

PROCEDURAL JUSTICE AND POLICE LEGITIMACY:

USING TRAINING AS A FOUNDATION FOR

STRENGTHENING COMMUNITY-POLICE RELATIONSHIPS

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Introduction

This working paper describes an effective, affordable and versatile process for building police officers' ability to employ the principles of procedural justice to increase public trust and confidence in police – and help departments get work done on pressing crime problems. It is written primarily for police and other public managers interested in strengthening police legitimacy as well as for community leaders and organizers who want to embark on a collaborative trust building process with their police departments.

The Oakland Police Department and community leaders and clergy in that city, the Stockton and Salinas police departments and the California Partnership for Safe Communities (CPSC) have worked together to adapt and deliver a training curriculum developed by the Chicago Police Department (CPD) to strengthen officers' skills in carrying out the principles of procedural justice (see *Figure below*). In addition to the above attributes, the partners have identified four additional significant benefits in the course of implementing the training.

- **The training exceeds officers' expectations – they take it seriously and view it favorably.**
- **Police managers find the training to be a practical and effective tool for organizational change.**
- **The training supports authentic community engagement.**
- **The training has practical utility and quickly lays a foundation for applying the principles to community relations and crime reduction.**

Police legitimacy and procedural justice

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

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

Departments that employ such principles – supported by a wealth of research – experience higher levels of public cooperation with police efforts to address crime, increased compliance with the law, stronger public support for police, and greater deference to police in interactions with community members.

In Appendix 2, we share a very useful, plain language working definition of police legitimacy and procedural justice developed by Tom Tyler.

The report is organized as follows:

- We begin by briefly describing Chicago PD’s curriculum and training process and the ways that CPD created a pool of expertise and experience for the California partners to draw on as they shaped the procedural justice training to their own challenges in strengthening police-community relationships.
- We then share how the partners – the Chicago, Stockton, Salinas and Oakland police departments, community and clergy leaders from Oakland and CPSC – worked together to tailor the Chicago training to three very different settings in California and build the capacity of police departments and their community partners to deliver the training.
- We describe the training in these three cities and assemble a preliminary planning checklist for cities contemplating such an effort.
- Finally, we describe how the training creates a foundation for efforts to strengthen community-police relationships. These cities and CPSC are working to: translate the training into policy and practice; change key departmental functions by applying the principles to pressing crime problems; and build an infrastructure for authentic, procedurally just community engagement.

This working draft is the first in a series of reports describing ongoing work by the California Partnership for Safe Communities (CPSC) with community and criminal justice system stakeholders in the cities of Oakland, Salinas and Stockton to develop and apply partnership-based strategies to reduce violence community wide, improve outcomes for young men at highest risk of violence, and strengthen community-police relations.

I. The Chicago Police Department: Acknowledging history, leaders acted quickly on departmental priorities, creating a precedent on which other cities could build.

In August 2011, four months after Garry McCarthy was named Superintendent of the Chicago Police Department, he publicly acknowledged the issue of distrust between police and communities of color. This acknowledgment included a recognition that *how* police do their work has a significant effect on public trust. Just a few months later, as part of a broader strategy to improve the relationship between police and the public, Superintendent McCarthy asked the Department’s Education and Training Division to develop training in legitimacy and procedural justice for every officer in the department.

In March 2012, Lt. Bruce Lipman and Officer Al Ferreira of the Education and Training Division (ETD) went to Yale University to work with Professors Tracey Meares and Tom Tyler, experts on procedural justice and police legitimacy. During this initial visit, they developed the goals and basic content for the training and came up with an outline. Lipman and Ferreira continued to refine the curriculum, drawing on research on legitimacy, procedural justice, leadership and adult learning theory. Chicago’s ETD tested an early version of the training in June 2012. Sgt. Mark Sedevic then finalized the curriculum and a lesson plan, with the goal of providing instructors with

working knowledge of the core concepts and ensuring consistency across instructors. The course goals and outline are described in box below.

