

STRESS ON THE STREETS (SOS): RACE, POLICING, HEALTH, AND INCREASING TRUST NOT TRAUMA

FULL PROJECT REPORT

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December 2015

By Human Impact Partners

With the partnership of:

Ohio Justice & Policy Center

Ohio Organizing Collaborative



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Human Impact Partners is a national nonprofit working to transform the policies and places people need to live healthy lives by increasing the consideration of health and equity in decision making.

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FOREWORDS

“The farther backward you can look, the farther forward you are likely to see.”

— Winston S. Churchill

History is shouting at us. And it is getting hoarse. In 1976, the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE) arose from conversations about a pressing need to improve community-police relations in the context of race. Nearly forty years later, the nation again is at a seminal point in policing. To say public trust in police differs widely by race is an understatement. Yet, as a law enforcement official, I can tell you trust is absolutely essential – a bedrock – to keeping both communities and the officers serving them safe.

This timely report offers a critical perspective that is absent from the current conversation about policing: the health perspective. It describes how physical and mental health of the public and police are affected both by a history of racial inequities and current policing practices. It details how stress and anxiety occur among the public from actual or anticipated interactions, and among police from a variety of sources like responding to calls or administrative sources within the department.

Some of us understand and live through both of these experiences. NOBLE members are predominantly executives of color who bring a unique perspective of having lived both as people of color, within families of color and as executives in the law enforcement field. We have been policed and have sons, daughters, immediate family members and friends who have been policed. And we have been and are police chiefs and law enforcement executives. It is from these experiences that we say the information in this report mirrors stories we’ve heard (and in some cases, personally experienced) throughout the nation, and offers important information on how to move forward, and the important role that we all have to play in getting there.

The report calls for authentic, lasting dialogues between the public and police about histories of inequity in policing. It finds that the problem-solving and community policing approaches together are most effective in reducing crime, building trust, and addressing inequities. Put simply, it says what some of us in the field have known: we need to police in ways that are sensitive to issues that are important to the communities that we serve. The report also describes valuable information on four promising practices to fully – and faithfully – implement.

As we move towards celebrating and recognizing forty years of our serving as the “conscience of law enforcement”, NOBLE remains committed to improving policing and the criminal justice system in the United States and across the world, and to reform practices where needed. To do so, means having full information on hand such as that which is contained in this report. It also means law enforcement and public health continuing to find partners in each other. Our health and safety as law enforcement officials depend on it. Equally important, the health and safety of our communities depend on it as well.

Gregory A. Thomas, MS

National President

National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives

FOREWORDS

Violence in the urban core is a disease – a social disease – that is a top public health crisis of the 21st century. As a trauma physician, it is a disease that I treat daily; I have seen a 300% increase over a 10-year period in children coming into our Cincinnati Children’s Hospital Trauma Center with gunshot wounds. But violence is not immutable; we can prevent it. Like other initiatives public health is credited with improving or eradicating – deaths from motor vehicle crashes, polio, and smallpox – inner city violence lends itself to a cure. However, this cure must not cause additional harms. That’s why policing practices used to reduce violence and mitigate trauma can and should be more community-oriented. Michael Davis, Chief of the Brooklyn Park Police Department has said, “the future of community policing is community building.”

The affected community has a role in this cure, as do the police charged with the safety of the community. But with current practices under question for causing more violence, not less, we need communities and police to engage collaboratively, acknowledge complex key drivers of violence, and seek systems-based approaches to better partner in resolving it. This revealing report is a first step in that journey. It documents profound impacts of policing practices on the health of individuals and the community, describing impacts to physical, mental, and emotional health. Importantly, it describes how stress has major, short- and long-term health impacts not just for the public, but for police as well.

In its recommendations, this report offers important concrete measures for how policing can rebuild community trust through problem-solving and community-oriented models. It highlights promising practices in four actions – civilian review boards; body-worn cameras; ongoing training of officers about issues like implicit bias and use of force as well as better supervision and evaluation of officers; and department-wide performance measures – that when fully implemented can lay the groundwork for police to be part of the community as opposed to policing the community.

Just as health professionals and police have partnered together on past issues, together we can jointly address the root causes of violence in concentrated disadvantage. Policing practices that build trust – through transparency, community dialogue, and accountability – and solve community problems are a key component for keeping more children off my surgical table.

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Co-founder of CoreChange

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The tension and distrust between people of color and police in the United States is an underestimated public health crisis. Shocking cases of mistreatment, injury, and death grab headlines and go viral on social media, but the mental, emotional, and behavioral impacts of this fraught relationship affect communities of color and police officers in ways less often discussed.

This report shows that for many black people in the United States the perceived color of their skin means more uneasy interactions with police than others in our society, and stress and anxiety that in turn result in poorer physical and mental health. The report also shows that for police, heightened stress and anxiety put officers at greater risk of cardiovascular disease, substance abuse, depression, and suicide. The good news is the report finds that changes in policing models and practices can build trust between police and black communities, improving public health and public safety.

The anxiety and stress from interactions with police shape the daily experiences of black people – where they go, how they get there, and their sense of safety and security in their communities and the wider society. One study referred to black peoples’ experiences of police interaction as “mundane extreme environmental stressors.” Constant background stress can profoundly influence the emotional and physical development of youth, changing how youth interact with each other, adults, and institutions like schools. Prolonged and deep stress can change a child’s brain structure, and affect how well they do in school or work.

Anxiety and stress are also constants in police work. They stem not only from the inherent dangers of the job but from workplace factors such as long hours, excessive paperwork, court appearances, inadequate administrative support, and disciplinary procedures. Today’s police are called on for public service duties they may have little or no training for, such as dealing with people who have mental health conditions. These factors lead not only to increased risk of disease, but alcohol abuse, marital and family problems, and emotional withdrawal – what one Cincinnati officer described in a focus group as building “a wall around your skull to handle what you’re going to see.”

Beyond mental health and well-being, interactions between police and the public, especially people of color, carry the risk of injury or death. Compared to other people in the United States, black people are disproportionately injured from what are called “legal interventions”. Differing

ABOUT THIS REPORT

This report draws upon existing research throughout the nation, as well as data from a survey of 470 Ohioans and information from eight focus groups held as part of the report. It explores the relationship between police-community relations and health, and identifies specific actions state and local-level decision makers can take to improve public health and public safety. The report looks at physical and psychological health, such as stress and anxiety; factors like trust and fear that shape health; and interactions such as stops, arrests, and use of force, as well as policing models and practices. Police and black people are the main focus populations of the report, amid highly publicized deaths of black people during interactions with police, and disproportionately large numbers nationally of black people who are arrested, experience use of force, and are incarcerated compared to other racial and ethnic groups.

sets of data indicate that in Ohio in 2015 (as of November 1), 40 to 45 percent of people shot and killed by police were black – in a state where the total black population is about 12 percent. Nationwide in 2014, an estimated 13,400 police officers were injured by assaults in the line of duty, and 51 were killed.^{1,2}

The evidence is clear: by failing to also understand mental and emotional health harms, the nation's current approach to policing is failing black people and police officers. Change will not come easily or quickly, and will require a continuing commitment to building mutual trust.

Stark Disparities in Trust

This report focuses on the state of Ohio and its third- and fifth-largest cities, Cincinnati and Akron. (The Cincinnati Police Department participated in the report; the Akron Police Department declined.) The report shines a light on how current policing practices affect health and well-being, and points toward better practices that will help restore trust and respect, improve public health, and build safer environments for all. It is particularly aimed at helping shape the standards and practices under development by the Ohio Collaborative Community-Police Advisory Board, and practices in Cincinnati and Akron; the report can also inform other cities nationwide that are working to reform policing practices.

For this report, researchers reviewed a large body of literature about policing models and practices. We led eight focus groups of community members and police and interviewed people with a variety of perspectives. We also coordinated an in-person survey of 470 residents in select neighborhoods of Cincinnati and Akron. The survey results show stark disparities between how samples of black and white people in these cities experience and feel about police and policing practices (note: total survey responses varied for each question):

- Among white respondents, almost 70 percent (n=67) said they trust the police in their community either “somewhat” or “a lot” compared to about 40 percent (n=135) of black respondents.
- About one in seven black respondents (n=45) reported being stopped by police one or two times a day, and almost one in five (n=58) reported being stopped one or two times a week. Only three percent (n=3) of white respondents being stopped once or twice daily, and just another two percent (n=2) said they were stopped once or twice weekly.
- More than 40 percent of black respondents (n=131) said they were “very afraid” or “somewhat afraid” of police in their community, compared to only 15 percent of white respondents (n=14).
- Nearly two-thirds of black respondents (n=209) said they had feared police would injure or kill them, or had those fears for someone else in an incident they witnessed. The response from white respondents was almost the exact opposite – nearly two-thirds (n=62) said they never had those fears.

These disparities demonstrate that many black people live daily with the belief that the police are not there to serve and protect them. One black focus group participant in Cincinnati said: “I

get a little queasy when a cop pulls up behind me.” In Akron, another said: “How can I feel safe in my own body if I don’t feel protected [by the police]?”

Little research exists on police trust of the public in the United States. However, some studies find that police culture leads to social isolation, cynicism toward their own agency or the public, and an us versus them mentality of “warriors” and “civilians.” In one focus group, a Cincinnati officer said: “Everyone else is normal because they trust easier than we do. But the majority of people lie to us, so we have to believe that everyone is lying. And they lie really well to us.”

Effectiveness of Policing Models and Activities

Stress on the Streets (SOS): Race, Policing, Health, and Increasing Trust not Trauma looked at four widely accepted models of policing:

- *Community-oriented policing*, described by a White House task force as police working “with neighborhood residents to coproduce public safety.”
- *Problem-solving policing*, in which police seek to proactively identify and address the root causes of crime.
- *Focused policing*, including cracking down on a specific crime or offense, stepping up police presence in hot spots, and focusing on repeat offenders.
- *Standard policing*, which targets all crimes across an entire jurisdiction and aims to improve public safety by increasing the number of police, random patrolling, or responding more rapidly to calls.

The assessment found Akron’s approach is similar to the standard model, with some indication of community policing, while Cincinnati’s approach combines the community-oriented and problem-solving models. Assessing the effectiveness of the models is difficult because a model may contain a shifting set of practices governed by an overarching philosophy. Nonetheless, available evidence suggests the problem-solving approach is most effective, particularly in combination with community policing in reducing crime, building trust, and addressing inequities. By contrast, evidence suggests the standard model is least effective for these outcomes.

This report also looked at four specific activities many police departments have implemented to reduce inequities and misconduct, and to instead build trust between the public and police. We selected these four activities for analysis based on the availability of evidence to evaluate them and the frequency with which these activities have been proposed as solutions to the crisis in trust in the United States between the public and police:

- *Civilian review boards*. These independently appointed or elected bodies oversee police practices and handle complaints from the public against police officers. About 80 percent of large US cities have civilian review boards. Studies show civilian review boards can increase public trust in police, particularly if using mediation or face-to-face discussions between the public with a complaint and the police supervisors.

- *Department-level performance measures.* Many police departments measure and report their effectiveness using only crime statistics. Some policing experts and practitioners are developing an expanded set of measures that consider community relations, bias-free policing, and appropriate use of force. Expanding performance measures and assessing them over time through multiple methods can reduce the use of force.
- *Training, supervision, and evaluation* Officer training starts at the police academy and continues through on-the-job officer training; supervision includes the type, frequency, and level of supervision in the department; and evaluation involves how and when officers are evaluated. Training in communications, de-escalation and implicit bias are examples of courses found to increase trust. Using an early warning system to evaluate officer behaviors decreases use of force.
- *Body-worn cameras.* There is increased attention to use of body-worn cameras by police officers to record interactions with the public. Of the limited evidence available, it shows body cameras reduce the use of force and citizen complaints, and suggests they may decrease the number of stops. There is mixed evidence but some suggestion that body-worn cameras can increase public trust of police. More research is needed to better understand body-worn cameras.

Recommendations

This report makes five recommendations to improve public health and public safety, not only in Akron and Cincinnati but other cities in Ohio and that can be used nationwide. The full report details both how the recommendations overlap with those already released at the state level, federal level, and by grassroots organizations, as well as who can implement the recommendations.

We urge the Ohio Collaborative Community-Police Advisory Board, Ohio Department of Health, Ohio Attorney General's Office, local police departments and local health departments, and researchers to consider the following recommendations. By considering the impacts on physical and psychosocial health of the public and police, high-profile bodies can produce and implement the highest priority reforms in the most effective way. (Specific actions to implement the recommendations are detailed in the full report.)

- **Publicly recognize the historical contexts that have shaped current relationships between the public and police, using methods such as facilitated dialogues to understand each other's experiences.** This includes recognizing: police as a key factor – but only one factor among several such as poverty and unemployment – that can influence public safety; historic inequities in over-policing black people; the health impacts of policing practices; and possibility in systems thinking approaches to help resolve systemic issues. (*Implementation roles for: Ohio Collaborative, public, police departments, research entities such as the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at The Ohio State University, public health departments, and researchers in public health, criminology, and psychology.*)
- **Implement community-oriented and problem-oriented policing according to promising practices, with primary aims of improving public safety and building**

trust. See table 1 in the report for promising practices. *(Implementation roles for: police departments and community organizations.)*

- **Fully implement the four specific actions described in this report – body cameras; civilian review boards or mediation; ongoing training, supervision, and evaluation of officers; and expanded department-wide performance measures.** They are not the only activities available to police departments, but are the practices researched in this report and that it can comment on. *(Implementation roles for: police departments, Ohio Peace Officer Training Commission)*
- **Issue an annual statewide State of Police report that identifies, regularly collects, and publicly reports department-level measures that include and go beyond crime statistics, and report these statistics by race or ethnicity.** This regular collection can enhance transparency and support the State of Police report card. *(Implementation roles for: Office of the Ohio Attorney General, police departments, Ohio Department of Health, Ohio Collaborative)*
- **Match police department resources – including staff skill sets – to the responsibilities necessary to serve all communities and create memoranda of understanding (MOUs) with community-based organizations to fill gaps beyond the skill sets of police.** *(Implementation roles for: police departments, Ohio Collaborative)*

If these recommendations are implemented by using promising practices and including the suggested actions in the full report, we expect that outcomes in Akron would include increased public-police trust over time, and decreased fear of police, use of force incidents, and associated stress and anxiety. Key to these outcomes is full implementation as described in the report; evidence suggests that partial implementation may have the opposite effect. Through its civilian review board and improved training, supervision, and evaluation, Cincinnati has made progress in decreasing the use of force, and should continue these approaches. Full implementation of the recommendations about body cameras could further reduce use of force. Using mediation as an alternative to investigations by the civilian review board, and more complete use of department-wide performance measures as described in the report would increase community trust.

INTRODUCTION

We are living in the midst of a crisis of trust between police and people of color in the United States. High-profile news stories and cell phone videos capture injuries and deaths of individuals – mainly people of color – who suffer during public-police interactions. What they ignore are the mental, emotional, and behavioral health impacts such as stress that – like injuries or deaths – can affect the public and police, and have lifelong impacts.

Nationally and in Ohio attention is converging on how to improve relationships between the public and police, and specifically on how to improve trust. At the federal level, the White House convened a Task Force on 21st Century Policing to issue recommendations on improving trust. The US Department of Justice has likewise launched a National Initiative for Building Community Trust & Justice. In Ohio, the state-level Task Force on Community-Police Relations has issued recommendations. A subsequent board is creating state-level standards, and local police departments are looking at whether and how to change. By considering the impacts on physical and psychosocial health of the public and police, these high-profile bodies can produce and implement the highest priority reforms in the most effective way.

For the more than 900,000 sworn officers nationwide, simply being a police officer can mean having worse health than the public in general – more stress, and greater risks of cardiovascular disease, substance abuse, depression, and suicide.³ For many of the estimated 39 million-plus black people in the US, simply being a black person can mean heightened stress and anxiety related to police, and more interactions with police than people of other races or ethnicities.⁴

The stress and anxiety can come from actual interactions. But even *anticipating* or *witnessing* interactions repeatedly cause stress and anxiety and affect health deeply. The act of a police stop can have wide-reaching effects. It can affect the person stopped, the police officer who makes the stop, the bystanders who witnesses the interaction, as well as their family members.

Anxiety and stress can shape daily experiences for adults and youth. It changes where black people go, how to get there, and emotional and physical development among youth. It changes how youth interact with each other, adults, and institutions like schools. Prolonged and deep stress can change the structures of children's brains and how well they do in school or work.⁵⁻⁷

The public and police, working together, can change this. Together we can improve trust. To get there means seeing each other as human and recognizing each other's experiences. It means understanding the evolving roles that we ask police to fill in our society. It means accepting responsibility for historical racial inequities in policing and understanding how these affect us all today. It means committing to work together to co-create safe environments for everyone. It means treating each other fairly, with respect, and working together to share information. It means recognizing that we all want to be healthier, and we all want to go home – wherever that is – to our families, friends, or loved ones at the end of the day. It means talking with each other.

This will not be not easy. It will not happen quickly. And it cannot be abandoned – the work is ongoing. There is no single solution. But there are examples and promising practices on which we can draw. This report shines a light on how policing is leading to physical, mental, emotional, and behavioral health impacts and suggests promising practices we can implement to make things better.

Why Focus on Ohio, Akron, and Cincinnati?*

At the state level, the Ohio Collaborative Community-Police Advisory Board (known as the “Ohio Collaborative”) is creating state standards to guide law enforcement agencies and will measure police departments against those standards. The board was established in 2015 by a task force initially convened by Ohio Governor John R. Kasich that issued a number of recommendations. The forthcoming standards could be strengthened by considering the information in this report.

