+Policy+Brief+FINAL+02-27-15updated.pdf>

125 Id.

126 <https://www.lamayor.org/mayor-garcetti-announces-creation-lapd-community-safety-partnership-bureau>

Focused Deterrence

Focused Deterrence strategies involve the communication of risks, ramifications, and avenues of support to individuals involved in gun violence. This strategy is based on the fact that a very small number of people are responsible for a large portion of gun violence.

One of the most prominent implementations of focused deterrence is Boston, Massachusetts's Operation Ceasefire. Experiencing an increase in violence, Boston police identified and communicated with individuals and groups that were pinpointed as most at risk of engaging in violence.¹²⁷ Boston police also partnered with the Boston Ten Point Coalition, a group of faith and community leaders, in order to provide support and services to these targeted individuals and groups. Oakland has also implemented a version of Focused Deterrence that is profiled in the Gun Violence Reduction section of this report.

Focused Deterrence strategies are often tailored to the location in which they are being implemented. Project Safe Neighborhoods in Lowell, Massachusetts, instituted this strategy in areas of high crime. Lowell dealt with a significant Asian gang presence largely comprising youth involved in illicit gambling operations. In order to address the youth violence, the City of Lowell worked with older Asian males in charge of the gambling. The older Asians intervened in youth violence in order to prevent their gambling enterprise from being destroyed. Lowell experienced a major decline in adolescent violence following the implementation of this Focused Deterrence strategy.¹²⁸

After Ceasefire was implemented in Boston, MA evaluations found a 63 percent drop in youth homicides and a 32 percent decline in calls for service related to gun violence.¹²⁹ A meta-analysis of several Focused Deterrence strategies found steady reductions in violent crime of up to 60 percent, particularly for group and gang related violence.¹³⁰

127 <https://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/what-works-in-policing/research-evidence-review/focused-deterrence/>

128 <https://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/what-works-in-policing/research-evidence-review/focused-deterrence/>

129 <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/188741.pdf>

130 <https://prohic.nl/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/2020-03-31-FocussedDeterrenceBraga.September2019.pdf>

Elimination of Pretextual Stops

Pretextual or pretext traffic stops occur when police officers stop a driver for a minor violation, like vehicle equipment failure, and then try to leverage that opportunity to find evidence of a more significant crime. A recent evaluation of 100 million traffic encounters demonstrated that Black and Latino drivers experience higher rates of pretextual stops and searches.¹³¹ However, most of these stops do not actually yield any contraband or weapons.¹³² Because the nature of pretextual stops relies heavily on officer discretion, there is high likelihood that implicit racial biases come into play. Such stops that end in violence or death disproportionately affect Black and Latino drivers.¹³³

Elimination of pretextual stops does not negatively affect crime. An analysis by the police department in Fayetteville, North Carolina showed that violent crime was not affected after the police department reformed its use of pretextual stops.¹³⁴

Pretextual stops are in the process of being regulated in many states across the country. Oregon's Supreme Court ruled in November 2019 that it was unconstitutional for police to stop a driver and proceed to ask unrelated questions, thereby effectively banning pretextual stops.¹³⁵ Virginia policy makers are also considering restricting pretextual stops.¹³⁶ Other legislation has been introduced across the country that prevents police officers from conducting certain types of pretextual stops including, for example, broken tail or brake lights, objects obstructing the rearview mirror, and tinted windows.¹³⁷ Advocates of these bills state the proposed limitations would decrease racial incongruities in traffic stops.¹³⁸

131 <https://www.vera.org/blog/ending-pretextual-stops-is-an-important-step-toward-racial-justice>

132 <https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/7898-rudovskysolj>

133 <https://www.berkeleyside.com/2021/03/02/opinion-for-berkeley-to-reimagine-public-safety-we-must-grapple-with-traffic-enforcement>

134 <https://injepijournal.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s40621-019-0227-6>

135 <https://www.opb.org/news/article/oregon-supreme-court-bans-police-officers-random-questions/>

136 <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2020/09/03/police-pretext-traffic-stops-need-to-end-some-lawmakers-say>