The department's Legitimacy and Procedural Justice Training began in July 2012. CPD rotated ten instructors to conduct the training several times a week and during different watches. The majority of the department was trained in less than a year and in just 20 months CPD trained more than 9,000 sworn personnel. They moved quickly but paid particular attention to the quality of instruction. They incorporated new lessons learned into the curriculum and they maintained their focus on the overarching goal of changing the way police interact with the public, specifically with communities of color in Chicago.

Ensuring the quality and credibility of instructors: Chicago's training staff learned from and worked with leading researchers, but police officers ultimately developed the lesson plan, course objectives and supporting materials. These respected sworn personnel became the face of the training inside the department. They possessed a combination of credible street experience as well as expertise in teaching, peer counseling and leadership – and they used this experience and expertise to connect the procedural justice principles to the reality of day-to-day police work. The lead instructors also modeled the principles of procedural justice in the training. This increased the receptivity of the officers who, like the public, appreciated being listened to and treated fairly and with respect.

Chicago's legitimacy and procedural justice training

Course goals: Provide a clear understanding of the concept of police legitimacy, the principles of procedural justice and the application of those principles to police work.

Course structure: Eight-hour course with five team-taught modules designed to facilitate participation and discussion. Officers sit in small groups.

Curriculum:

- Defines police legitimacy and procedural justice. Explains how they relate.
- Helps officers understand how these concepts benefit them and support good police work.
- Shows that the relationship police have with communities they serve is important and that meeting shared expectations requires working together.
- Explores the impact of officer cynicism on their interactions with the public.
- Explains how community members' assessment of police is influenced by how they're treated, regardless of the end result.
- Discusses police treatment of minorities in the US and abroad, highlighting the enduring impact of policing under Jim Crow laws and during the Civil Rights movement.
- Employs the concept of a "community bank account" in which every interaction is either a deposit or a withdrawal.

Recognizing officer cynicism: Soon after the training began, the Chicago PD training team observed that cynicism – expressed as frustration, disillusionment, and distrust – limited officers’ openness to the course content. The trainers all knew that interacting with people at the lowest points in their lives – a common daily experience for police – often had serious effects on officers’ personal relationships and professional experiences. The instructors, drawing on their own insights and the work of consultant Kevin M. Gilmartin, developed a course component that prompted participants to reflect on and recognize their own cynicism and distrust. That facilitated an open, candid and constructive discussion on ways that cynicism can be a barrier to improving relationships with the community. The acknowledgment of cynicism in the training allowed for authentic engagement about the personal and professional value of procedural justice, the importance of a strong police-community relationship and the ways officers’ behavior can affect it.

Taking quality assurance seriously: CPD used two tools to continuously assess course quality, determine whether the course was changing officers’ attitudes and build a foundation for follow-up.

First, all participants completed an anonymous, one-page course evaluation. The form asked participants to rate the training, the instructors and the course overall. It also requested additional comments on how the training met officers’ expectations, as well as any other feedback. The course was well received by officers of all ranks and work experience: 95 percent of recipients rated it “Excellent,” “Very Good,” or “Good.”

Second, the department is working with researchers to assess immediate and longer-term changes in officers’ attitudes regarding the four core procedural justice concepts – participation or voice, neutrality, respect and trust.¹ To measure the short-term effects of the training, the researchers used a questionnaire to examine officers’ impressions before and immediately after the training. To assess the training’s longer-term impact, researchers surveyed officers and sergeants one week to ten months after receiving the training and compared their responses to police who had not yet attended the training. The following is a summary of the early research findings:

- **Voice or citizen participation:** This was the principle that officers most supported both before and immediately after the training. The longer-term study showed significant positive effects on support for this practice.
- **Respect:** The researchers found an immediate increase in support for showing respect. In the long term, the training’s biggest effect was on support for respect.
- **Neutrality:** Support for exhibiting neutrality increased in the pre- and post-training study. The longer-term study also showed that the training had a positive impact on support for showing neutrality.
- **Trust:** Officers’ attitudes toward trust experienced the biggest gain pre- to post-training. Interestingly, the long-term study revealed that those gains faded over time.