Akron and Cincinnati represent two cities from the same state with different geographies, population sizes, and history of policing reform. They also were chosen as example cities for this report because they are places where report partners and Advisory Committee members had contacts (e.g., to help with reaching out to get statistics and share information), there is community interest in improving relationships with police, and it was initially thought that both police departments would be interested in participating.

Akron, the fifth-largest city in Ohio, with an estimated 200,000 people, is located in the northeastern part of the state.⁸ The Akron Police Department has 452 officers.⁹ The Department declined to participate in this report.

Cincinnati, the third-largest city in Ohio, with an estimated 300,000 people, is located in the southwestern part of the state.¹⁰ The City of Cincinnati Police Department has 1000 sworn officers and 125 civilian employees and has been at the forefront of examining community-police relations in the recent years.¹¹ In 2002, a Collaborative Agreement took effect between stakeholders in Cincinnati and the US Department of Justice that required the police department to reform its procedures. The work of the city continues. During the writing of this report, Cincinnati experienced a “climate assessment” report process, the firing of the sitting police chief, and the highly publicized killing of Samuel DuBose by a police officer with the University of Cincinnati, which is a separate entity from the city police department.

**In discussing Akron and Cincinnati, this report looks only at the city police force, not at other policing forces, such as university police, county sheriffs, state police, or private security.*

Who is Impacted by Community-Police Relations?

This report intentionally refers to black people rather than African Americans, and public or community rather than civilian or citizen, except when citing research on those populations, to remain accurate to the research findings. We also use the term race with the acknowledgement that it is not biological but a social construct whose definitions have shifted over time. Black men and women and police are the main populations of focus in this report. This focus comes amid highly publicized deaths of black men and women during interactions with police. There also are disproportionately large numbers of black people who are arrested, experience use of force, and are incarcerated in the US compared to other racial and ethnic groups. However, people carry multiple, overlapping identities and increasingly police include people of color, a demographic change that has occurred over time nationwide.¹² Other populations affected by community-police relations were suggested in the early stage of the project but are not included in the scope of this final report, including: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender communities and other communities of color such as Latinos.

ABOUT THIS REPORT

Human Impact Partners (HIP) led this research to understand how the health of black people and police are affected by community-police relations and by the policing models and activities that shape them. Extensive research finds that individual, family, and community health are shaped by social, environmental, and economic conditions. We defined health in this context and prioritized the following issues: effects on physical and mental health, including stress and anxiety; how trust or fear in community-police relations link to those health effects; and how policing activities and models impact trust and fear. We prioritized health effects among black men and women and police, with some information about youth. (See Appendix A for more about topics and populations considered for this report.)

The project spanned April to December 2015, with funding from the Ford Foundation. At its core was a partnership with two organizations – the Ohio Justice & Policy Center and the Ohio Organizing Collaborative – and an Advisory Committee of 14 individuals from community, academic, and policy organizations. The Advisory Committee guided and provided feedback on the research scope, analysis, findings, and recommendations; and brought data and communications ability. (See Appendix B for more about roles at each stage in the project.)

HIP used the framework of Health Impact Assessment (HIA) to guide the overall research process. The National Academy of Sciences defines Health Impact Assessment as “a combination of procedures, methods and tools that systematically judges the potential, and sometimes unintended, effects of a policy, plan, or project on the health of a population and the distribution of those effects within the population. HIA identifies appropriate actions to manage those effects.”¹³ The purpose of HIA is to inform decision-makers before they decide on a proposal.

The report compiles in one place evidence from literature in the fields of criminology, public health, medicine, and psychology about physical and mental health impacts of policing and effects of different models and activities in policing, such as civilian review boards; instruction, supervision and evaluation; department-level performance measures; and body-worn cameras. It also includes results from surveying samples in Akron and Cincinnati; eight focus groups of community members in the two cities and police officers and investigators in Cincinnati; and interviews with a variety of key informants that include an interim chief of police, health professionals, a criminal justice professor, and the head of a citizen complaint body (see Appendices C and D for more information on survey and focus group methods, including participant recruitment). The Recommendations section identifies specific, evidence-based steps for moving forward and the roles that each of us can play in implementing those steps, whether we are from the public, a police agency, other government agency, or researcher.

ABOUT THE SURVEY

We analyzed 470 surveys total, including 276 in Akron and 194 in Cincinnati. In Akron, 59% of respondents identified as black people and 30% as white people. In Cincinnati, 89% of respondents identified as black people and 7% as white people; therefore, we generally do not report results by race for Cincinnati alone. In survey analysis, we used chi-square tests to evaluate differences in responses between groups, and differences we discuss are significant at p -values ≤ 0.05 , except where noted. These results mean it is unlikely that differences are due to chance. For details on the survey, including how participants were recruited and test results, see Appendix C.

SECTION 1: SCOPE OF THE ISSUES

FACTORS SHAPING PUBLIC-POLICE RELATIONSHIPS

A Brief History of the Changing Roles of Police

People in power in US society have asked police agencies and personnel to fill roles that have changed over time, in tandem with shifts in social movements and race relations.

In colonial times, individual volunteers provided social services for a community, and later groups focused on catching criminals and collecting taxes, but had a minimal role in preventing crime.¹⁴ In the 1700s to early 1800s the police role shifted in response to major population growth and social unrest, particularly in urban areas.¹⁴ In the South, the dominant society's request of the police role took the form of slave patrols known for their brutality and tasked with maintaining control of slave populations, such as through disassembling meetings and regulating the movements of slaves and later freed black people.¹⁴ After the Civil War, states replaced slave patrols with police officers to maintain racial hierarchies by enforcing Black Codes and enabling the convict-leasing system.¹⁵ By the mid-1800s, formalization of the police officer role in the North took the form of metropolitan police departments. Police departments were comprised of officers whose powers were defined by law and were heavily controlled by local politicians. However, the police officer role still included some of the social service aspects of earlier times; for example, police ran soup kitchens, provided temporary housing, and helped to find work for immigrants.¹⁴

In the first half of the 20th century, there was both lack of police action to interrupt racially-targeted activities like public lynchings and active enforcement of Jim Crow law.¹⁵ Also in the early- to mid-20th century public and police reformers introduced the "professional era" of policing. Reforms sought to remove politicians from policing, organize police agencies into hierarchies, and standardize police work.¹⁶ For example, standards were set in hiring officers and administrators instead of having politicians appoint them.¹⁶ The social services aspect of policing shifted onto other public agencies. Police agencies became law enforcement agencies, distancing police and the public from each other.¹⁴ An indelible imprint of this era was in police record keeping. It brought an ability to judge officers as crime fighters by their numbers, such as arrests made and tickets written.¹⁶ During the civil-rights era of the 1950s and 60s, law enforcement officers had a shifting role in race relations. On one end of the spectrum was the extreme racial violence of which police chief Bull Connor was emblematic; on the other was the use of federal officers to protect students during school integration efforts. The chasm grew with clashes between the public and police during the civil rights movements, including protests, marches, and riots.¹⁴

Beginning in the early 1970s and solidly in place by the 1980s, the concept of community policing took hold in police departments. Community policing was designed to reunite police and communities and recast the role of the officer as problem solver or "guardian" for a neighborhood.^{17,18} However, during this same time, police forces and funding increased dramatically for the War on Drugs, which tripled arrests for drug possession and intensified racial disparities in arrests and sentencing for possession, particularly for certain drugs.¹⁵

Eventually, “community policing” came to represent an umbrella term used for a spectrum of approaches to policing – sometimes seemingly in conflict with each other. By the 1990s the concepts of community-oriented policing and problem-solving policing were merged into a form used widely today that encourages officers to understand and analyze the roots of problems, then to solve and evaluate them in ways that may include looking beyond the criminal justice system for solutions.¹⁷ The need for information to analyze problems heralded the rise of data collection tools and management models like CompStat, which is often used to focus on crime reduction.^{17,19} Yet, an increased reliance today on technology to analyze and predict problems, in addition to outfitting police with weaponry that creates urban “warriors,” can distance police from the communities they serve.²⁰

Police Today Provide Public Services Beyond Fighting Crime

Policing is a difficult job. Officers are asked to wear many hats, for which they may or may not have formal training and the required resources. Research suggests that approximately 10-20% of police work today involves “traditional” work on crime-related activities, suggesting the majority of police work is accomplished through other public service work, such as “assisting those who cannot care for themselves.”^{21,22} Officers often become the front line in interacting with individuals who have mental illness, for example.

LITERATURE: Approximately 10-20% of police work involves “traditional” work on crime-related activities, suggesting that a majority of police work is accomplished through public service work, such as “assisting those who cannot care for themselves”.²¹

Frequently, officers are called in to see the “worst of the worst” as was described during a focus group with officers in the Cincinnati Police Department. A participant said, “Almost 95% of the

FOCUS GROUP: “This is a not a job that everyone can do. You realize, that not everyone should see this. It’s absolutely heartbreaking. You have to put a wall around your skull to handle what you’re going to see.”

– *Officer in the Cincinnati Police Department and focus group participant*

time you see the worst of the worst every day, so you have to be thick skinned.” One participant said, “This is not a job that everyone can do. You realize that not everyone should see this. It’s absolutely heartbreaking. You have to put a wall around your skull to handle what you’re going to see.” A different officer listed what may be encountered on duty saying, “Seeing a dog tied up to a chain this big [indicates size of chain], emaciated, to seeing a child shot, someone hit by a car, car crash.” Another described, “You really see a lot of the dark side of life, people in crisis. There is an

importance of maintaining mental toughness and understanding that what you’re looking at is a really small percentage of human activity but the time you’re spending on it is important.”

Dramatic Differences by Race in Confidence in Police

Two-thirds (66%) of 1000 people surveyed in the US in December 2014 were “very” or “somewhat” confident that “police in this country try hard enough to maintain good relations with different groups in the community”.²³ However, numbers differed dramatically by race, with 74% of white people, 35% of black people, and 58% of Hispanic people surveyed expressing that same confidence.

This vast difference in opinions may stem from a number of factors that include systemic, historical, and lived experiences of persecution of black people, as described by sociologist and scholar Dr. Robert Staples, as well as highly publicized interactions between the public and police.²⁶ Systemic examples include slavery, the related slave patrols described above, and laws that disproportionately targeted black people during the Jim Crow era.²⁶ Over time, these have led to an implicit, internalized bias about black people among the public in general and police. For example, literature describes that in experimental conditions with community members and officers, each will pull the trigger on a gun more quickly when the suspect in the experiment is a black person rather than white person, suggesting the presence of what is called “implicit bias.” This finding holds true for white as well as black community members and police officers; however, police officers are less likely to do this than community members.²⁷

LITERATURE: For many black communities, police are a first and most frequent contact with the criminal justice system. Police are essentially gatekeepers of a system that incarcerates black people at rates disproportionate to their percentage of the population and compared to white people.^{24,25}

Lived experiences for black communities include that police are a first and frequent contact with the criminal justice system. Police are essentially gatekeepers of a system that incarcerates black people at rates disproportionate to white people.^{24,25} In 2010, sociologist and criminology researcher Dr. Ronnie Dunn reported that black males have a 32% chance of incarceration during their lifetime compared to 17% for Hispanic males and 6% for white males.²⁵

Calls for Improved Community-Police Relations and Trust

In 2015, governments have convened task forces and commissions, and government and advocacy organizations have speedily issued reports and guidance documents that try to answer the question of how to restore trust between the public and police.²⁸⁻³²

Public trust in policing is vital, partly because it can aid public cooperation with the justice system, and because trust builds what has been described as, “institutional legitimacy and thus public compliance with the law and commitment to the rule of law.”³³ Scholars find that increasing trust can lead to the following: more cooperation with police so they can investigate crimes; willingness to provide witness evidence; increased reporting of crime; more cooperation with police in the actual encounter in the moment; compliance with police commands face to face; and voluntary compliance with the law in general, even when police are not present.^{34,35}

What is “Trust” and Why Does it Matter?

The concept of “trust” is currently a buzzword in the criminal justice world. As one Advisory Committee member for this project asked, “Can you really *trust* a person with a deadly weapon?” The word “trust” is in current conversations shaping future police actions, standards, and policies, thus we use the word “trust” as well.

By “trust” we mean trust between the public and police, in both directions, in an ongoing manner. Additional concepts that the literature finds relevant to discussions of trust include *confidence* in police to have the public’s best interest at heart, *effectiveness* of policing practices, *procedural justice* or how “fair” an encounter is perceived to be, and *perceived*

legitimacy of police, which is primarily driven by procedural justice and relates to whether the individual feels the officer is respectful, professional, acts within the bounds of the law, and is non-discriminatory.³⁴ Research shows that an individual's perception about the fairness of a police interaction is *more important* for how the person feels about the actual outcome of the interaction.³³ Fewer than 20% of black people view the US legal system as fair.³⁶ Improving community-police relations with black communities, in particular, will involve healing and restoring historical relationships by addressing issues of fairness, legitimacy, and trust.

Focus group participants described the importance of trust. One community member said, "I work a lot in African American communities, and the issue of trust in the police is a major issue. You have instances where there's even a homicide and there could have been 15 people on the street who witnessed it and nobody saw or heard anything. That's the frustration for the police."

Similarly, an investigator described the frustration for the public and police that comes from lack of trust, "Many police officers, in particular investigators, live with a great deal of frustration. Being witness to these events happening, knowing there are individuals who could bring this to a closure and seeing that not happen. That's got to affect trust relationships. On the other side as well, citizens in neighborhoods are frustrated because they see bad things continuing to happen and see police not solving them, whether they know or not why."

As described in the literature, "A trustworthy police force is seen by the public to be effective, to be fair, and to have shared values, interests, and a strong commitment to the local community. Trust extends beyond narrow public assessments that police perform their duties effectively and efficiently to include a sense that the police understand the needs of the community, that they treat people fairly and with dignity, that they give them information, and that they allow members of the community a voice to highlight local problems."³⁴

An individual's attitude of the police is shaped by multiple factors, which can include race, age, personal contacts with the police, indirect encounters known as "vicarious" experiences, neighborhood socioeconomics, level of policing in a neighborhood, sense of procedural justice in policing, and neighborhood social cohesion.^{37,38} Research consistently finds that black adults and adolescents report more dissatisfaction and distrust of police than counterparts in other racial groups, and that race strongly predicts perceptions of fairness among the police.^{39,40}

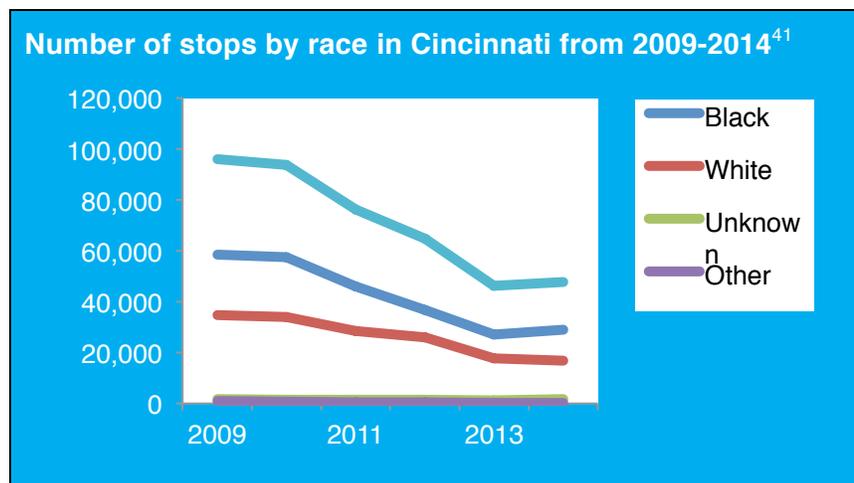
STOPS, ARRESTS, AND USE OF FORCE OVERALL AND BY RACE: WHERE AND HOW INTERACTIONS OCCUR

Nationally and historically, people of color and particularly black people experience steep inequities in the numbers of stops, searches, uses of force, and arrests. This leads to disproportionate numbers among people of color of convictions, harsh sentences, incarcerations, and lifelong consequences of having a conviction on one’s record.

For the sections below, the Akron Police Department declined requests to share statistics on stops, arrests, or use of force overall or by race. Available information that we found from other sources is included.