137 <https://theappeal.org/traffic-enforcement-without-police/>

138 <https://www.dailypress.com/news/crime/dp-nw-northam-legislation-traffic-20201021-3f2tmucy15csdmbhhv2zh3atya-story.html>



Ethical Society of Police (ESOP)

Instituted in 1972 by Black St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department officers, the Ethical Society of Police (ESOP) is a police union that was created in order to combat systemic racism within the department and greater community. The group is comprised of 220 members, who are either police officers or civilian contractors.¹³⁹ The organization recently scaled up to include the St. Louis County Police Department. ESOP has been particularly outspoken in cases of police wrongdoing. The group places a higher premium on ethical decision making, even though openly criticizing actions of their fellow police officers can be difficult.

Most recently, ESOP condemned the actions of a police officer in Brooklyn Center, Minnesota that resulted in the death of Daunte Wright, expressing that the officer was irresponsible in upholding her duties.¹⁴⁰ ESOP has also sponsored many events in order to improve relationships between police officers and their community including Pizza with a Cop, community clean-up days, and basketball

139 https://img1.wsimg.com/blobby/go/64ce42b7-f768-43ed-9590-dbd611afb7b6/downloads/1c6lj3b8j_482336.pdf?vr=1618276018416

140 <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/14/opinion/police-officer-unions.html?action=click&module=Opinion&pgtype=Homepage>

games. In August of 2020, ESOP also released a groundbreaking report that details systemic racism throughout the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department.

Chicago PD Black Public Safety Alliance (BPSA)

A group of Black Chicago Police Department (CPD) officers created the Black Public Safety Alliance (BPSA) in 2021.¹⁴¹ The organization serves to give Black police officers a voice amidst the deep-rooted issues between communities of color and the CPD. The BPSA was created in response to concerns with the broader Fraternal Order of Police (FOP).¹⁴² Officers in the BPSA have explained they “...do not feel supported or comfortable at the FOP,” especially after the local police union refused to undergo mandated precinct reform to promote trust in the community.¹⁴³

141 <https://www.wbez.org/stories/black-chicago-police-officers-form-new-group/abb12a96-1103-4ced-a068-0ffbfb158da9>

142 <https://movementforward.org/a-look-inside-strategies-contributing-towards-community-policing-sara-model/>

143 <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/criminal-justice/ct-black-chicago-police-organization-20210225-dvzbzcs4z3feqvix4sumhcbgru-story.html>

The formation of the alliance is a reflection of the national conversation that was ignited by George Floyd's death. The members of BPSA have expressed that advocating for the Black community is one of their main goals, even if that involves challenging the status quo. Currently operating as a nonprofit, the BPSA has established working groups on diversity policies, adolescent coaching, and police reform.¹⁴⁴

Police Diversity

With the recent demands for law enforcement to address racial injustice and the disparate impact of policing on communities of color, diversity in the ranks of officers has emerged as a potential area of reform. In a New York Times analysis of federal Bureau of Justice Statistics data on nearly 500 police departments across the country, more than 66 percent of the departments experienced a reduction in diversity and became more white from 2007 to 2016. Although the share of police officers of color has risen in that time period as well, the demographics of police departments do not reflect the demographics of communities they serve.¹⁴⁵ Black officers are twice as likely than their white counterparts to espouse the belief that the deaths of people of color at the hands of police officers are a legitimate problem.¹⁴⁶

Diversity in law enforcement is correlated with stronger bonds between a department and the community they serve, particularly communities of color. Use of force grievances have also been shown to decrease when there are more non-white officers in leadership positions.¹⁴⁷ A new comprehensive study of police diversity in Chicago, Illinois was conducted by a group of academics from Princeton University, Columbia University, the Wharton School of Business, and the University of California at Irvine. Their research concluded that, "Relative to white officers, Black and Hispanic officers make far fewer stops and arrests, and they use force less often, especially against Black civilians. These effects

are largest in majority-Black areas of Chicago and stem from reduced focus on enforcing low-level offenses, with greatest impact on Black civilians. Female officers also use less force than males, a result that holds within all racial groups."¹⁴⁸

Warrior vs. Guardian Mentality

The mentality of a warrior going to battle and the police force being an occupying army has been referred to as the "warrior mentality" for many years. Instilled, or reinforced, in police officers at the academy, the warrior concept is saturated throughout police culture. The guardian mentality is a newer idea that promotes community engagement, the establishment of meaningful relationships, and providing support to residents.¹⁴⁹

"From Warriors to Guardians: Recommitting American Police Culture to Democratic Ideals," a report by the Harvard University Kennedy School of Government and the National Institute of Justice, directly addresses the problems of the warrior culture in policing. The report states: "In some communities, the friendly neighborhood beat cop — community guardian — has been replaced with the urban warrior, trained for battle and equipped with the accouterments and weaponry of modern warfare."¹⁵⁰

The report goes on to highlight problems with police academies and the aggressive, warrior type manner in which new recruits are trained: "Another, more insidious problem in a military-style academy is the behavior modeled by academy staff. Those without power (recruits) submit without question to the authority of those who have power (academy staff). Rule violations are addressed by verbal abuse or physical punishment in the form of pushups and extra laps."¹⁵¹

A novel initiative has been implemented at the Washington State Criminal Justice Training Commission (WSCJTC) to try to instill the guardian culture in police departments in the state. The WSCJTC conducts and implements training of

144 <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/criminal-justice/ct-black-chicago-police-organization-20210225-dvbzcs4z3feqvix4sumhcbgru-story.html>

145 <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/09/23/us/bureau-justice-statistics-race.html>

146 <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/12/black-and-white-officers-see-many-key-aspects-of-policing-differently/>

147 <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/09/23/us/bureau-justice-statistics-race.html>

148 https://scholar.princeton.edu/sites/default/files/bk_mr.pdf

149 <https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2019/02/190226155011.htm>

150 <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/248654.pdf>

151 <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/248654.pdf>

over 10,000 police officers annually. Curricular and approach changes include the removal of salute requirements for recruits, motivating instead of criticizing recruits during training, and the incorporation of behavioral education into the curriculum. Early longitudinal evaluations of the WSCJTC program show that the officers that participated in the training felt more comfortable responding to behavioral and mental health crises when compared with officers that did not receive the training.¹⁵² Gains in emotional intelligence and peer support were observed as well.

Accountability

Current police accountability mechanisms are largely perceived to be ineffective. While the challenges in this area are myriad, there are two particularly critical areas of focus in the police accountability conversation, the Law Enforcement Officers' Bill of Rights and Qualified Immunity.

Law Enforcement Officers' Bill of Rights

Sixteen states currently employ some sort of police officer bill of rights, including California. These bills provide workplace safeguards for police officers, including but not limited to erasing misconduct complaints after a time period, a bar against civilian investigation, and a waiting period before any investigation can begin.¹⁵³ They have been consistently cited as a central barrier to police accountability in jurisdictions across the country.

Maryland, the state which enacted the first police officer bill of rights and had what many consider the most draconian, recently repealed its Law Enforcement Officers' Bill of Rights in April 2021 in order to increase police accountability drastically.¹⁵⁴ Maryland's replacement legislation involves a stringent use-of-force measure, incorporation of civilian panels for discipline, and an emphasis on de-escalation tactics.¹⁵⁵

152 https://www.seattleu.edu/media/college-of-arts-and-sciences/departments/criminaljustice/crimeandjusticeresearchcenter/documents/Helfgott-and-Hickman-2021_Longitudinal-Study-of-the-Effect-of-Guardian-Training-for-LE.pdf

153 <http://www.cato.org/blog/police-misconduct-law-enforcement-officers-bill-rights>

154 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2020/08/29/police-bill-of-rights-officers-discipline-maryland/>

155 *Id.*

Qualified Immunity

Qualified immunity, established by the Supreme Court in 1967, effectively protects state and local officials, including police officers, from personal liability unless they are determined to have violated what the court defines as an individual's "clearly established statutory or constitutional rights." The doctrine can be used only in civil cases, not criminal, and allows victims to sue officials for damages only under those circumstances.