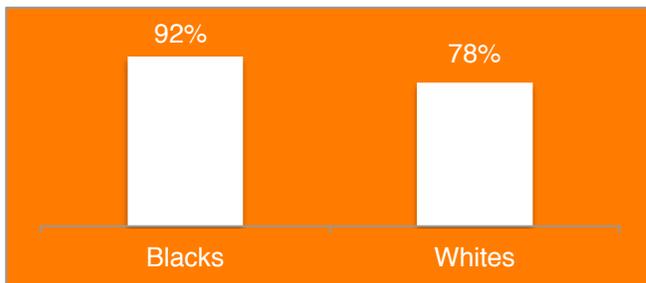
Stops

In Cincinnati, the number of stops has dropped by more than half from 96,004 stops in 2009 to 47,822 stops in 2014. However, stops of black people continue to represent about 60% of all stops in a city where they are 45% of the population.⁴¹ Previous analyses of the Department by RAND Corporation researchers between 2005 and 2007



found no statistical evidence of racial profiling in stops, but in analyzing video footage did find that black drivers experienced longer, more invasive stops, which the authors attributed to factors like neighborhood conditions while acknowledging they likely harmed future interactions.⁴²

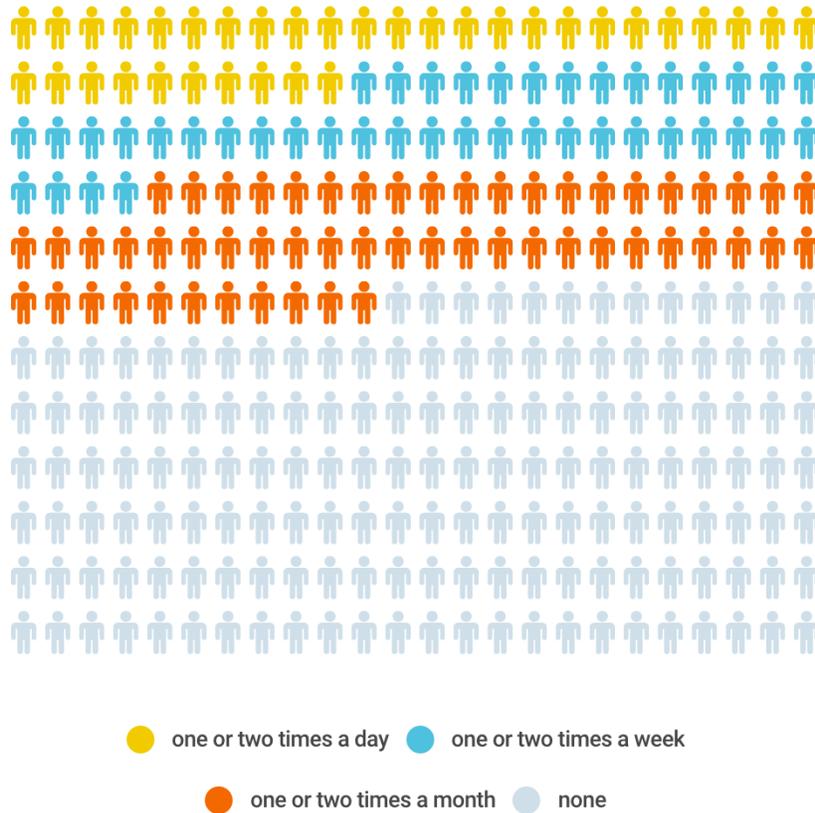
SURVEY: Report experiencing or witnessing a stop or arrest at least one or two times a month, on average*:



**Includes samples in Akron and Cincinnati (n=302 for black respondents, n=75 for white respondents)*

In the survey for this report, experiencing or witnessing a stop or arrest was a frequent occurrence, regardless of race but particularly among black people. More than nine out of ten black respondents (92%, n=302) and three-quarters of white respondents (78%, n=75) from the samples in both cities said they were stopped or arrested by police or saw someone else stopped or arrested at least once a month, on average. The difference between the two groups is statistically significant.

Approximately 19% of survey respondents reported being stopped or arrested once or twice a month on average in their community; 14% report that it happens once or twice a week, and 12% report it happens once or twice a day.

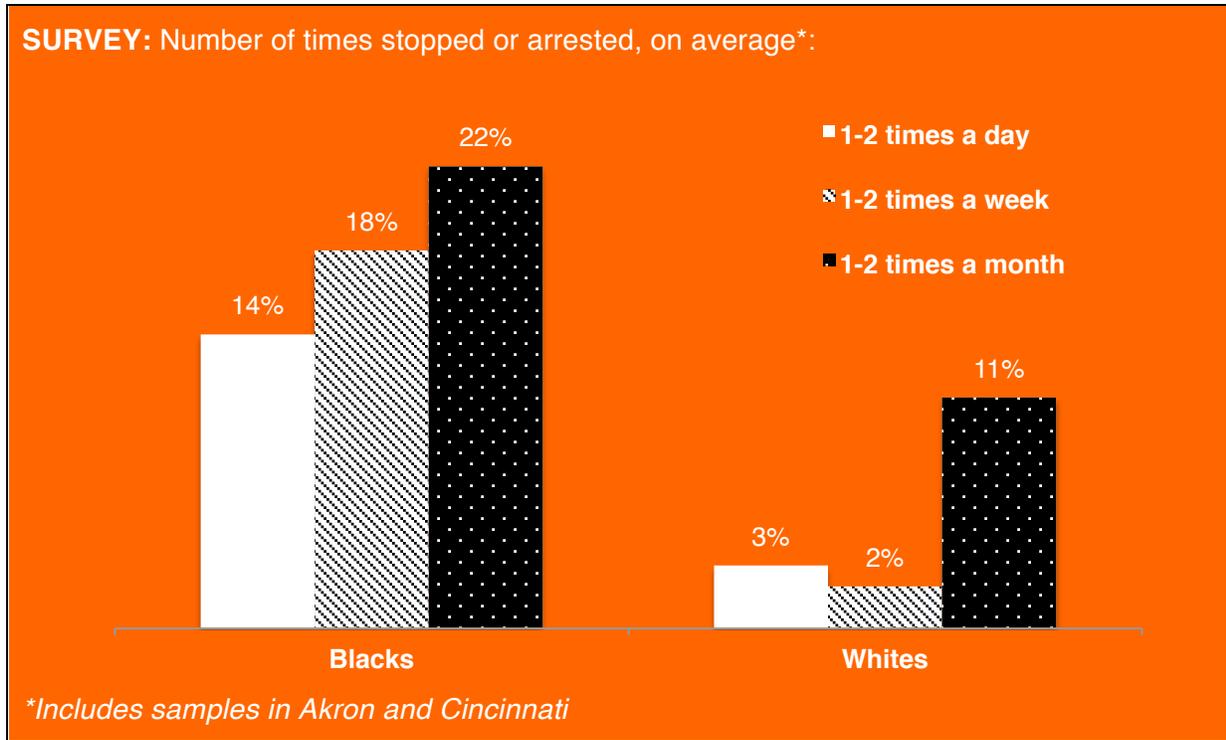


**Includes samples in Akron and Cincinnati*

Black and white respondents differed in their experiences of seeing someone else stopped or arrested and in being stopped or arrested themselves. Among respondents from both Akron and Cincinnati, one-quarter of black respondents (26%, n=83) compared to 14% of white respondents (n=13) reported that on average they see police stop or arrest someone else in their community one or two times a day. More than one-third of black respondents (35%, n=114) compared to one-quarter (25%, n=24) of white respondents see a stop or arrest one or two times a week. Talking about themselves, 14% of black respondents (n=45) compared to 3% of white respondents (n=3) reported being stopped one or two times a day, 18% of black respondents (n=58) versus 2% of white respondents (n=2) report being stopped one or two times a week, and 22% of black respondents (n=69) compared to 11% of white respondents (n=10) report being stopped one or two times a month.

365 to 730:
number of stops
respondents
would experience
in a year*

**Overall, in our survey 12% of respondents reported being stopped or arrested at least once a day on average. This includes both black and white respondents from Akron and Cincinnati.*

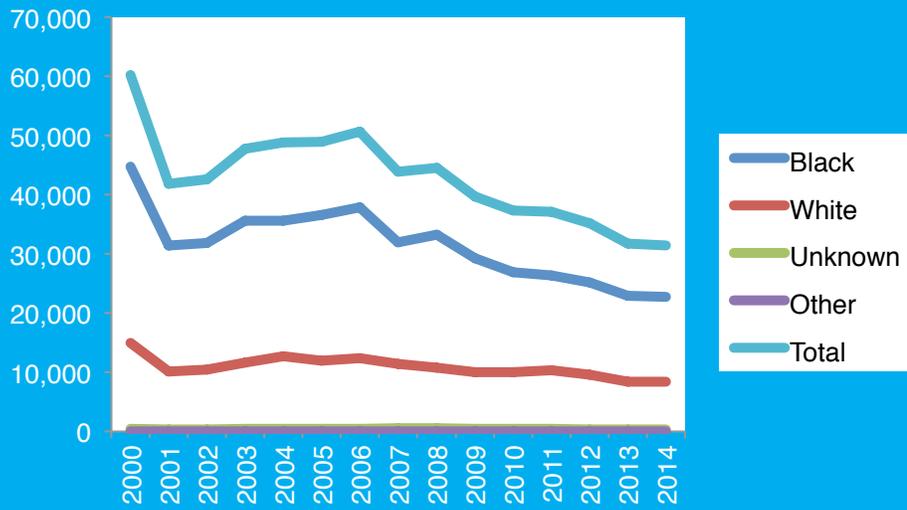


Several participants in the Akron focus groups – both black and white – described experiencing excessive stops. “My worst experience with the police (was) in 2004. That year I got stopped five times. Each time they gave some reason, there was something going on in the area I was driving in, some drug activity, they stopped me. (They) let me go each time.” One black participant in a Cincinnati focus group expressed frustration at the waste of stopping community members with very little justification – a theme that ran heavily through all focus groups with community. “The last stop that happened to me...bothered me because it shouldn’t have happened. About my taillight, it was 11:30 at night; I was on my way to work. But the ticket was bogus. I found this out later, I didn’t need to be stopped; it was wasting taxpayer dollars.”

Arrests

In Cincinnati, the number of overall arrests has approximately been halved over time, dropping from 60,227 in 2000 to 31,431 in 2014.⁴³ However, black people comprise approximately three-quarters of arrests and that proportion has remained steady during the 15-year period – including before and after the city’s Collaborative Agreement.

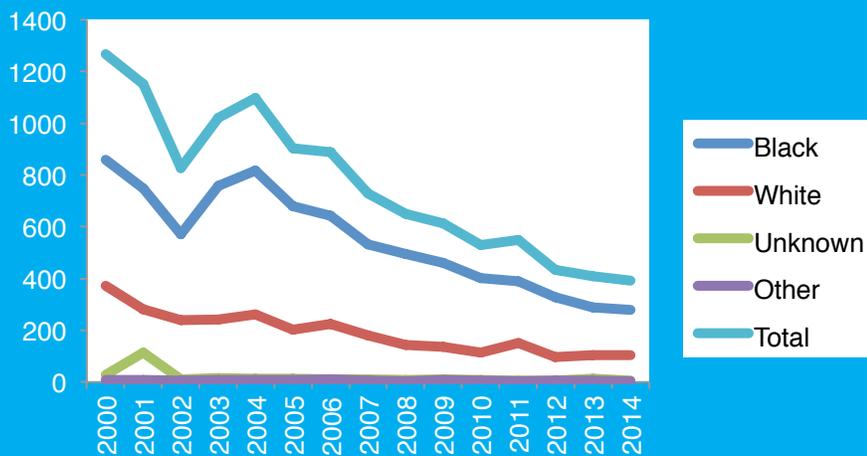
Number of arrests by race in Cincinnati from 2009-2014⁴³



Use of Force

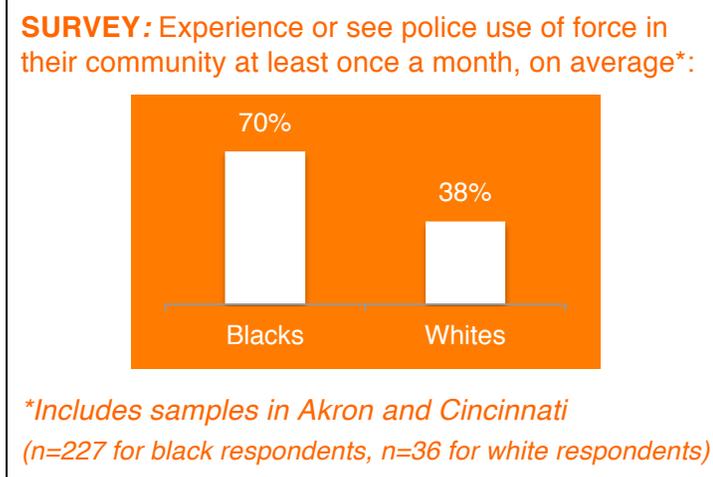
For the Cincinnati Police Department, use of force incidents comprised a fairly small proportion of all arrest interactions, occurring in 1.2% of arrests in 2014 and below the national rate of 1.9%.⁴⁴ The number of use of force incidents overall dropped to nearly one-third of previous levels, from 1,268 reported incidents in 2000 to 392 incidents in 2014. As with other statistics, black people comprise a disproportionately large share of use of force incidents, around 72%, compared to their portion of the city population, though it is roughly the same percentage that they comprise of arrestees. Using data from 2005 to 2008, RAND researchers found no connection between type of force used and race by the Cincinnati Police Department.⁴²

Police use of force of arrestees by race in Cincinnati from 2000-2014⁴⁴



In Akron, no information was provided by the police department; however, media coverage of events such as “Coffee with the Chief” offer some statistics. In June 2015, an *Akron Beacon Journal* article quoted the police chief as saying that use of force occurs in one out of 1,600 incidents – which would be 0.06% – and that as of mid-2015 force had been used 58 times.⁴⁵ Prior media coverage included statements that the Department averaged about 440 use of force reports in 2007-2008, and that the officer charged with investigating use of force incidents reviewed 250 annually on average as of 2004, which comprised under 2% of Akron police incidents at the time.^{46,47}

In the absence of use of force statistics, complaints are a substitute measure that is sometimes used. A 2011 news article reported that the Akron Police Department averaged about 230 citizen complaints a year from 2006 to 2008.⁴⁶ By comparison, Cincinnati averaged 430 complaints from 2002-2010, before decreasing to a near low of 278 in 2014.⁴⁸ About 67% of complaints in Cincinnati are filed by black people, according to annual reports from 2009-2014.⁴⁹



Among respondents to the survey conducted for this report, approximately double the proportion of black people (70%, n=227) as white people (38%, n=36) said they see police use or threaten to use force against themselves or someone else in their community on average at least once a month. Nationally, 75% of people who had any type of force used against them by the police felt the police actions were unnecessary, and 35% thought the force was excessive.⁵⁰

Focus groups participants also described use of force as a rarity, but as upsetting and traumatic when it did occur. In the focus groups with residents held in Cincinnati, the more severe stories of police misconduct, stops, and use of force were actually about police departments outside of Cincinnati – either in the suburbs of Cincinnati or other states.

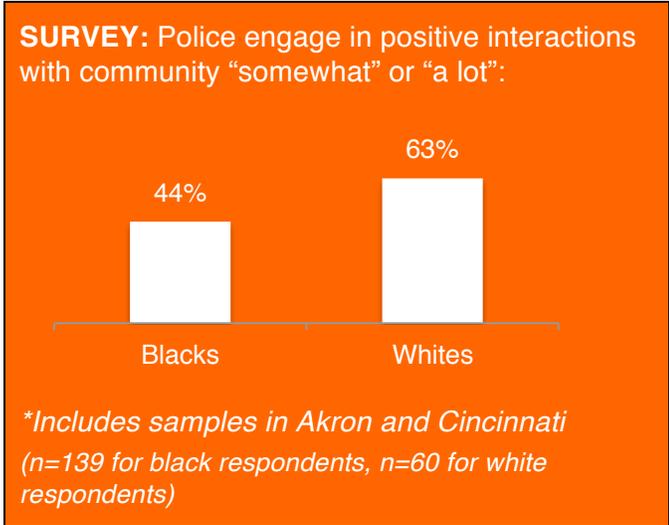
A focus group participant in Akron described this scene, “In 2000, I was jogging through the projects, a police car...started chasing me; they thought I was running from them, I wasn’t. As a black man my natural instinct is to try to lose them...I got tired so I turned and surrendered, walked through the driveway and put both hands up. The police continued to run at me. One grabbed my left arm and one grabbed my right arm, put it behind my back, handcuffed me and pushed me to the ground and beat me. Another car pulled up, two officers run out and beat me. Another car pulled up, two officers came out, they beat me. One more time - more officers, more beating. They beat me and handcuffed me with my head in the ground. The last blow I received was a billy club to my spine. After that they picked me up by the handcuffs and put me in the police car. They took me to Summit County jail and I laid on 3 planks for two days.”

During a focus group with police officers in Cincinnati, one officer explained the difficult decision to use force during an encounter saying, “None of us comes to work saying ‘I’m going to shoot somebody.’ If something is going on and we have to address the situation, we have to respond. We all want to go home to our families too, so we may have to defend ourselves...”

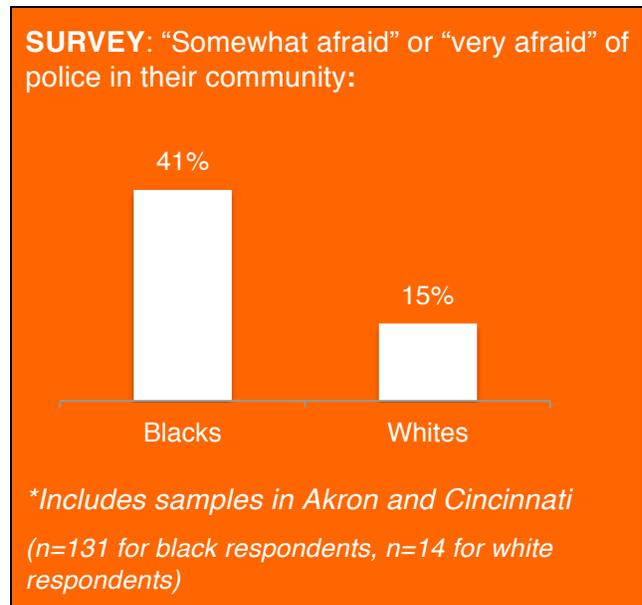
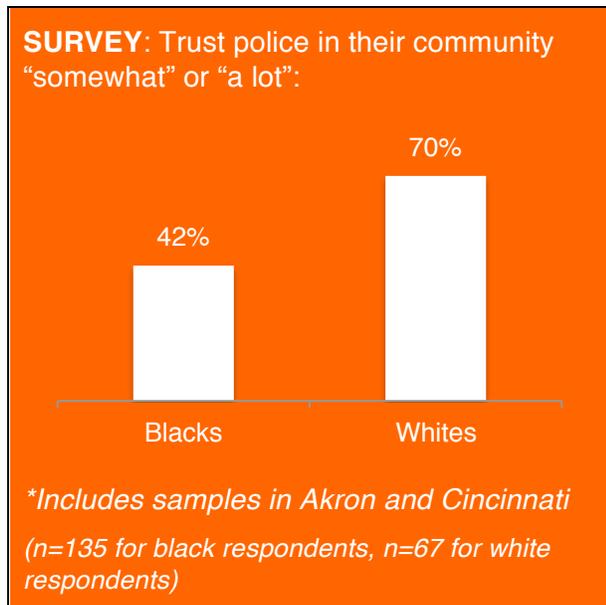
TRUST AND FEAR

Current Conditions of Trust and Fear

Trust of police varied greatly by race among survey respondents. Compared to black respondents, a greater proportion of white people reported perceptions of more positive police interactions in the community, such as police getting to know the community, listening to the community, solving community problems, and working with the community. Approximately two-thirds (63%, n=60) of white respondents perceived that police in their community engaged in these types of activities “somewhat” or “a lot” compared to less than half of black respondents (44%, n=139). Perceptions of positive police involvement in the community were associated with more trust in the police and more feelings of safety.