Critics and reform advocates say that the doctrine gives officers free rein to use excessive force with impunity and argue that what it defines as "clearly established" law remains largely elusive and difficult to prove, as it requires the victim to present a previous case with nearly identical circumstances that a court ruled as unconstitutional. They also assert the law helps officers escape accountability and prevents victims from achieving justice.

Elimination of qualified immunity is thus another component of increasing police accountability. Colorado and New Mexico¹⁵⁶ have recently passed legislation modifying their respective qualified immunity provisions; similar legislation in California is pending.

The George Floyd Justice in Policing Act of 2020 calls for the national elimination of qualified immunity.¹⁵⁷

Additional Accountability Measures of Note

A routine check of officers' social media can also be a powerful tool to address potentially racist or other problematic posts. After a 2019 analysis of approximately 4 million stops by police in California, the Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory Board has recommended that police departments perform checks on assigned department software as well as social media accounts in order to identify and hold accountable officers who are actively biased and reflect that bias on the job.¹⁵⁸

156 https://custom.statenet.com/public/resources.cgi?id=ID:bill:NM2021000H4&ciq=ncls&client_md=562236734bdbcb53a3148c2e8d11ebbd&mode=current_text

157 <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/7120/text>

158 <https://www.policemag.com/589521/advisory-board-recommends-ca-agencies-check-officers-social-media-activity-for-r>



Early intervention systems (EIS) are an additional mechanism by which police accountability can be fostered. These systems analyze a variety of indicators for potentially problematic behavior including use of force incidents, citizen grievances, and disciplinary history.

Identification of habitual misconduct by officers is often accomplished through a peer officer comparison system,¹⁵⁹ where officers assigned to the same beat are juxtaposed.¹⁵⁹ Once an officer is identified by the EIS for habitual misconduct, supports and services to aid the officer are provided in order to encourage officer well-being and aid in behavioral change. Continued monitoring of officer progress as well as frequent reviews of EIS data are necessary for successful implementation.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ <https://samuelwalker.net/issues/early-intervention-systems/>

¹⁶⁰ <https://www.policefoundation.org/publication/best-practices-in-early-intervention-system-implementation-and-use-in-law-enforcement-agencies/>

Police Training



Increased training and education programs are frequently promoted to police departments to help improve the quality of policing and support officers in gaining new skills. As noted by two Columbia Law School professors in an article on police reform, "... training does not take root unless officers are held accountable for obeying the rules and practicing the skills they are taught."¹⁶¹ Training alone is not adequate to transform a police department or change the behavior of an officer. But combined with culture change, new policies and accountability, training can be an effective tool to improve and reform the police.

Procedural Justice

Procedural Justice in policing improves police-community relations and emphasizes police departments and officers being transparent in their actions, fair in their processes, allowing community voice, and using impartiality in decision making.

According to the Department of Justice's Community Oriented Policing Services, "Procedural justice refers to the idea of fairness in the processes that resolve disputes and allocate resources. It is a concept that, when embraced, promotes positive organizational change and bolsters better relationships."



161 <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2014/12/19/the-new-new-policing>

A comprehensive evaluation of procedural justice training found that “training increased officer support for all of the procedural justice dimensions... Post-training, officers were more likely to endorse the importance of giving citizens a voice, granting them dignity and respect, demonstrating neutrality, and (with the least enthusiasm) trusting them to do the right thing.”¹⁶²

Several evaluations of procedural justice have found the education has been correlated with an improvement in relations between a community and a police department.¹⁶³ In Oakland, CA the police department trained all officers in procedural justice and provided specialized procedural justice training to the department’s gun violence reduction unit. Oakland’s police department was also the first department in the country to have members of the community teach a portion of the procedural justice training.

To aid in procedural justice incorporation into police departments, the Justice Collaboratory at Yale Law School has created a compilation of procedural justice training guides, departments who have implemented procedural justice training, and other pertinent resources.¹⁶⁴

While also suggesting procedural justice training as a way to combat the “warrior mentality” in police departments, a Harvard University Kennedy School of Government report advises that “Police leaders dedicated to establishing practices in their agencies based on procedural justice principles must ensure that their organizational culture is not in conflict with these same principles.”¹⁶⁵

Implicit Bias

Implicit bias, as the name denotes, is an unconscious belief, attitude or bias against another race, ethnicity, or group. When Stanford University psychologist Jennifer Eberhardt conducted a large- scale study of policing, she discovered that the unconscious link between Black individuals and criminality is so

162 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/269723704_Training_police_for_procedural_justice

163 https://www.cityofberkeley.info/uploadedFiles/Police/Level_3_-_General/Principled%20Policing_outline.pdf

164 <https://law.yale.edu/justice-collaboratory/procedural-justice/guides-practitioners>

165 <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/248654.pdf>

high that even contemplating lawlessness can cause someone to fixate on Black people.¹⁶⁶ These societal biases end up affecting the judgment of police officers whether they are aware of it or not.

In Oakland, Professor Eberhardt and her team reviewed body camera footage from 1,000 traffic stops to elucidate the difference in officer language in encounters with Black versus white drivers. The research found that Oakland Police Department (OPD) officers consistently communicated with Black drivers in a less civil manner when compared with white drivers they addressed.¹⁶⁷ Various programs to address implicit bias were then recommended for implementation in OPD in response to these findings. Short, repeated education sessions were found to be associated with higher levels of officer comprehension and knowledge.¹⁶⁸ The training was accompanied by more community engagement and data transparency in order to allow officers to start the process of unlearning implicit biases.

A novel approach to implicit bias training is the Counter Bias Training Simulation (CBTSim). This strategy utilizes shooting automation and video sequences to demonstrate the risks of implicit bias in a realistic setting.¹⁶⁹ In the curriculum, officers are forced to deal with potentially explosive situations without reacting in a way that reflects preconceived notions.¹⁷⁰

De-escalation

With an increase in the number of deadly interactions between police and unarmed civilians going viral, there has been an on-going call for officers to be required to utilize effective verbal de-escalation strategies. Law enforcement officers in the United States kill nearly 1,000 civilians annually, many of whom are unarmed.¹⁷¹ However, many

166 <https://psychology.stanford.edu/news/we-understand-implicit-bias-now-what-conversation-stanford-psychologist-jennifer-eberhardt>

167 Id.

168 <https://news.stanford.edu/2016/06/15/stanford-big-data-study-finds-racial-disparities-oakland-calif-police-behavior-offers-solutions/>

169 <https://www.npr.org/2020/09/10/909380525/nypd-study-implicit-bias-training-changes-minds-not-necessarily-behavior>

170 <https://www.faac.com/milo/cognitive/cbtsim/>

171 https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/deescalation-training-police/2020/10/27/3a345830-14a8-11eb-ad6f-36c93e6e94fb_story.html

law enforcement agencies provide little to no de-escalation training to officers, and 34 states have no mandate for de-escalation training.

Successful de-escalation programs operate to assist law enforcement personnel in relaxing the situation in order to gain valuable time in a crisis. Ideal guidance for officers suggests that 40 hours of de-escalation instruction is needed. The Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) de-escalation training is a program that has seen substantial reductions in use of force complaints and civilian injury. The training includes active listening, forming physical space between the individual and officer, and education regarding mental illness and well-being.¹⁷²

When the Dallas Police Department in Dallas, TX implemented a training curriculum involving de-escalation tactics, use of force grievances declined by 18 percent the following year. After the San Francisco Police Department in San Francisco, CA incorporated de-escalation training into their curriculum, use of force incidents dropped by 24 percent annually.¹⁷³

Community Engagement

A tense relationship between police and the community, especially communities of color, has been a long, intractable problem. Mistrust of law enforcement is not just theoretically problematic; it has also been proven to be linked to an increase in crime and violence.¹⁷⁴ Police officers should work to develop meaningful and positive relationships with members of the community by taking measures including regularly and actively attending community meetings, special events, neighborhood gatherings, positively communicating with area youth, and participating or hosting local sporting events. By doing so law enforcement conveys the message that residents have a voice and that their input matters. Police should also connect with individuals in the community who advocate for greater social cohesion, such as faith leaders, in

order to successfully engage a broad swath of the community.¹⁷⁵

Crime Prevention Through Community Engagement (CPTCE), an extensive training guide for improving relations between police departments and the community, was recently developed by The American Crime Prevention Institute (ACPI). The training consists of strategies to engage communities of color, employ social media to interact with residents, coordinate with faith-based leaders, and partner with community-based organizations.¹⁷⁶