Seven in ten (70%, n=67) white respondents said they trust police “somewhat” or “a lot” compared to 42% (n=135) of black respondents. Similarly, the proportion of black respondents that reported feeling “very afraid” or “somewhat afraid” was nearly three times that of white people (41% vs 15%, with n=131 for black respondents and n=14 for white respondents). Nearly two-thirds of black respondents (64%, n=209) said they had feared police would injure or kill them, or someone else during an incident they witnessed. In comparison, nearly two-thirds of white respondents (65%, n=62) said they had not ever had that fear.



One black focus group participant in Akron expressed fear directly saying, “I have a natural fear. I fear for my life. There is so much going on with people getting killed by the police.” Another participant stated, “How can I feel safe in my own body if I don’t feel protected (by the police)?” Yet, fear may be underreported. There is a stigma associated with the word fear; people may deny feeling fear, instead expressing anxiety. “I get a little queasy when a cop pulls up behind me, act a little different. Fear might be a strong word, but there’s anxiousness,” said one black participant in a Cincinnati focus group.

When asked about fear or anxiety, focus group participants mentioned an officer’s tendency to have their hands on their guns. A black focus group participant from Cincinnati said, “When we got there, all the police had their hands on their guns. It reminded me of how they don’t really think before they take a life. They panic and they say, ‘I fear for my life.’ They panic and that’s an excuse for them to shoot somebody.” A comment in a police officer focus group reflected that officers are likely aware of the message sent by having a hand on one’s gun. One officer stated, “At traffic stops, people wonder, ‘Why do you have your hand on your gun?’ Well, I have no idea what you are doing in the car. You go in not trusting...”

How Stops and Arrest Link to Trust and Fear: Legitimacy, Procedural Justice, and Confidence

Public Attitudes Toward Police

Legitimacy, procedural justice, and confidence in police during stops or arrests are key concepts related to trust. Large differences by race of the numbers of police-community interactions and the perceived treatment during those interactions is a major reason for distrust of the police among communities of color.

Legitimacy is a belief that actions and intentions of the police are reasonable. *Procedural justice* is defined as perceived fairness of the process used during an interaction and is the primary driver of perceptions of legitimacy.^{51,52} Procedural justice typically includes four components: citizen participation (or voice) in the interaction, perception of fairness and neutrality, being treated with dignity and respect, and believing the police have trustworthy motives.⁵³ If a person feels that during direct contact with police, the officer is disrespectful, discriminatory, or acting illegally, the person may feel the police are illegitimate. If the person perceives that they are treated professionally, with respect, and fairly, that enhances legitimacy. Procedural justice includes *confidence* that the police have the community’s best interests at heart.

National statistics from the Bureau of Justice Statistics report a mixed picture about current perceptions of police legitimacy, particularly by race. Results from a 2011 survey of more than 30 million people stopped that year by police either in traffic or on the street indicate that most people in traffic stops (86%) and street stops (66%) felt the police behaved properly and treated them with respect. Most people stopped (80%) felt that the reason for the stop was legitimate but the numbers differed by race, with only 67% of black people feeling so.⁵⁰ Positive interactions with police (e.g., through community crime prevention efforts) result in higher confidence in the police, while negative interactions (e.g., victimization and traffic tickets) reduced confidence.⁵⁴

Questions of legitimacy and procedural justice were the most frequent themes during community focus groups in both Akron and Cincinnati.

FOCUS GROUPS: A number of comments during focus groups questioned the legitimacy of police actions that without further explanation seemed to the participants to be based on race or profiling.

“Another mutual friend was leaving a bar, it was his bar, cops swooped down and stopped him. You throw your hands up, I’m a black man in America, we don’t get the same privileges, equality.”

– *Black focus group participant in Akron*

“Black folk, we raise our black (kids), we don’t have a gun, or a knife, but they could be shot because (we) look like those that get the brunt of police behavior. If we were salamanders maybe we could stop the violence, change our color, but (we) can’t.”

- *Black focus group participant in Akron*

“I was working for a car dealership. I’m driving new cars. Black man in the neighborhood driving new dealer plate car, police pull me over. What are you doing with a dealer plate car? I show him my dealer license, my driver’s license. He still said what are you doing? He still turned around and writes me a ticket for having improper license plate on the car. That says a lot about integrity. They write a ticket and they know it’s a bad ticket. I’m wearing a suit. I don’t look threatening. I provide all proper credentials. Why write a ticket? In 30 seconds the judge threw it out.”

– *Black focus group participant in Akron*

“When my son was 15, a friend of his had problems with his parents. My son went up to someone’s yard to help the friend, and someone called the police. They had my son in handcuffs and were not disrespectful, but he didn’t do anything besides try to help a friend.”

– *Black focus group participant in Cincinnati*

“One time I got pulled over by the police. They ran my ID. There were no problems, but they refused to tell me why they pulled me over. I felt profiled because they didn’t give me a reason.”

– *Black focus group participant in Cincinnati*

In focus groups with police officers, police expressed frustration with being accused of racial profiling, and consistently – and sincerely – expressed that no one they knew of on the police force was overtly racist, or had a racist agenda in their policing.

The concept of police negligence also explains why people may or may not trust that the police have their best interests at heart.³⁶ Examples described during focus groups ranged from seemingly smaller issues to a more dramatic example. In the smaller cases, residents described a lack of respect and trust for the police that resulted from delays in responding to robbery calls and that could have been avoided with more explanation from officers. One white focus group participant in Cincinnati said, “Our neighborhood officers are honest; they tell us, ‘We get so many radio runs – unless it is an incident of violence and injury it will be a long time.’” This person felt that the officer’s explanation was reasonable and helped him understand why there were delays. In the more dramatic example, a young, black focus group participant described an experience in Cincinnati: “I got shot (not by the police, but in the neighborhood) and the police

came...They said what's your name, I told them. I had warrants out for me. I was living the life at the time. When they ran me through and found the warrants, they threw me in the back of the police car. I said, 'Hey, I've been shot can you take me to the hospital? I've been shot.' I wasn't pouring blood, I was just leaking. Well, after the cop did his paperwork, then we went to the hospital. It was a half hour, 45 minutes later. I later woke up from surgery, and after I woke up from surgery, I went to jail."

Police Attitudes Toward the Public

There is little research on police trust of the public in the US. However, literature argues that police culture leads to social isolation. They may be cynical towards the public or toward different dimensions of policing, such as the agency, general solidarity among the police, or police training.⁵⁵ During focus groups, police who were asked about trust of the community offered, "Everyone else is normal because they trust easier than we do. But the majority of people lie to us, so we have to believe that everyone is lying. And they lie really well to us."

FOCUS GROUP: "Everyone else is normal because they trust easier than we do. But the majority of people lie to us, so we have to believe that everyone is lying. And they lie really well to us."

– Participant in police focus group in Cincinnati

Additional comments from officers described changes in trust of the public that come with time spent as an officer or with the death of an officer in the line of duty. One officer said, "I can see how my trust in people has changed since I've been on the police department. I came from a corporate job, and I trusted everyone. As a police officer, I have a casual conversation with someone on the street, I don't believe them. It doesn't go for everyone - you want to have trust in our local business, a student, whatever. If it's a radio run,

domestic violence, drug run, traffic stop, your trust factor is out the window. Give (people) the benefit of doubt, but when you are back at the car, you run their info." The recent death of a police officer in Cincinnati who was well-liked by the community offered additional perspective as one officer described during a focus group, "We have a good rapport with our community, but when incidents happen like [name of officer], he *knew* the community member who killed him. You have to be thick skinned, but you can't let your guard down, you still go home to your family."

FOCUS GROUP: "The community will trust the police as long as the police officer appears to be fair and impartial. And the police officer will trust the community as long as they get cooperation."

– Cincinnati Quality of Life police officer and focus group participant

POLICING IS A HEALTH ISSUE

Policing Affects the Physical and Mental Health of the Public and Police

Neighborhood conditions affect health through physical characteristics such as air quality, housing conditions, access to healthy food, and built environment conditions such as transportation, opportunities for physical activity, and safety from injury. Social environments such as relationships among residents and the willingness to work to improve conditions coupled with the belief that doing so can be successful also affects neighborhood conditions. Historical processes such as racial or economic segregation have influenced intergenerational access to services such as good schools.⁵⁶

When thinking about health, the focus often is on physical health. However, mental health and social or societal factors are important as well. Neighborhoods can both affect and cause mental health issues, according to a systematic review of 29 studies.⁵⁷ A 2011 survey of 1,000 physicians nationwide found that four in five physicians say patients' social needs are as important to address as their medical conditions.⁵⁸

Public health literature is starting to suggest policing as one factor that affects health, especially health inequities. Health inequities are systematic, avoidable, unfair, and result in unjust health outcomes. An example of health inequities are the physical (e.g., increased rates of miscarriages, neurological damage in children) and mental (e.g., increased rates of developmental delays, behavioral problems) health outcomes that have been associated with lead poisoning due to poor maintenance and deteriorating paint in older housing and schools to which only some populations are exposed. Inequities contrast with the idea of health disparities, which are differences that exist but are not due to a systematic and avoidable issue; for example, that the elderly have cancer more than younger people.

A large, multi-year study out of Buffalo, NY found that police officers are at higher risk than the general employed public for long-term physical and mental health problems such as obesity (41% vs. 32%) or depression (12% vs. 7%), and found connections between the daily stressors of police work to health effects like suicide and sleeplessness.⁵⁹ A study of 2,300 police officers in 29 departments found that 36% had serious health problems, 23% had serious alcohol problems, and 37% had serious marital problems.⁵⁹ Police compensation claims were six times the rate of other professions with 50% of those claims related to high blood pressure and 30% related to psychological problems.⁶⁰

Recent publications call for researchers to provide more evidence on the public health implications of policing. A commentary in the *Harvard Public Health Review* stated: "Policing is a critically important, but under-acknowledged determinant of health inequities."⁶¹ Various health organizations have issued policy statements about health implications of police interactions. The journal *Health Affairs* stated, "We have to consider police violence and other forms of state-sanctioned violence as among the many determinants of health,' [Brian Smedley] says. Yet because reliable data on such violence are hard to find, it can be especially difficult for health officials to formulate and implement effective policy solutions," quoting Dr. Brian

LITERATURE: "Policing is a critically important, but under-acknowledged determinant of health inequities."⁶¹

– Justin Feldman, *Harvard Public Health Review*

Smedley, the former Director of The Health Policy Institute at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.⁶²

Excerpts from Select Statements by Health Organizations about Policing

See Appendix E for full-text of these statements and others by health organizations.

American Academy of Family Physicians: In September 2015, a committee of AAFP voted to accept Resolution 406, entitled “Discriminatory Policing Is a Public Health Concern.” It calls on AAFP to develop a policy statement saying that excessive use of force by police “poses a serious ongoing public health issue that disproportionately affects minority communities;” promotes “communication, transparency, and accountability in everyday interactions between the police and public;” and endorses community policing.

American Public Health Association: Policy statement 9815 issued in 1998 entitled “Impact of Police Violence on Public Health” calls for more research and statistics collection at the local, state, and federal level, and federal funding for this work. The statement says “that most law enforcement officials perform their duties in a professional manner, but that police brutality and excessive use of force are widely reported and have disproportionate impact on people of color” and states that there is significant morbidity and mortality associated with many of these events. It calls for public disclosure and independent review, among other actions.

National Association of County and City Health Officials: Statement 15-04 entitled “Public Health, Racism, and Police Violence,” issued in 2015, urges local health departments to frame “discriminatory police violence and the threat of violence in all communities as a public health issue associated with a legacy of social, economic, and racial injustice in urgent need of both a nationwide and local public health and community response.” It further urges the health departments to engage in public dialogue and “use their authority to highlight the health implications of this legacy and the long-term health effects of police violence where it occurs, particularly as it affects the health of children and their development, families, and communities.”

Injury and Death From Public-Police Interactions, Particularly for People of Color

Injury. In 2014, more than 48,000 officers nationally were assaulted while performing their duties, more than one-quarter (28%) of whom sustained injuries. Nationally, 10-38% of police-citizen encounters result in physical injury to an officer. Most of these injuries are relatively minor – such as scrapes, bruises, or contusions – and the likelihood for injury is greatest when police use punching, kicking, take-downs, wrestling, or joint locks, accounting for almost 70% of injuries.⁶³

Among the public, non-fatal injuries due to “legal intervention”^a have increased over time to a high of more than 100,500 injuries in 2013. Between 2001-2013, black people comprised from about one-third to almost 40% of those injuries.⁶⁴

When use of force is involved during an interaction, different methods carry different rates of injury. This is important in understanding when injuries occur to officers or the public, and to

^a Injury due to legal intervention is defined by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention as “Injury or poisoning caused by police or other legal authorities (including security guards) during law enforcement activities, and it includes injuries and poisonings (mace, pepper spray) inflicted during legal action or execution, or while attempting to enforce the law such as arrest or restraint of arrested persons.”⁶⁴

inform officer training. A 2006 national survey of law enforcement agencies described injuries to officers and the public in more than 24,000 cases of use of force. When officers used physical force – characterized by punches, kicks, or wrestling – the public was injured in 49% of cases and officers were injured in 21% of them; when tasers were used members of the public were injured in 25% of cases and police were injured in 8% of them; and when pepper spray was used members of the public were injured in 22% of cases and police in 14% of them.⁶³ Evidence from this study suggests that among these types of force, injury is least with use of devices such as tasers when used properly, on healthy participants, and for a relatively short exposure.⁶³ However, evidence also cautions that such devices are not risk free – for example, they can cause intense pain, coupled with anxiety and stress that leads to dangerous, abnormal heart rhythms, and can cause serious injury or death in particular populations – underscoring a need for proper training on their appropriate use.⁶³

Death. Death is a solemn possibility in daily police work and a grave reality at times for members of the public during police interactions. Data on deaths during police interactions is incomplete, particularly for deaths among the public and by race.

Among police nationwide, 51 officers died in the line of duty in 2014, down slightly from the 56 killed in 2010. The most deaths were in answering disturbance calls (11), conducting traffic pursuits or stops (9), and ambush situations or investigating suspicious activity (7 each), with an additional four officers who died during arrest situations.⁶⁵ In Ohio, two officers have died in 2015, according to the Officer Down Memorial Page.⁶⁶

Among the public, a recent public health report suggests that in analyzing national data, officers historically have killed black men aged 15-34 at disproportionately higher rates than white people, noting statistics are likely under-reported.^{b,67}

For Ohio, the most recent government data available indicates that there were 38 arrest-related deaths in Ohio in 2009.⁶⁸ Two more recent sets of data about deaths in Ohio from non-governmental sources, as of November 1, 2015 show that 20 people (45% black and 35% white) were shot and killed by police; or that 30 people (40% black and 43% white) were killed by police.^{69,1}

In 2014, one police officer was killed in the line of duty in Akron.² In Cincinnati, no officers were killed that year but three people – two black and one white, all of whom were armed – were killed by police.⁷⁰

Challenges with Data about Deaths or Injuries during Public-Police Interactions

Data nationwide is incomplete and underreported in identifying deaths or injuries among the public during police encounters, particularly by race.

The US Bureau of Justice Statistics collects data on arrest-related deaths; however, a 2015 report by the Bureau estimated it underreports as much as half of law enforcement-related deaths.⁷¹ The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which houses the Bureau of Justice Statistics, said it is “embarrassing” and “ridiculous” that the Bureau lacks this data, and that *The Washington Post* has more accurate data.⁷²

^b Authors state: “We cannot, based on the limited data available, address debates over whether our findings reflect racially biased use of excessive force”.

In the absence of this readily available information, non-governmental sources like The Washington Post.com, The Guardian.com, and Mapping Police Violence.org have set up systems to gather and publicly report information on deaths of the public during interactions with police for large cities and at the state level.

Separately, the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention gathers reports of injury and death due to “legal intervention” at a national level in the National Crime Victimization Survey. At smaller geographic levels, getting data on stops, arrests, and use of force relies on the jurisdiction’s polices of openness and transparency with the public. Although some local public health agencies gather data on “intentional” and “unintentional” injury, they often combine homicide and suicide as “intentional,” without further disaggregation about who caused the injury or fatality.