In New Haven, Connecticut, the police department implemented 40-hours of community engagement education for its recruits, including education about the area's history as well as continuous outreach activities. Officers overwhelmingly supported the initiative and reported having positive interactions. After the pilot, the police department expanded the program to partner with the local community-based organization, Leadership, Education, & Athletics in Partnership (LEAP).¹⁷⁷ Community engagement training for law enforcement in general is correlated with increased trust and stronger social ties in neighborhoods.

Open Policing is a research-based strategy that incorporates elements of procedural justice to improve police- community relations. Residents of communities are able to offer their comments and observations regarding their exchanges with police officers anonymously. All comments are collated into Agency Pages, which can be explored by residents and officers.¹⁷⁸ In addition to the Open Policing policy, some departments have initiated CFS reviews. After any call for service, community members are able to give details about their interaction in a three-minute review without any fear of consequence.¹⁷⁹

The four main components of procedural justice have been assimilated into Open Policing, including

172 https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/deescalation-training-police/2020/10/27/3a345830-14a8-11eb-ad6f-36c93e6e94fb_story.html

173 https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/deescalation-training-police/2020/10/27/3a345830-14a8-11eb-ad6f-36c93e6e94fb_story.html

174 <https://giffords.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Giffords-Law-Center-In-Pursuit-of-Peace.pdf>

175 <https://courses.acpionline.com/community-engagement/>

176 <http://acpionline.com/seminars/cptcelou/>

177 https://www.policefoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/IAP_Outside-the-Academy-Learning-Community-Policing-through-Community-Engagement.pdf

178 https://www.policylink.org/sites/default/files/pl_police_commun%20engage_121714_c.pdf

179 <https://www.openpolicing.org/how-open-policing-works/>

promotion of vocalization from the community, serving individuals with respect, objectivity in decision-making, and credibility with the community. The main goals of the strategy are to improve officer-civilian relations and responses to incidents as well as promoting accountability within the department. All comments are collated into Agency Pages, which can be explored by residents and officers.¹⁸⁰ Open Policing has been correlated with a 35 percent decrease in resident grievances and increased trust in police departments.¹⁸¹

necessary improvement to these systems and their deployment is to universally allow the public to have access to the information they capture.

Data-Driven Risk Management

The Oakland Police Department (OPD) recently implemented VISION, a Microsoft Power BI dashboard that allows for a precise review of police behavior. Working with Slalom, a data consulting firm, OPD has increased transparency and accountability through data analysis. Patterns of enforcement, historical activity, and performance over time are all monitored in close to real-time.¹⁸²

The dashboards were created with input from OPD staff and leadership, community-based organizations, other law enforcement agencies, and Stanford University's SPARQ (Social Psychological Answers to Real-world Questions). Each dashboard can be accessed by OPD leadership, depending on security clearance. The dashboards have a simple interface, allowing supervisors to access and understand the data easily. Police supervisors can access a variety of data, from long-term information to arrests made within the last 24 hours.¹⁸³ Dashboards allow for an easy breakdown of incidents by factors including race, gender, ethnicity, and officer. This permits police departments to monitor problematic patterns and address them quickly.¹⁸⁴ Early Intervention Systems (EIS) such as these dashboards have been correlated with increased personnel safety, improved officer welfare, and an increase in police accountability.¹⁸⁵ One

180 Id.

181 <https://www.openpolicing.org/try-open-policing/>

182 <https://www.slalom.com/case-studies/city-oakland-creating-police-transparency-and-trust-data>

183 <https://medium.com/slalom-data-analytics/data-is-the-new-sheriff-in-town-but-is-it-biased-4aa140904dd7>

184 <https://cao-94612.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/Police-Commission-7.23.20-Agenda-Packet.pdf>

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