Judgment of racial profiling is often reported based on a comparison to US Census statistics about the proportion of races/ethnicities in a geographic area. This simplistic comparison has been challenged by criminology scholars, with much debate about how to accurately measure racial profiling and no clear answers. What is clear is that disproportionate numbers of stops and arrests are occurring among non-white people.⁷³

Deaths of other populations, such as black women and transgendered populations, are even less well documented.⁷⁴

Policing Leads to Stress and Anxiety

Available research, though limited, suggests occupational stress impacts among police and emotional health impacts among the public, including stress, anxiety, and adolescent developmental impacts.

Being a police officer is stressful. Stress may be acute or chronic and sources of stress include demands and duties, such as shift work, overtime, excessive paperwork; exposure to job-related violence; and critical incidents.^{59,75,76} Anecdotal reports suggest the perception among police is that this is the most dangerous time to be an officer, irrespective of statistics; and that belief can affect health.⁷⁷ There are also organizational sources of stress, such as pressure from supervisors, inadequate administrative support, disciplinary procedures, or sense that procedural justice – or fairness of an interaction – may be absent within a police organization.^{77–79} Studies indicate that organizational factors may actually have a stronger impact on officer stress than inherent dangers of the profession.⁸⁰

During focus groups conducted for this report, police officers identified several sources of stress that align with the categories described in the literature. Cincinnati police described the

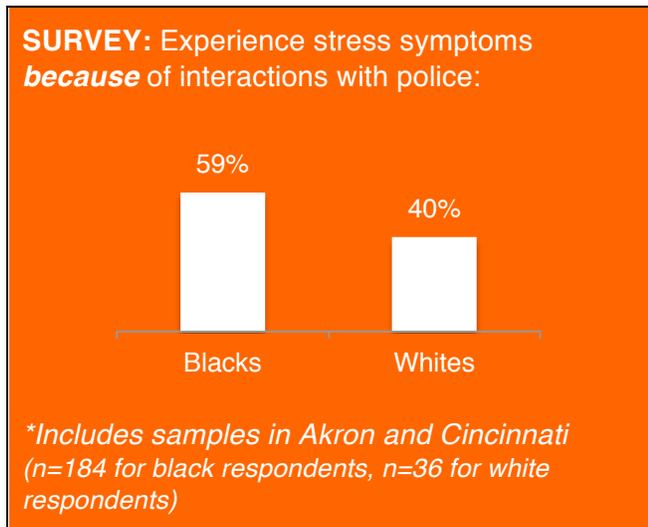
FOCUS GROUP: What about your job is stressful? “Sending a text to your husband saying an officer has been shot and it’s not me.” – Cincinnati police officer and focus group participant

difficulties of work-life balance with the long hours, always being on the job even when not working, and missing family events and critical moments in their kids’ lives because of work. “Even this morning,” one officer in a focus group said, “I was working on prostitution reversal in front of a church – the community and the church have been calling and are very concerned. I started at 5 am,

when the girls are out. Well, my kids started school this morning, they wanted me to make a special breakfast (for the first day of school), and (shrugs) – I had to be gone for work, so I couldn't."

Officers also spoke of the stress and difficulty of having to attend court, usually on their time off. Finally, Cincinnati police officers spoke of the difficulty of interacting with people in the community who are at their worst moments, seeing the harsh ways that people treat each other, and the stress of telling their loved ones that an officer was killed or injured. When asked, what about your job is stressful, one officer immediately responded, "Sending a text to your husband saying an officer has been shot and it's not me."

The public experiences stress and anxiety symptoms from police encounters. In the survey conducted for this report, having more negative experiences with police was associated with reporting stress symptoms. This was especially true for those who have experienced or witnessed use of force or feared the injury or death of themselves or someone else during an interaction with police. Larger proportions of black respondents (59%, n=184) than white respondents (40%, n=36) reported stress symptoms because of interaction with police. By city, the percent of respondents reporting symptoms of stress because of witnessing or being involved in a police encounter was 44% among the Akron sample that included a mix of black and white respondents, and 69% for the Cincinnati sample in which the majority of respondents were black people, as described earlier in the report.



Eighty-four percent (n=197) of survey respondents said that at least once a month, police either threaten or use force against them or they witness it with someone else also reported stress symptoms because of that interaction with police. Eighty-two percent (n=196) who, at least once a month, feared police would injure or kill them or someone else in an incident they witnessed also reported stress symptoms because of that interaction with police.

One study has measured mental health outcomes directly related to contact with law enforcement. Researchers found greater self-reported symptoms of anxiety and depression among young black and Latino men in New York City associated with more frequent experience of intrusive encounters with police. In this study, encounters were defined by the number of stops reported, intrusiveness of encounters, and perceptions of police fairness.⁸¹ In the study, black people experienced higher frequency of trauma symptoms associated with police stops than men of other races/ethnicities. People who perceived procedural justice in the stops – meaning that they were “fair” – still reported anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder,

LITERATURE: One study...found greater self-reported symptoms of anxiety and depression among young black and Latino men...associated with the more they experienced intrusive encounters with police.⁸¹

but slightly less. The substantive associations between respondents' experiences with the police and their mental health were robust, particularly among respondents reporting invasive stops.⁸¹

Perceived harassment by police is a theme in conversations about police presence and safety. Respondents in a study in New York City described conflicting feelings about police presence in their neighborhoods. Participants described perceived benefits in protection and potential for reduced crime but put more emphasis on associated stress of police harassment, according to study authors. Racial profiling from stop and frisk activities was an important stressor for the communities participating in the study.⁸²

The idea of the “fairness” of a stop is important to health. Unfair treatment, and in particular chronic unfair treatment, increases chronic health problems, self-reported ill health, psychological distress, anxiety, depression, lower life satisfaction, and low self-esteem. Poor health outcomes, linked to experiences of racism and unfair treatment on a daily basis, are particularly present for people of color.^{84,85} One study found that the accumulation of police stops for no perceived reason and a high amount of use of force by police in a precinct targeted for narcotics arrests left many residents feeling “insecure” and “uncomfortable” when outside.⁸⁶ A different group of researchers studied the black experience of police interactions as one of a range of experiences of “mundane extreme environmental stressors” of racism. They found that a type of “racial battle fatigue” was apparent that leads – just like in war-time battle – to cumulative anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, hypervigilance and hyper surveillance, irritability, and other displays of cumulative exposure to everyday experiences of racism.⁸³ More generally, a meta-analysis linked perceived discrimination to mental health outcomes including depression, psychological distress, anxiety, and well-being, as well as physical health problems, such as hypertension, self-reported poor health, and breast cancer, as well as potential risk factors for disease, such as obesity, high blood pressure, and substance use.⁸⁷

LITERATURE: One researcher compares the black experience of police interactions as one of a range of experiences of “mundane extreme environmental stressors” of racism that results in a type of “racial battle fatigue” that leads – just like in war time battle – to cumulative anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, hypervigilance and hyper surveillance, irritability, and other displays of cumulative exposure to everyday experiences of racism.⁸³

Trust in the institution of policing can affect stress and anxiety. Specific to policing, Tom Tyler who is an expert on the topic of trust in policing states, “Police should recognize that for many citizens, the actions of a police officer in uniform create a certain degree of anxiety and tension. Whatever police can reasonably do to explain the reason for an interaction and de-escalate a situation is vital to the peaceful resolution of the encounter.”⁸⁶ One study connects increased trustworthiness – in general, not specific to policing – to an absence of chronic stress, finding a reduction in stress when there is less about which to be anxious.⁸⁸ This study found that suspiciousness was associated with symptoms of heart disease, and that trust may help to protect against chronic stress by reducing anxiety about the behavior of others.⁸⁸

Anticipation of an encounter – even if it does not actually take place – also can affect stress or anxiety, and fear of a potential police encounter can alter behavior.⁸⁹ Research suggests that black men are significantly more likely to feel they are being judged as being a criminal when confronted by the police. Racial differences in anticipated threat by police in this study translated into significant racial differences in anxiety. This study also found that expecting to be accused

of something by the police led black men to modify their behavior in ways to try to not support the stereotype, which ironically made them appear more suspicious.⁹⁰

Fear or anxiety can also influence behavior in seeking or avoiding medical care or other practices that can improve health. Police presence can affect behaviors that have implications for both crime and public health; for example, police crackdown affects access to harm reduction services among injection drug users.^{86,91,92} In a very specific example, one study showed that fear of police arrest deters witnesses of drug overdose from calling for medical help and may be a determinant of drug overdose mortality.⁹³

FOCUS GROUP: “I feel betrayed, devastated; I have PTSD, lingering shoulder pain even though I’ve been to physical therapy twice and have been on medication and steroids. I feel humiliated.”

– Focus group participant describing effects after an interaction with police in a suburb of Cincinnati that involved use of force

Routine negative encounters can harm black adolescent health. There is evidence from qualitative research among black populations that routine encounters with police can erode community trust in police and that these encounters may chip away at healthy adolescent development, criminalize adolescent peer networks at key developmental stages, and have consequences on developing senses of self for both targets and witnesses to activities like stop and frisk.⁹⁴ A study among black urban youth in St. Louis reported harmful effects of routine aspects of police behavior, such as persistent harassment and disrespectful treatment that were reported by both “delinquent and non-delinquent young men” in the study.⁹⁵ Study authors found that treatment included verbal abuse and physically invasive police stops that “have serious and cumulative impacts on perceptions of police.” Most of the study participants also felt police had an important role to play in improving communities. Authors suggest the need for a different type of policing if looking to improve community relations.⁹⁵

Different Starting Points, Potentially Different Impacts

Nationally, young, black urban men are more likely than young, white urban men to live in neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantage, experiencing higher levels of poverty, unemployment, racial segregation, crime, and homicide.^{95,96} These are also places associated with more frequent involuntary contacts with police and aggressive policing.⁹⁵ The effects of these more frequent interactions or tactics may differ for those already and regularly encountering crime and violence in their neighborhoods – and the related mental, emotional, and behavioral health effects of those experiences – compared to those who do not. One study found an increased likelihood that “black males living in these neighborhoods [of concentrated disadvantage] will experience the traumatic loss of one or more homicide victims within their social networks.”⁹⁶ Homicide survivorship has documented adverse mental and behavioral health consequences for survivors, including post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety and depression, traumatic and complicated grief, substance abuse, emotional reactivity, and a hindered ability to function.⁹⁶ Additionally, witnessing community violence is linked to substance abuse, symptoms of depression, and perpetrating aggression and violence.⁹⁷ It is important to understand that we start from different levels of health and that an event can affect two people who live in alternate contexts very differently. It also emphasizes a need to understand current mental and behavioral health of local populations.

Stress and Anxiety Affect Physical and Mental Health

High levels of stress can lead to physiological effects, such as reduced immune function that is linked to greater prevalence of certain diseases, headaches, stomachaches, backaches, ulcers, and heart attacks. Excessive or prolonged stress is also linked to psychological symptoms such as anxiety, depression, flashbacks, and panic attacks, which in turn can affect physical health.^{98–100}

The effect of stress on health varies with the type of stress, when in one's life it's experienced, how severe and prolonged it is, the cumulative numbers and types of stressors experienced, interplay with genetics, and the individual's perception of whether stress harms health. Types of stress can include acute stress, chronic stress, stress from trauma, stress from loss, personal stress, organizational stress, positive, or toxic stress.

Studies of police report higher rates of post-traumatic stress disorder, domestic problems, substance abuse, and suicide, and a decreased life expectancy than the general population. Between 12% and 35% of police officers in the US suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, compared to the national rate of 7% to 8%.^{60,101} Officers with severe symptoms were approximately three times more likely to have metabolic syndrome – a risk factor for heart disease, stroke, and diabetes.⁷⁵ A systematic review reported that officers who have trouble coping with stress show characteristics that can harm other aspects of their job – for example,

LITERATURE: Between 12% and 35% of police officers in the US suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, compared to the national rate of 7% to 8%.^{60,101}

aloofness, authoritarianism, cynicism, depersonalization, emotional detachment, and suspiciousness – and personal lives – including excessive use of alcohol or other substances, suicide, and domestic issues.⁹⁹ Police officers are three to eight times more likely to die by suicide than by homicide and their suicide rate is three times higher than in the general population.⁶⁰ Although about 79% of police officers have stress intervention services available, only 12% use them.⁸⁰

Excessive or chronic stress harms the public's health too, particularly youth. Chronic exposure to violence disrupts development of the brain in children, and chronic exposure to real or perceived threats can diminish a child's ability to distinguish between genuine threats or neutral situations. This can potentially affect their ability to learn and interact with others and lead to anxiety disorders.⁵ Similarly, chronic stress can link to aggression and poor school and work performance.⁶ Toxic stress can have lifelong impacts on learning and the ability to interact with others across the lifespan.⁷

Even violence that children do not directly witness has been shown to negatively affect children's attention abilities and cognitive performance. In a meta-analysis, actual victimization, witnessing, or hearing about community violence equally predicted post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms.¹⁰² Community violence presents a unique type of trauma, in particular for urban youth, for whom it is chronic and especially detrimental. Children of parents with post-traumatic stress disorder are at greater risk to be victimized and eventually develop the disorder as adults.¹⁰²

SECTION 2: HOW TO BUILD TRUST AND IMPROVE HEALTH

“Trust and respect is a two-way street, and unlikely that problems we face today can be solved without some distance traveled on both sides. The elements of what is required to build and maintain trust has been brought together in the concept of procedural justice...both in word and deed – the fairness and impartiality of their processes must treat individuals during those processes with dignity and respect, and must give the public the opportunity to participate – whether that means giving an individual a chance to explain their side of the story to the police officer standing in front of them or more macro-level public participation in law enforcement policymaking. Fully implementing these principles is not easy. There are implications not just for communication with the public, but for policing tactics, strategies, accountability, discipline, and other internal processes.”³¹

- Testimony to Congress by Brian A. Jackson, RAND expert on community-police relations

BUILDING TRUST THROUGH OVERARCHING MODELS TO POLICING

Four Popular Overarching Models to Policing

How policing is defined by a department is important – it affects police department end goals, the activities used to achieve goals, and how those goals are measured. For example, a department that sees public quality of life in addition to fighting crime as end goals would measure success by not only crime or clearance rates (the rates at which crimes are solved) but also by measures like public perceptions of safety or fear.¹⁰³ The model of a police department can be understood through the values it adopts and public statement of those values – to all members of the communities it serves and to the police department.¹⁰⁴ A recent report from the White House Task Force on 21st Century Policing called embodiment of procedural justice, transparency, and accountability – internally in the department and externally with communities – “critical to ensuring decision making is understood and in accord with stated policy.”²⁸

Four policing models delineated by criminologists Drs. Robin Engel and John Eck are community policing (also referred to as community-oriented policing), problem-oriented policing, focused policing, and standard policing.⁵³

Community policing or community-oriented policing: The community policing model does not have a single definition. It draws on a variety of programs or strategies that share a common principle: police work “with neighborhood residents to coproduce public safety,” as described by the White House Task Force on Policing in the 21st Century.²⁸ The US Department of Justice identifies three major components of community policing: collaborative police-community partnerships; support from agency management, structure, personnel, and information systems; and a problem-solving process that develops and rigorously evaluates effective responses.¹⁰⁵ Based on criteria from the National Research Council, the community-oriented policing model draws on a diverse range of approaches, and a relatively low level of focus where strategies are more general and applied uniformly across place of population.⁵³ The label of community policing is very popular in the US currently, with almost 70% of local police departments including a component of community policing in their mission statement in 2013 – a percentage that has increased substantially over the previous decade.¹⁰⁵ It is less clear to what extent the

actions actually taken by these police departments align with the label. A 2014 conference with high-level attendees recommended that every officer engage in and be trained in community policing – not only a subsection of a police department.³²

Problem-oriented policing: At the heart of the problem-oriented model are police department analysis; finding solutions that may go beyond traditional police practices; for example, involving other city agencies; and departments evaluating the success of their efforts.¹⁰⁸ It aims for police to proactively identify underlying problems and “alleviate crime at its roots”.¹⁰⁹ Like community policing, it can include a wide range of tactics. Based on the NRC criteria, the model draws on a diverse range of approaches, but unlike community policing has a high level of focus.⁵³ For example, depending on how it is implemented, hot spots policing can be seen as a type of problem-oriented policing, in which a police department focuses limited resources in areas where crime is most likely to occur.^{109,110}

Focused policing: These types of strategies generally focus on repeat patterns of crime. Typical examples include police crackdowns, hot spots policing, and focusing on repeat offenders.⁵³ What is known as “broken windows” policing – the idea that police can prevent bigger crimes by strictly enforcing smaller crimes and disorder, and public fear and perceptions of those crimes and disorder – is sometimes used as complementary to problem-oriented policing and has been implemented in a variety of ways that include focused policing strategies, such as zero tolerance policing that aggressively polices disorder.¹¹¹ In focused policing, there is little diversity in approaches, which mostly use law enforcement interventions instead of outside agencies and resources. Strategies used in focused policing tend to hone in on specific areas or populations.

Standard model: Typical practices in the standard model include: an increase in the number of police, random patrols, and rapid response to calls for service.⁵³ There is little diversity in approaches, which are mostly law enforcement based, and resources are used to target all crimes across all parts of the jurisdiction, as opposed to having a specific focus.⁵³

Defining Key Terms

There are a number of terms that refer to the organization and management of police departments. For this report, we define a *philosophy* as a way of thinking, and an *organizational strategy or approach* as a means to carry out that philosophy.^{106,107} These concepts both shape and are shaped by the occupational *culture* of a police department, which includes the knowledge, beliefs, customs, communication, and norms – or rules of conduct – that suggest what police should do, think, or feel as part of a social group.^{10,11} Often, there are subdivisions within police culture by rank or function; for example, police officers versus supervisors and patrol officers versus administration. These subdivisions may see policing differently.^{16,17} Consistency in these philosophies, strategies, and cultures can help to cross subdivisions.

Community- and Problem-Oriented Policing

There is substantial overlap between community and problem-oriented policing. At their core, both models share an idea about how police should respond to problems they have taken as their responsibility.^{105,108}

Where they differ is that community policing explicitly identifies that the ends of policing include not only reducing crime, but also reducing fear, resolving disorder, and providing high-quality services to callers. It also views the community as a particularly important partner not only in nominating problems that they consider important for the police to solve, but also in taking the actions that are necessary to resolve the problem.^{105,108}

Problem-oriented policing is less explicit about the ends and less focused on the importance of relationships with the community. This model prioritizes solving problems first.^{105,108}

However, the two approaches can also be used together. Recent research has called for community policing to be used with problem-oriented policing.^{110,112}

Case Studies of Akron and Cincinnati: Overarching Models to Policing

This report uses the following six criteria to understand the approaches to policing used by the City of Akron Police Department and the City of Cincinnati Police Department.¹¹³

1. Public statement of mission, values, or goals
2. Transparency
3. Accountability
4. Community feedback
5. Leadership traits
6. Structure

Information about both departments came from publicly available resources, such as department websites or online reports. In Cincinnati, it also came from information provided by the police department in response to requests we made for information, statistics, and interviews. The City of Akron Police Department declined to participate in this report.

City of Akron Police Department: Reactive Approach Similar to Standard Model with Parts of Community Policing

1. Public statement of mission, values, and principles, but not department goals are available online. The department does not identify a specific approach to policing.
2. Transparency is currently limited. The department has provided information to other researchers but denied our requests for information for this report. Limited information is publicly available, such as on the department website.
3. Accountability is growing with the presence of the Independent Police Auditor, but large opportunities for improvement remain, such as in establishing a civilian review board.
4. Community feedback about the department is mixed, with opportunities to improve by clearly stating the department's approach and how community policing is carried out.
5. Leadership is not in flux, has expanded police staff and units within the department, and describes interest in working with community and other city departments.
6. Structure of community policing is limited to officers assigned to duty and in practice is not implemented by every officer in the department.

City of Cincinnati Police Department: Community-Oriented Problem-Solving Model

1. Public statements of the department mission, values, and goals emphasize community partnership and promoting quality of life. Recent news reports suggest transition in staffing though the interim chief verbally reiterates commitment to the approach. In an interview for this report, the interim chief said, “We must remain committed to the tenants of the Collaborative Agreement on how to police moving forward. We must continue to go back to the Agreement and take a litmus test to see if we are policing in that way. We’re not there, but moving in the right direction. We need to stay on the cutting edge of what’s new in law enforcement and what’s progressive and what works And always look for greater opportunities to involve community in partnership with what we’re doing.”
2. The department exemplifies external transparency in providing information to the public.
3. Accountability is available in the form of internal and external bodies to investigate complaints that have police department cooperation, and the external body has independent authority.
4. Community feedback about the department is mixed.
5. Leadership is in transition, with the department currently led by an interim police chief following the firing of his predecessor.
6. Structure for all officers in the department is community problem-solving policing.

(see Appendix F for explanations of how these were determined)

Effectiveness of the Four Overarching Models

This section summarizes topline findings from research available on the effectiveness of the four models in reducing crime, improving trust, and correcting inequities.

*Community-oriented policing improves public satisfaction with police, perceptions of police legitimacy, and inequities; however, evidence is mixed, but generally weak that it alone reduces crime.*⁵³ In a systematic review, community-oriented policing was found to have positive effects on citizen satisfaction, perceptions of disorder, and police legitimacy. Another study found that residents who had greater awareness of community-oriented policing had positive views about police activities in the neighborhood and that the presence of community policing units has a small but significant positive effect on trusting police.¹¹⁴ As described by Drs. Engel and Eck, the evidence about equity effects of community-oriented policing suggests that citizens report general overall satisfaction with these types of approaches and more positive attitudes toward police.⁵³ Two studies found there was not strong evidence that the approach alone reduced crime, and one article suggested community policing is only effective if used with problem-oriented policing.^{110,112}

Problem-oriented policing has little research on how it affects trust and none specific to racial inequities; however, findings include that it can reduce crime: There is little research on the effect of problem-oriented policing on trust. The limited evaluations available show some promise in affecting citizens' attitudes and satisfaction.⁵³ We did not find relevant research specific to racial inequities. There is a growing body of evidence that shows problem-oriented approaches either are generally effective in reducing crime or have a modest but significant effect in reducing crime.⁵³ A meta-analysis in 2008 found that overall problem-oriented policing has a modest but statistically significant impact on reducing crime and disorder; however, the authors caution that the results are based on a small number of studies.¹¹⁵

Focused policing is not effective in improving citizen perceptions of police through activities seen as illegitimate, and that may have disparate racial impacts; however, focused policing is effective in reducing crime: Limited research suggests low effectiveness of focused strategies in improving perceptions of police. Anecdotal reports find that many of these types of strategies and tactics are not perceived as legitimate.⁵³ In one study, researchers found that increased police presence in the "broken windows" form was associated with reduced fear of crime by reducing disorder, but that the police intervention itself was associated with a statistically significant 27% increase in feeling unsafe. It suggests that any fear reduction benefits gained by reducing disorder may be offset by using policing strategies that simultaneously increase fear of crime.¹¹⁶ Needless and intensive frisks undermine legitimacy.³⁶ Many ostensibly race-neutral policies and practices, such as broken windows and stop, question, and frisk have a disparate racial impact, such as was found in New York City where, following costly litigation, a court ruled that stop and frisk practices of police violated constitutional rights of black and Latinos.¹¹⁷ There is a strong body of evidence that shows focused geographic approaches to crime problems increases effectiveness, and the most recent research demonstrates moderate effectiveness of targeting specific types of offenders.⁵³ A systematic review and meta-analysis of evaluations about dealing with disorderly conditions to prevent crime found modest reduction in crime, with strongest effects for programs with community- and problem-solving interventions.¹¹⁸

Standard policing has no literature on whether it builds trust; evidence suggests there are large differences by race on perceptions of police; and standard policing is the least effective model in reducing crime: We did not find systematic literature on the effectiveness of standard policing on building trust. The general literature on attitudes toward police shows large differences across racial/ethnic groups regarding their perceptions of police for strategies such as random patrols or rapid response to calls for service.⁵³ The available evidence suggests that this model of policing is widely used, but it is the least effective and least efficient model of policing to reduce crime and disorder.⁵³

What Affects Crime?

There are mixed opinions about what reduces crime and creates public safety, with suggestions that multiple factors are at play.¹¹⁰ A recent report from the Brennan Center for Justice suggests that incarceration had relatively little to do with the modern crime decline in the US; instead, crediting factors for the decline that included the use of data-driven techniques such as CompStat-style programs and increasing numbers of police officers. Certain social, economic, and environmental factors, such as changes in income, decreased alcohol consumption, an aging population, and changes in consumer confidence and inflation also reduced crime.¹¹⁰

A meta-analysis found "concentrated disadvantage" (e.g., racial heterogeneity, poverty, and family disruption) among the strongest and most stable predictors of crime," and that, with the exception of incarceration, increased use of the criminal justice system (e.g., policing and get tough policy effects) is among the weakest predictors of crime.¹¹⁹ The willingness of citizens to get involved in the community and to come to the aid of one another – known as collective efficacy – was also among top predictors of levels of crime. Authors, however, advise caution in using the collective efficacy model because it is based on a small number of studies.¹¹⁹ It also has been debated as an intermediate factor that reduces both disorder and crime and perhaps connects the two.^{103,120}

An additional piece of literature points to the importance of not simply saying the name of the approach or activity used but also the way it is implemented: "Our review finds that police can use a variety of police-led interventions (including conferencing, community policing, problem-oriented policing, reassurance policing, informal police contact, and neighborhood watch) as vehicles for promoting and enhancing citizen satisfaction with and confidence in police, compliance and cooperation, and perceptions of procedural justice. We conclude, therefore, that it is the procedurally just features of the training ... that foster legitimacy rather than any specific type of strategy that leads to enhanced citizen perceptions of legitimacy."¹²¹

BUILDING TRUST THROUGH SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES

Given the broad ways that a model or approach to policing can be interpreted, we identified four activities related to policing to examine in this report: use of a civilian review board; choice of departmental performance measures; ongoing instruction, supervision, and evaluation of officers; and use of body-worn cameras. We chose these four activities on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee, based on the availability of evidence upon which to evaluate them, and based on their recent popularity as recommended solutions from various task forces.

Four Specific Police-Related Activities

Civilian review board: As described by Stephen Clarke, “the term ‘civilian oversight’ refers to governmental institutions that empower individuals who are not sworn police officers to influence how police departments formulate policies and dispose of complaints against police officers.”¹²² It was estimated that in 2009 the US had civilian oversight bodies in approximately 80% of large cities and approximately 100 different bodies total.¹²² Although a commonly used measure of civilian review boards are the “sustain rates,” (rates at which a board upholds a complaint about a police officer after investigating it), this has been described in the literature as a poor measure of the “success” of a civilian review boards due to a variety of issues with data and complaint follow through with investigators; however, with those caveats in mind it often is used.

Department-level performance measures: This includes the measures used by a department to monitor its effectiveness, and the frequency with which effectiveness is measured and reported internally or externally. There has been renewed interested recently in how to measure the effectiveness of police departments.¹²³ Traditional measures emphasize reduction in numbers of serious crimes, but these have been described as problematic. For example, police are not the only factor affecting reported crime rates, as crime reduction is only one among many police activities. These measures do not consider cost of reducing crime, and they do not take into account unreported crimes.¹²³ Examples of traditional measures include: measures of enforcement productivity (e.g., numbers of arrests, citations, stop-and-frisk, warrants, searches), number of gun crime charges, reduction in numbers of violent crimes, number of task force cases, clearance rates, and response times.^{123–125}

More recent literature suggests strategies for identifying broader sets of measures that include both quantitative and qualitative information – such as community perceptions – and are measured and reported at regular intervals, such as annually. A RAND Corporation expert on community-police relations, discussing performance evaluation in a statement before the California legislature in 2015, stated, “If crime is the only policing metric that is measured, it is understandable that an individual officer’s primary consideration would be to take action to affect crime rates. An individual officer is usually judged and promoted based on his or her crime statistics—for example, number of crimes cleared. Though individual officer behavior is obviously shaped by many factors, if police-community relations are not measured and success in that area is not linked to officers’ career paths, then ensuring that these relations are a priority for all officers will be difficult or impossible. To focus exclusively on one goal at the expense of the others is to invite poor performance on alternative goals.” Performance metrics that include police-community relations (e.g., police satisfaction, trust in the police, and police legitimacy) and constitutional policing practices (e.g., bias-free policing and use of appropriate force) are considered to be improvements over traditional measures.¹²⁶

Training, supervision, and evaluation: Training includes initial training such as through an academy, field training in the first months of hire, and ongoing training each year. Supervision and evaluation include the type, frequency, and level of supervision within a department and how and when a department evaluates individual officers. This large category includes the type of training, supervision, and evaluation, as well as when they are done and with what regularity.

A 2015 report by the Office of the Attorney General in Ohio suggests adding training topics such as implicit bias and procedural justice and substantially increasing required hours for The Ohio Peace Officer Training Academy, one of two accredited training academies in Ohio. *(For more on the Attorney General's suggestions and Ohio training standards, see Appendix G.)*

Body-worn cameras: This includes a technology that has gained in popularity recently among police departments nationwide. Considerations that have been raised pertaining to their use include privacy; security; significant financial costs of deploying cameras and storing recorded data; training requirements; and rules and systems that must be adopted to ensure that body-worn camera video cannot be accessed for improper reasons.

Case Studies of Akron and Cincinnati: Use of the Four Specific Activities

Akron

Civilian review board: No external civilian review board. Complaints are filed with and investigated by the Akron Police Department. An independent police auditor monitors complaint investigations to ensure they are thorough, objective, and fair, then recommends improvements to department policies and procedures. Complaints also can be filed directly with the auditor.

There is no mechanism for direct public involvement in oversight of police. Focus group participants said they wanted a civilian review board for accountability and transparency, describing frustration in long delays or never obtaining documents or footage in investigations.

Department-level performance measures: Information was not available from the City of Akron Police Department. The 2011 Police Executive Research Forum organizational assessment recommended instituting CompStat.¹²⁷

Training, supervision, and evaluation: Initial training for officers with the department is between six and 27 weeks depending on circumstances like the certifications held by the individual. All officers must be certified by the Ohio Peace Officer Training Academy.

Estimates of required ongoing training range from 32 to 60 hours, with a former officer stating to media that required training went from a full week to one in-service day a year.¹²⁸

Information regarding supervision and evaluation was not available from the department. A 2011 Police Executive Research Forum assessment of the department suggested several actions to formalize and codify assessment of employee performance, but we are not aware that these have been implemented.¹²⁷

Body-worn cameras: The department has been testing and evaluating body-worn cameras with the help of a university researcher, and in 2015 was awarded a grant to pay for 245 cameras in a department of about 450 officers. According to a news report, preliminary results include less

excessive use of force and less confrontation.¹²⁹

Cincinnati

Civilian review board: Cincinnati has both an internal audit process called the Citizen Complaint Resolution Process (CCRP), and an external body that reviews citizen complaints called a Citizen Complaint Authority (CCA). The internal body investigates all complaints not handled by the external body.

The body external to the police department investigates more serious complaints, such as about use of excessive force, discharge or improper pointing of firearms, death in custody, improper search and seizure, and discrimination. During an investigation, the external body is in touch with the police department, sometimes including an officer's supervisor, which can help assess whether an officer was using a procedure they were trained in. The external body publishes an annual report detailing number of complaints; types of complaints; which body they went to; outcomes of the investigations of complaints; neighborhood; race of complainant and officer. As part of the 2001 Collaborative Agreement, the federal government required Cincinnati to create the external body, which has been operational and transparent since oversight ended in 2007.

Historical data from the external and internal processes are available on the City of Cincinnati Police Department website, and CCA Director Kim Neal was interviewed for this report. She said that the CCA is preventive as well as reactive, analyzing the complaint data for trends and making recommendations to the police chief and police managers about proactive changes in policies and procedures to consider. Director Neal also emphasized that the CCA is separate from the police department, but has the power and a working relationship with them that allow the CCA investigators to succeed, describing an open policy by the police department to allow CCA investigators immediate access to police files, witnesses, and investigations, which she said have enabled the CCA to increase trust by the community.

Department-level performance measures: The Department has a measurement system called STARS (Strategic & Tactical Analytic Review for Solutions) that it uses to regularly report crime and arrest statistics on its website and to focus enforcement and problem-solving strategies. According to the interim chief, department-wide performance is evaluated informally and in a rolling way, with crime reduction and "temperature" of the community served, used as measures. The interim chief said, "trying to gauge [community] involvement and partnership is key," although he did not identify more specific measures of these concepts.

Training, supervision, and evaluation:

For initial training, the City of Cincinnati Police Department has its own Training Academy that requires almost double the time (25 weeks) of the Ohio Peace Officer Training Academy and is considered a model in Ohio. It includes robust mental health training, as well as problem solving, and cultural diversity classes. Once hired, an individual is required to complete 13 weeks as a probationary police recruit in the field training program, and then is on probation for 18 months. The department Policies and Procedures Manual states that the Field Training Officer has two responsibilities – the first is to the community and the second is as a trainer and evaluator of the probationary police officer. There are two mandatory on-going in-service trainings annually and two mandatory firearm trainings. Additional training on various topics is offered but not required throughout the year.

For supervision, the department uses an Employee Tracking Solution process, which is a tailored Early Warning System (EWS). Details are described in the department's Policies and Procedures Manual, section 16.111, available online. It includes 15 indicators, a methodology to compare to peer groups, thresholds for action, timing of regular review, and the intervention process. One captain who supervises many officers, speaking only for her supervisory style, mentioned using several of the typical types of indicators an EWS would use, such as use of force incidents; citizen complaints; commendations; how officers are judged in weekly STARS meetings; problem-solving solutions; and anecdotal information on community satisfaction. This supervisor said, "Arrests are probably the last indication of success ... it's not one of those first things saying you're doing a great job." Finally, this supervisor elevated the importance of looking at employee behavior quarterly and measuring officer behavior against Collaborative ideals and the department problem-solving policing criteria (Section 12.370).

For Field Training evaluation, the Cincinnati Policies and Procedures Manual, section 13.100 (Field Training Officer Program), identifies a Daily Observation report, weekly report, Field Training Officer Final Evaluation report, Field Training Officer Sergeant's Monthly report, FTO Recertification Report, and more. In Section 13.105 (Reporting and Evaluating Officer Activity), police officers are responsible for logging all of their activities, and supervisors are responsible for monthly reviews via the database system, and providing counseling as needed.

Body-worn cameras: The City of Cincinnati Police Department has tested body-worn cameras since 2014.¹³⁰ A recent news article suggested that the department would have department-wide body-worn cameras in the first months of 2016, several months ahead of schedule, following the indictment of University of Cincinnati police officer Ray Tensing for the shooting death of Samuel DuBose, in which video footage contradicted Officer Tensing's account.¹³¹

Effectiveness of the Four Activities in Changing Stops, Arrests, and Use of Force

Civilian review boards: We did not find studies considering if civilian review boards change numbers of stops, arrests, or actual use of force in encounters. In the absence of other available data, however, sustained force complaints have been used as an indicator of excessive use of force, although researchers caution against using the number of complaints as an actual measure of use of force. Use of force complaints in Cincinnati have decreased over time according to the Citizen Complaint Authority; however, we do not know what caused the decrease that likely stemmed from various factors. Having a civilian review board may increase complaints according to the little literature that exists – for example, New York City saw a 66% increase in police misconduct complaints after starting to use a board – but they also increase citizen trust by increasing police department transparency and accountability.^{132,133}

We also did not find studies specific to impacts by race. In general, literature describes hope, but no evidence that civilian review boards can reduce racial inequities in stops, arrests, use of force, and complaints. In part, this is reflected in people of color being disproportionately represented among complainants. In one study, 78% of complainants were from people of color.^{134,135} In annual reports from the Cincinnati Citizen Complaint Authority, between 60-67% of complaints were filed by African Americans.

Department-level performance measures: Using solely traditional quantitative measures such as arrest rates, response times, or clearance rates may misrepresent agency performance. Police

work involves public service, social service referral, order maintenance, and preventing crime before it happens – not solely responding to crime incidents. Using only traditional measures also can prevent police organizations from moving toward community policing strategies, as there is no way to hold police departments externally accountable for addressing community concerns, and no way to hold officers internally accountable for engaging community problem solving activities.¹³⁶

Researchers suggest tailoring measures to the department, using a wider range of measures that may still include arrests but assessing those over long periods of time. Using a set of indicators over time is particularly important in helping overcome issues with using citizen complaints as a measure. Citizen complaint data can be difficult to interpret; high numbers of complaints potentially reflect an abusive police force or a well-publicized complaint process, while lack of complaints may indicate poor community-police interaction.¹³⁷

Examples of specific performance measures suggested include measures of community perceptions, for example of crime and satisfaction with police; number of justifiable or unjustifiable homicides by the department over time; and measures of the quality of arrests.¹²³ (See Appendix H for additional examples of specific performance measures)

INTERVIEW: “We must remain committed to tenants of the Collaborative Agreement on how to police moving forward. We must continue to go back to the Agreement and take a litmus test to see if we are policing in that way. We’re not there, but moving in the right direction. We need to stay on the cutting edge of what’s new in law enforcement and what’s progressive, and what works, and always look for greater opportunities to involve community in partnership with what we’re doing.”
- *Interim Police Chief in Cincinnati*

CompStat is a popular tool to help agencies identify crime patterns and problems and engage in strategic problem solving. Limited literature evaluates the effect of CompStat on arrests, with one study suggesting it significantly increased misdemeanor arrests in New York City. A separate study in Fort Worth found that among six types of arrests studied, CompStat increased certain types of arrests but reduced others.¹³⁸ A process called CompStat 2.0 is currently being piloted to test community policing measures in much the way that CompStat is used to measure more traditional factors like crime.¹³⁹ An additional and related process that can be included in the CompStat process is

called RespectStat, and is used to analyze data on the quality of interactions between the police and the public to provide constructive feedback about performance.¹⁴⁰ It can use measures such as results of a survey that allows community members to evaluate their contacts with the police to help determine whether officers treat the public respectfully, fairly, and compassionately.

Training, supervision, evaluation: Training of police officers is extremely varied. Numerous studies find that police training does not reflect the work that officers do in the field; it focuses on tasks associated with reactive policing instead of cognitive and decision-making skills such as scenarios-based learning, communications, reasoning, and application.^{141,142}

A report by the Police Executive Research Forum finds that current training nationwide to handle use of force and de-escalation strategies is inadequate and calls for overhaul of “police training, policy, supervision, and culture on use of force”.⁷⁷

Recent scholarship on training in use of force suggests that trainings in decision-making about scenarios about when to use or not to use force is more effective than having a use of force continuum (not a policy about the use of force, but guidance about when to use force along a continuum) that is used by many police departments.¹⁴³ Evaluations have not been done of scenario-based use of force training.

Certain types of training reduce the use of force; for example, taser training results in fewer injuries to officers and the public.¹⁴⁴ Another example is Crisis Intervention Team training, designed for officers to interact with people with mental illness or under the influence of drugs or alcohol. In a study of over 1,000 encounters, CIT-trained officers were twice as likely as those not trained in CIT to report verbal engagement or negotiation as the highest level of force used, and were 70% more likely to refer or transport a person to a mental health facility, even if force had been used.¹⁴⁵ However, results can be mixed. A separate study that was in the Akron Police Department found no significant change in arrest rates among CIT trained officers.¹⁴⁶

Having a Field Training Officer program and having in-service trainings on use of force were significantly associated with fewer complaints about the use of force.^{147,148} However, training and ongoing instruction can support either a paramilitary, command-control way of operating or a community-oriented way of operating – and the majority of training and instruction still supports the former. There were no studies found looking at the impact of trainings on racial inequities in stops, arrests, use of force, and complaints.

Supervision and evaluation have promise to reduce complaints and drastically reduce use of force incidents. Research, though limited, shows that supervisory styles and individual evaluation can impact job performance outcomes.

A supervisor's style and the perception of what the supervisor's priorities are have the potential to increase or decrease an officer's use of force and implementation of problem-solving and community-oriented policing. Supervisors with an "active" style, meaning they lead by example and are heavily involved in the field alongside their officers, are more likely to have officers that implement community policing and problem solving policing. Studies have reported mixed results on the effect of supervisory style on use of force.^{149,150} Perceptions of a supervisor's priorities also influence an officer's behavior, whether or not the officer has correctly perceived those priorities.¹⁵¹ Departments that require a supervisor to complete use of force reports have lower use of force rates than departments in which the officer involved completes the report.¹⁵²

Among evaluation systems, Early Warning Systems (also called Early Intervention System, or Risk Management System) are considered a best practice and have reduced use of force and use of force complaints. Early Warning Systems are a data-driven officer monitoring system, where a police department identifies a range of indicators – such as complaints made, commendations received, sick days taken, use of force incidents – and the supervisor intervenes if officers start to exceed certain benchmarks set for these measures.

"Arrests are probably last indication of success ... it's not one of those first things saying you're doing a great job."

- Supervisor in the Cincinnati Police Department

In a prominent example, the system was shown to nearly halve use of force incidents in Miami-Dade.¹⁵³ The system has also been associated with reduced numbers of complaints in other

LITERATURE: Researcher Samuel Walker, calls EISs the “most powerful police accountability tool.”¹⁵³

jurisdictions, as well.¹⁵³ As described by criminal justice researcher Robin Engel, “Individual officer performance evaluations are often not useful, in part because police departments do them infrequently, and use a “check the box” approach with standard formats, and little descriptive or specific information. While some Early

Warning Systems are better than others, it is a practice that is promising. It is an evidence-based way to flag officers who are outliers compared to their peers, and intervene before critical incidents or serious misconduct.”¹⁵⁴ Researcher Samuel Walker, calls EISs the “most powerful police accountability tool.”¹⁵³

Body-worn cameras: In preliminary evaluations, use of body-worn cameras decreased citizen complaints and use of force incidents by 60% or more, though absolute numbers are low.^{155,156} However, studies have contradictory findings about whether body-worn cameras increase or decrease numbers of arrests, including whether they decrease interactions such as stop and frisk.^{156,157}

Effectiveness of the Four Activities in Building Trust and Addressing Racial Inequities

Civilian review boards: Civilian review boards have great potential to improve trust in police when the complaint review process embodies procedural justice characteristics such as taking public complaints seriously, hearing from the public and officers, giving the public the perception that investigations are thorough and fair, and communicating with the public throughout the process. Poorly implemented civilian review boards actually decrease trust of police because of dissatisfaction with the board.¹⁵⁸ Elements that influence decreased trust in civilian review boards include:^{132,158}

- Not investigating complaints that should be investigated;
- Inadequate investigation (e.g., having a protective style of questioning, failing to follow up on leads, allowing an officer with a conflict of interest to conduct the investigation, police failing to show up for interviews);
- Inadequate resourcing that results in a lag time with complaint follow-up, inadequate investigations, or substandard communication with the complainant;
- Police department failing to cooperate with the civilian review board in investigations or doing so only with a large lag time; and
- Overwhelming rejection of the decision of the civilian review board by the police leadership and/or reduction of the charges filed by the civilian review board.

Several studies found that an external investigative agency for police misconduct complaints can create misleading expectations and disillusionment when influence of the external civilian review board is limited.¹⁵⁸

Black people file a large proportion of misconduct complaints and have greater dissatisfaction with civilian review boards. One study found that black people who live in cities with civilian review boards are significantly less likely to trust police than black people in other cities though this finding could reflect poorly implemented processes.¹¹⁴

In Cincinnati, the Director of the Citizen Complaint Authority felt like the CCA creates trust, saying it “gives citizens a voice and validation, and it gives police a voice and validation. By giving citizens an impartial voice through the CCA investigation, it gives citizens trust. When the CCA sees patterns or concludes there has been a sustained complaint, the CCA makes recommendations to the police department that can impact change and increase trust.”

Studies suggest that mediation or informal disposition – such as a citizen talking with the police supervisor – via an external body such as a civilian review board may be a better structure than the formal investigation process.¹⁵⁹ Multiple studies found that citizens were significantly more satisfied with the informal or mediation complaint process, leading researchers to conclude that citizens want to be heard, to have the officers’ actions explained, and to know that the police or civilian review board is doing what they can to prevent misconduct. People may, but do not necessarily want, an investigation. In research with focus groups of complainants, the most commonly stated goals were to receive an apology and to know why the officer had acted as they did; only a small minority wanted the officer fired.¹⁵⁹

Alternatives to the civilian review board formal investigation process showed people had higher perceptions of fairness, and they believed that the city had benevolent motives. In these cases, people who had their complaint through mediation or informal disposition had higher satisfaction with the civilian review board process, outcome, and police department in general.^{159–162} One study found that police officer satisfaction was very high in the mediation process compared to the complaint investigation process, and a separate study found more satisfaction with the civilian review board among police if they perceived it as legitimate and procedurally just.^{160,163}

LITERATURE: Alternatives to the civilian review board formal investigation process ...through mediation or informal disposition had higher [public] satisfaction with the civilian review board process, outcome, and police department in general.^{159–162} One study found that police officer satisfaction was very high in the mediation process compared to the complaint investigation process...^{160,163}

Department-level performance measures: Standardized department-level measurement is a fairly new concept, and perhaps the best known is CompStat. Advances described earlier in the report, such as CompStat 2.0 and RespectStat, hold promise for improving public confidence in police; however, they are in initial testing phases.

Training, supervision, evaluation: Several studies find promise in the impacts that trainings can have on sense of procedural justice among the

public and in boosting confidence in police. Findings from the “world’s first-ever randomized field trial of procedural justice policing” were published in 2014 using information from Australia, and included that trust and confidence in police was higher when police used a procedural justice script than without it, even controlling for demographic factors.¹⁶⁴ In the US, a 2015 journal article described that a procedural justice training used in the City of Chicago increased officer support for procedural justice in the short term.¹⁶⁵ Additionally, 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”; however, the effect of training alone on trust was not statistically significant.¹⁶⁵ Authors discussed that there also could be benefits in police supervisors being trained in procedural justice with an eye on internal department procedure.¹⁶⁵ A Chicago police department spokesperson was quoted in the media saying the department credited the training with reducing complaints against officers by 26% since 2011.¹⁶⁶

One type of communications training, called verbal judo, is used to help interpersonal communications such as during traffic stops. The training outlines steps officers can take to improve public sense of procedural justice – that the person who has been stopped will feel heard, will understand the police officer’s actions, and will feel that the officer was fair.¹⁶⁷

An evidenced-based training called Fair and Impartial Policing, started in 2014, aims to reduce racially-biased policing in ways not covered by what are often grouped as trainings in cultural diversity, awareness, bias-based policing, or racial profiling, and that can get mixed reception among cadets and experienced officers.^{168–170} Early process evaluations of the newer training show acceptance and approval among police, according to developer of the training who is a national expert in police research.^{168,171}

There is very little evidence about the impact that performance evaluations of police have on perceptions of fairness and effectiveness.¹⁷²

Body-worn cameras: Body-worn cameras hold promise to increase public trust of police, through improved accountability, transparency, and aspects of procedural justice, but could have the unintended effect of decreasing public trust of police if issues such as implementation, privacy, and use of evidence are inadequately addressed.^{30,173}

Implementation issues to consider:¹⁷⁴

- Community accessibility to footage;
- Rules around when the cameras must be turned on;
- The process of informing citizens that they are being recorded;
- Concerns around the use of footage for potentially unconstitutional surveillance;
- Procedures for the secure storage of footage; and
- Potential bias in video interpretation.

Evaluations of the implementation of body-worn cameras have consistently shown that they decrease complaints, which are formal expressions of procedural injustice and can threaten police legitimacy.¹⁷⁵ However, the evaluations to date do not yet shed light on whether body-worn cameras alone are achieving procedural justice and increasing perception of fairness. There is no data on how body-worn cameras impact trust in police among people of color.

A Systems Thinking Approach to Improving Trust

What are known as “systems thinking” approaches may be one way for the public and police to co-create strategies and activities that improve trust between them, particularly communities of color.^{176,177} In Boston, authors of a study about the Youth Violence Systems Project report that the approach brought together youth and police in creating a model of how violence operated in the community, viewing it as a systems issue created by the interplay of various factors. To create the model, residents’ local expertise and knowledge along with that of police were incorporated. Authors of the study report that using a community-based approach along with a systems thinking approach produced a new understanding of youth violence that made it more useful to community residents, more accurately described the behavior of youth in high-violence neighborhoods, and helped communities strategize for and achieve sustained reductions in youth violence.¹⁷⁷ Similarly, in studies of racial and ethnic inequities, a systems thinking approach is being used to understand the production of those inequities.¹⁷⁶

Table 1. Defining adequate implementation of an overarching model and specific activities

Policing Model or Specific Activity	Partial or Inadequate Implementation	Recommended Practices
Community-oriented and problem-solving policing model	Officers get minimal training in the skills needed for community policing. Departments assign a small portion of officers to be “community policing” officers and marginalize these officers by inferring that they are not doing “real” police work. Not embracing problem solving as a proactive strategy. Not changing the culture associated with traditional arrest-oriented law enforcement.	Leadership states, vocalizes, and demonstrates ongoing commitment to these approaches, and works to increase officer buy-in. The department forms a wide range of community partnerships. All police department personnel are trained in best practices and promising practices in community-oriented policing and problem-solving policing. Policies, procedures, and performance measures reflect a priority of working with the community to solve problems. Internal and external transparency of data and strategies is encouraged and the department is accessible to the residents it serves. Creative problem solving to avoid revolving-door issues with civilians in neighborhoods are rewarded.
Civilian review boards	Civilian review board is not fully funded, hampering the ability to investigate complaints and report its findings annually. Police delay access to files and/or do not show up for interviews. Police union blocks implementation of the civilian review board. The chief or city manager often disagrees with recommendations of the board or drastically decreases interventions for officers.	Civilian review board has funding to support an adequate number of staff and independent oversight in civilian-led investigations. It has full cooperation of police and unions; full access to police data, records, and files; and the ability and capacity to interview officers, complainants, and witnesses. It can use an informal dispute resolution process or mediation process as an alternative to full investigation; produces public annual reports, compiling statistics on complaints and investigation outcomes; and communicates with complainants throughout the process.
Department-wide performance measures	Department measures its success by change in crime rate only.	Department measures its success with a variety of quantitative and qualitative measures collected over time, such as crime rates, public perceptions of crime, and public satisfaction with police. It publicly reports results annually.
Training	Military, hierarchical training focused only on physical skills and memorization of laws, procedures, and policy. Over-emphasizes infrequently used skills such	Officers are trained in skills needed for community and problem solving policing, such as recognizing implicit bias, communications, crisis intervention, de-escalation, problem-solving strategies, and procedural justice. Training style is for

Policing Model or Specific Activity	Partial or Inadequate Implementation	Recommended Practices
	as high speed chase driving and use of firearms. Under-emphasizes frequently used skills, like order maintenance, service requests or needs, and community policing.	adult learning, including scenario-based training, reflective decision-making, and critical thinking, and includes a community agency internship. To do this, police academy hours, field training time, and number of in-service hours may increase from current levels.
Supervision and evaluation	Informal systems for review that often rely on a form (such as a checklist), and informal conversations and observations of officers' performance.	Supervisors use a data driven Early Warning System with multiple indicators of individual officer performance, such as commendations, complaints, use of force incidents, sick days, and other indicators chosen by police management in collaboration with staff. Supervisors and leadership communicate their commitment to community-oriented problem solving policing and officers are rewarded to match the department focus on this approach.
Body-worn cameras	Police departments implement body-worn camera programs without clear statements about use of the cameras, video storage, and access to footage by the public.	Body-worn camera program is implemented with procedures in place for secure storage; sharing data with community members; rules about when cameras are turned on; procedures for notifying civilians when cameras are on; clear video interpretation processes; and repercussions for officers who improperly use or destroy camera data.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AKRON AND CINCINNATI

Below is a summary of the research found about how proposed changes in the policing models and practices studied in this report will impact outcomes. Few studies measure whether the proposed changes will directly reduce stops, arrests, and use of force, or increase trust, particularly among black people; however, those studies available offer insights and from it we are able to suggest ways to improve.

Key to that improvement is whether a model or practice is implemented fully and in good faith, or only partially, as described in Table 1. A partially or improperly implemented approach can actually do harm.

Research we found and referenced in the body of this report, indicates the following when these practices are implemented in good faith and as described in Table 1:

- Civilian review boards increase trust in police.
- Promising practices to increase public trust in police include expanding the net of department-wide performance metrics used, measuring community perceptions of police, and following interactions with police.
- Particular types of trainings, for example Crisis Intervention Team (CIT) trainings, decrease arrests and increase referrals to mental health services. They also decrease use of force somewhat. Training in communications, ethics, de-escalation, procedural justice, stress management, and cultural diversity are examples of courses that increase trust.
- Evaluation systems such as Early Warning Systems and close supervision of officers decrease use of force.
- Body-worn cameras decrease use of force incidents and may decrease number of stops, but evidence for the latter is limited. Body-worn cameras increase public trust of police.

Below we recommend specific changes in the use of policing models and practices and advise that these changes are studied as they are implemented in order to be refined. Others can learn from innovations being implemented by cutting edge departments.

Potential for Change in Akron

Findings from the focus groups and survey conducted for this report suggest that among a sample of the public, there is a high level of distrust of city police. The City of Akron Police Department could build trust by:

- Being more transparent – allowing access to investigative reports, data, and the police department, as well as improving officer communication during interactions with the public and information that is readily available to the public.
- Fully implementing community- and problem-oriented policing and the practices described above.

Potential for Change in Cincinnati

Cincinnati, due to the Collaborative Agreement and ongoing implementation of department-wide, community-oriented problem-solving policing, has already seen drastic reductions in stops, arrests, and use of force incidents. However, despite fewer incidents over time, statistics show virtually no changes to the proportion that black people comprise of those incidents. Based on focus group findings there have been improvements over time, but distrust and fear of the Cincinnati Police Department are still prominent, particularly among black people.

Through its civilian review board and improved training, supervision, and evaluation, Cincinnati has made progress in decreasing the use of force, and should continue these approaches, but full implementation of body cameras could further reduce it. Using mediation as an alternative to investigations by the civilian review board, and more complete use of department-wide performance measures as described in the report would increase community trust. If Cincinnati were to revert to a more standard model of reactive style of policing or diminish its current implementation of community-oriented problem-solving practices, we would expect to see an increase in stops, arrests, and use of force, a decrease in trust, and an increase in fear.

Effects on Health

Decreased stops, arrests, and use of force incidents, combined with increased trust of police and decreased fear of police will contribute to a decrease in injury and death, accumulated symptoms of stress, and anxiety in the community and particularly in black communities.[°] These will also contribute to a decrease in stress among the police.

If a police department has: 1) a clear and public statement of a community- and problem-oriented model from the executive team; 2) strong supervisor alignment with that model; and 3) clarity in officer expectations to enact the model and rewards for doing so and if the department trains its officers to carry out this model, there will be decreased administrative stress as well as increased job satisfaction among officers. However, if the department adopts a new model – such as community- or problem-oriented policing – without supporting its officers in how to implement it, the change could increase stress.

[°] Given the number of factors that together contribute to health outcomes, such as stress, and anxiety or depression, changes in policing alone cannot decrease them; however, changes in practices can contribute to alleviating and addressing these health conditions.

AKRON: If Akron fully implements a civilian review board according to promising practices, we expect to see an increase in public trust of police and a decrease in use of force incidents over time. If Akron increases the number of in-service training hours, in particular incorporating trainings such as on communication, cultural diversity, use of less than lethal force, we expect fewer use of force incidents and higher levels of trust. Akron already has one of the more developed CIT trainings. If Akron implements use of body-worn cameras considering the factors in Table 1 above, use of force will decrease and trust will increase over time.

Table 2. Health and equity impacts of Akron Police Department’s implementation of four activities

	Present		Suggested Changes	If Changed		
	Present quality	Racial equity impacts		Intermediate impacts	Health impacts for communities	Health impacts for police
Akron						
Civilian review board	None	Harms racial equity	Fully implement civilian review board in accordance with promising practices described in Table 1; Give independent police auditor greater power	Improve trust; Decrease use of force	Decrease stress	Unknown
Department-wide performance measures	Large opportunity to improve	Unknown	Regularly measure performance based on crime statistics and with community satisfaction surveys		Decrease injury, fatality, stress	Decrease injury, fatality
Training	Large opportunity to improve	Harms racial equity	Increase training hours; Train in procedural justice and implicit bias		Decrease injury, fatality	Decrease injury, fatality
Supervision & evaluation	Large opportunity to improve	Unknown	Incorporate EWS; Close and clear supervision of officers	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Body-worn cameras	Just starting	Unknown	Implement according to promising practices described in Table 1	Improve trust; Decrease use of force	Decrease injury, fatality	Decrease injury, fatality

CINCINNATI: Implementation of body-worn cameras could further decrease use of force incidents. Describing actions taken by the police chief based on CCA recommendations in CCA annual reports and use of mediation programs as an alternative to investigations in the CCA process would increase community trust. Clear, public statement of department-wide performance measures that regularly include formalized community feedback could improve trust, as well. Cincinnati already has one of the best police academies in the state and uses an Early Warning System.

Table 3. Health and equity impacts of Cincinnati Police Department’s implementation of four activities

	Present		Suggested Changes	If Changed		
	Present quality	Racial equity impacts		Intermediate impacts	Health impacts for communities	Health impacts for police
Cincinnati						
Civilian review boards	Excellent	Improves racial equity	Incorporate outcomes with officers after investigation, acceptance of recommendations	Improve trust	Decrease stress	Unknown
Department-wide performance measures	Good, with opportunity to improve	Improves racial equity	Incorporate wider set of regularly-reported measures, such as community satisfaction measures	Decrease use of force	Decrease injury, fatality, stress	Decrease injury, fatality
Training	Excellent	Improves racial equity	Publish on the website the in-service training officers have attended	Improve trust; Decrease use of force, fear	Decrease injury, fatality	Decrease injury, fatality
Supervision & evaluation	Excellent	Unknown	n/a (already use an Early Warning System)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Body-worn cameras	Just starting	Unknown	Consider promising practices in Table 1	Decrease use of force	Decrease injury, fatality	Decrease injury, fatality

STATEWIDE RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are made to improve the relationship between the public and the police. We propose five sets of recommendations that, based on the evidence we reviewed, would improve both public health *and* public safety. The audiences for these recommendations are a variety of key actors in public health and criminal justice: the Ohio Attorney General; the Ohio Department of Health; local health departments and police departments in Ohio; the Ohio Collaborative Community-Police Advisory Board; researchers in public health, criminology, and psychology; grassroots organizations, especially in heavily policed communities; and the general public.

The recommendations in this report overlap with several other recent sets of police-reform recommendations produced by both government-sponsored and grassroots entities. In 2015, Ohio governor John R. Kasich established a task force that issued many recommendations including the subsequent formation of a state-level board – the Ohio Collaborative Community-Police Advisory Board (known as the “Ohio Collaborative”) – that will create state standards to guide law enforcement agencies and then evaluate where police departments succeed or fail in meeting those standards. Also in 2015, at the federal level, The President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing generated 59 recommendations to “provide meaningful solutions to help law enforcement agencies and communities strengthen trust and collaboration, while ushering the nation into the next phase of community-focused policing.”

The recommendations from these bodies can reduce the injury, death, and mental and emotional health harms described in this report. However, much depends on the way these recommendations are implemented, as described in Table 1. In addition, there remain opportunities to improve health and well-being both for the public, in particular black people, and police while working together to improve public safety *and* build mutual understanding; improve perceptions of legitimacy, fairness, and transparency; and encourage positive interactions.

To that end, based on our findings and the evidence reviewed, we propose the following recommendations.

1. **Publicly recognize the historical contexts that have shaped current relationships between the public and police, using methods such as facilitated dialogues to understand each other’s experiences.** This includes the following: recognizing police as a key factor – but only one factor among several such as poverty and unemployment – that can influence public safety; historic inequities in over-policing black people; the health impacts of policing practices; and possibility in systems thinking approaches to help resolve systemic issues.

Suggested actions:

- a. Ohio Collaborative: By June 2016, set standards and guidance for how police departments and communities can recognize the historical contexts that shape relationships today between the public and police. Also, consider health impacts of policing practices, such as anxiety, stress, injuries, and fatalities, for both

community members and police officers, when creating standards to guide law enforcement agencies;

- b. Public: Starting in 2016 and then annually, participate in a series of professionally facilitated, high-quality public dialogues between the public and police such as is used in restorative justice practices;
- c. Police departments: Participate in the professionally facilitated public dialogues mentioned above. State publicly that the department does not support racial profiling. Also, collaborate with a health department to expand statistics already collected about officer health to include other aspects of health, such as stress;
- d. Research entities such as the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at The Ohio State University: Evaluate the impact of the professionally facilitated public dialogues and publish the evaluations; and support police departments in finding and implementing examples of systems-thinking approaches to resolve issues;
- e. Public health departments: Support police departments with standardized data collection and analysis about the health of officers; and
- f. Public health, criminology, and psychology researchers nationwide: Research the direct links between policing and the health of the public and police officers, including individual- and community-level impacts, as well as relevant racial inequities in health.

2. Implement community-oriented and problem-oriented policing according to promising practices, with primary aims of improving public safety *and* building trust. See Table 1 for promising practices.

Suggested actions:

- a. Police departments: Leadership should internally and publicly state these are departmental approaches, demonstrate ongoing commitment to them, commit the entire department – not only a unit with the department – and be specific and transparent about how the department implements them. Also provide resources to allow implementation.
- b. Community organizations: Build public capacity to collaborate with police in problem solving.

3. Fully implement the four specific actions described in this report – body-worn cameras; civilian review boards or mediation; ongoing training, supervision, and evaluation of officers; and expanded department-wide performance measures.

These are not the only activities available to police departments, but they are the practices researched in this report.

Suggested actions (in addition to following promising practices described above):

- a. Police departments:
 - o *In using body-worn cameras*, cover the financial cost of ongoing storage of footage with federal funding available so as not to absorb city or town funds, and use both dashcams and body-worn cameras.
 - o *In using civilian review board (or similar bodies)*, ensure that the boards have power independent of other political processes, are transparent to the public, staffed with people who reflect the demographics of the populations who encounter police, and make sure that staff are trained to

meet the National Association for Civilian Oversight of Law Enforcement Core Competencies for Civilian Oversight Practitioners;

- For *trainings*, leadership should vocalize support for trainings in procedural justice, as it is described in this report, and departments should increase the number of hours officers are required to complete initial training and ongoing education in topics such as: de-escalation, use of less lethal force methods, fair and impartial policing, implicit bias, procedural justice, Crisis Intervention Team, and communications skills such as ‘verbal judo’. A training can include a series of conversations between police and community members from that jurisdiction to share experiences and values, and describe how to interact with each other, similar to the Youth and Police Initiative that has been used in different forms in Baltimore, Boston, and New York State; and
 - *Supervision and evaluation of individual officers* should include identifying practices and measures for supervisors to routinely gather about officers; using random stops as examples to analyze together during supervisor-officer meetings; and similar to the concept of “grand rounds” that are used as an educational tool in the medical field, consider holding presentation sessions to describe a specific event and outcome, with community and police leadership in attendance.
- b. Ohio Peace Officer Training Commission: Update Ohio Peace Officer Academy training courses to include topics in the list above if not already included, such as implicit bias.

4. Issue an annual statewide State of Police report that identifies, regularly collects, and publicly reports department-level measures that include and go beyond crime statistics, and report these statistics by race or ethnicity. This regularly collection can enhance transparency and support the *State of Police* report card.

Suggested actions:

- a. Office of the Ohio Attorney General: Starting in 2017 and then annually, publish a *State of the Police* report, summarizing standardized measures disaggregated by race from each police department in the state. Examples of measures to include are community satisfaction with police, commendations received, use of force incidents, number of arrests, number and disposition of complaints, trainings officers have attended, and crime rates.
- b. Police departments:
- Collect data about intentional injury and fatality due to police intervention by race to provide to the Office of the Ohio Attorney General for the *State of the Police* report.
 - Partner with universities to develop an evaluation plan for the police department to regularly collect and publicly report quantitative and qualitative measures of department success. Examples include a measure of community trust of police that can be gathered in an annual community survey, or a “customer experience” survey available to the public after all encounters, such as the Police-Community Interaction survey in RespectStat that can be incorporated into CompStat.¹⁴⁰ Include statistics that describe racial inequities in key areas, such as stops or arrests and how they are changing over time;

- Continually collect public feedback, review feedback with department leadership, and modify practices based on feedback; and
 - Collect and publicly report statistics including but not limited to stops, arrests, and use of force – with a clear definition of what is considered force by the police department – and disaggregate data by race/ethnicity. Participate in innovative approaches to gather standardized statistics. For example, the Justice Database being coordinated by the University of California Los Angeles Center for Policing Equity will continue recruiting police departments through mid-2016 to track and standardize national statistics on police behavior.
- c. Ohio Department of Health: Disaggregate by race the data about intentional injury and fatality due to police intervention that is reported annually as part of the Ohio Violent Death Reporting System, which draws information from death certificates, coroner/medical examiner reports, and law enforcement. Provide this data to the office of the Ohio Attorney General for the *State of the Police* report.
- d. Ohio Collaborative: Set standards about collecting department-level measures. Evaluate police departments statewide to develop an evidence base about promising practices and best practices in Ohio, and publish the evaluations.

5. Match police department resources – including staff skill sets – to the responsibilities necessary to serve all communities and create memoranda of understanding (MOUs) with community-based organizations to fill gaps beyond the skill sets of police.

Suggested actions:

- a. Police departments:
- Assess department workload, community needs and priorities, and staff and resource gaps. Department workload includes proportion of time officers spend referring people to services, establishing order in neighborhoods, and investigating crime. Hire staff with appropriate training to fill gaps in department staffing and create MOUs with community-based organizations to fill gaps that are beyond the skill sets of police.
 - Strive for an officer pool that reflects the demographics of the communities served; and
 - Use appropriate gear to meet but not exceed the demand of a situation. For example, if using riot gear on a daily basis, recognize the message it conveys to the public.
- b. Ohio Collaborative: Set standards to guide departments in matching police department resources to demands and responsibilities.

(continued on next page)

How the Recommendations Match Up

The table below identifies how the overarching recommendations in this report overlap with the spirit of the following: standards released to date by the Ohio Collaborative Community-Police Advisory Board or recommendations made by the Ohio Task Force on Community-Police Relations that preceded it, recommendations and action items in the final report from the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, policy solutions proposed on the website of the grassroots campaign known as Campaign Zero, and policy reforms suggested in a toolkit from The Center for Popular Democracy and PolicyLink. (*In Appendix I is full text of the relevant recommendations, standards, or action items.*)

Recommendation in this report	Ohio Task Force on Community-Police Relations or Ohio Collaborative Community-Police Advisory Board	President’s Task Force on 21 st Century Policing <i>(the number in italics is the action item or recommendation in the Task Force final report)</i>	Campaign Zero	The Center for Popular Democracy and PolicyLink
1. Publicly recognize the historical contexts that have shaped current relationships between the public and police, using methods such as facilitated dialogues to understand each other’s experiences.		● <i>(#1.2)</i>		●
2. Implement community-oriented and problem-oriented policing according to promising practices, with primary aims of improving public safety and building trust.	●	● <i>(#4.2)</i>	●	
3. Fully implement the four specific actions described in this report – body-worn cameras; civilian review boards or mediation; ongoing training, supervision, and evaluation of officers; and expanded department-wide performance measures.	●	● <i>(#2.2, 2.2.2, 3.2, 3.2.1, 3.3.3, 4.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.9.1)</i>	●	●

Recommendation in this report	Ohio Task Force on Community-Police Relations or Ohio Collaborative Community-Police Advisory Board	President’s Task Force on 21 st Century Policing <i>(the number in italics is the action item or recommendation in the Task Force final report)</i>	Campaign Zero	The Center for Popular Democracy and PolicyLink
4. Issue an annual statewide State of Police report that identifies, regularly collects, and publicly reports department-level measures that include and go beyond crime statistics, and report these statistics by race or ethnicity.	●	● (#1.7, 7.3)	●	●
5. Match police department resources – including staff skill sets – to the responsibilities necessary to serve all communities and create memoranda of understanding (MOUs) with community-based organizations to fill gaps beyond the skill sets of police.	●	● (#1.8 and 1.8.5)	●	

CONCLUSION

The relationship between the public and police is deeply complex. Part of the solution will be in recognizing the human experiences of each other. A community focus group participant said, “Put yourself in our shoes, officer. You probably weren’t raised like me; you don’t know me because you’re on the outside looking in. If ... we could build better relationships with them, it wouldn’t be as violent.” Similarly, a police officer focus group participant expressed support for this approach saying that it would help, “If community members knew that police are human, and trust us that we are trying to do the right thing.”

There is hope that implementing the changes described in this report will help reduce unnecessary stops, arrests, and use of force by police, and improve trust while reducing fear between the public – particularly black people – and police. If Akron implements the policing model and activities described in this report fully and according to promising practices, we expect it would contribute to an increase in public-police trust over time, and a decrease in fear of police, use of force incidents, and associated stress and anxiety. If Cincinnati continues the practices that have been successful in building relationships between the public and police and looks to further improve them with full implementation of promising practices such as using mediation during civilian review board processes, using body-worn cameras, and using more department-wide performance measures and supervision activities; we similarly would expect to see further increase in public-police trust over time, decrease in fear or police, use of force incidents, and associated stress and anxiety.

However, much depends on the way these practices are implemented. Some of our recommendations, if not implemented fully, might not provide the benefits we anticipate. Reforms must not repeat the mistakes of past eras by creating a host of new, unintended consequences for the health of all affected.

In this context, and given future decisions, we have proposed a series of recommendations that can begin to address health harms experienced by the public – particularly black people – and even police. We propose five recommendations that, based on the evidence we reviewed, would improve both public health *and* public safety. The audiences for these recommendations include a variety of key actors in public health and criminal justice not only in Ohio but also in the entire nation.

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