Recognizing that training was a first step: As the first round of training neared completion, the Chicago training staff began to design a second phase that reinforces the core concepts through scenario-based training and deeper exploration of the community’s perspective through videos illustrating the value of procedural justice. In addition, CPD began to institutionalize the training concepts by including them in multiple general orders and promotional courses for sergeants and lieutenants. These steps reflect a clear understanding that training is just one part of a broader effort toward organizational change intended to improve the relationship between police and the community.

Opening the door to change for other cities: Chicago's ability to train its entire department – the second largest in the country – in less than 20 months was path breaking. It showed that other departments could meaningfully begin to change local practice and policy relatively fast. The Chicago Police Department's size and the thoughtful commitment of officers in their Education and Training Division combined to create an invaluable pool of experience and expertise. They generously shared this with the California partners.

II. Tailoring the Chicago Police Department's Legitimacy and Procedural Justice Training to California cities and building the capacity of each city to deliver it.

Despite very different starting points, police leaders in Oakland, Stockton, and Salinas determined that the training was right for their organizations and communities, underscoring the relevance of the curriculum and the principles to a wide variety of community settings and challenges:

- **Stockton and civic revitalization.** The Stockton Police Department is playing a central role in community and economic revitalization as the city recovers from bankruptcy and record-high crime levels. The police chief, Eric Jones, believes the training is an opportunity to make procedural justice a cornerstone of policing for his very young workforce: more than 50 percent of Stockton officers have less than three years of experience and the department anticipates hiring 120 new officers over the next three years.
- **Long-term change in Salinas.** The training enabled Salinas' chief, Kelly McMillin, to act on a longstanding commitment to implement police legitimacy and procedural justice. Chief McMillin viewed the training as one important step in a long-term change plan to strengthen his department's relationship with the community. Funding from a recent much-needed tax measure will also allow for expansion of his department with these principles in mind.
- **Authentic community engagement in Oakland.** For Oakland Police Chief Sean Whent and Assistant Chief Paul Figueroa, the training offered a concrete step in longstanding efforts toward institutional change and building and sustaining trust among clergy and community leaders. The depth, scale and rapid timeframe for the training conveyed their strong commitment and energized committed but wary community leaders as they partnered with the police department on violence reduction.

The California partners – CPSC and Oakland, Salinas, and Stockton – first engaged with the Chicago PD's training division in May 2013. Since then, their work on the training has moved through three phases, with variations that reflect the differences among these cities.

- **Planning:** CPSC organized a series of planning conversations with CPD's Education and Training Division to assess the potential fit of the training with the three cities' goals and challenges. From there, CPSC designed a capacity building process that would support the cities as they tailored the curriculum to their departments and delivered it.
- **Orientation:** The partners then sent teams of prospective instructors and senior managers to a three-day workshop in November 2013 hosted by Chicago PD and jointly facilitated by CPSC and CPD's Education and Training Division. On their return to California these teams dug into the process of tailoring the curriculum to their departments and communities.
- **Delivery:** The training began in Salinas in February 2014, in Stockton in April 2014 and in Oakland in June 2014.

III. The November 2013 “Train the Trainers” workshop in Chicago and the lead-up to delivering the training in California cities.

The workshop the Chicago Police Department generously hosted for the California partners in late fall 2013 had two goals:

- **Mastering content and conveying the importance of “process.”** The first half of the workshop was devoted to an enhanced version of the Legitimacy and Procedural Justice course taught by the ETD instructors, deeply engaging the California teams in the content of the course and familiarizing them with the training format which emphasized small group work and frank and open discussion.
- **Developing a clear understanding of how to ensure quality while moving quickly.** During the second half of the workshop, the teams prepared a lesson plan and outline they presented to the full group. To do this, all the California team members had to grapple first-hand with the challenges of tailoring the content to their own departments and communities, teaching content they were still in the process of mastering and managing a group discussion on a difficult, controversial topic.

The workshop made significant progress toward these goals. It also had some less tangible benefits. The enthusiasm of the Chicago PD instructors was infectious and inspiring to the California teams. The California participants – officers and command staff from all three cities and Oakland’s community partners – were drawn to the material. The spirited and candid discussions during the workshop increased their individual and joint commitment to the work. Lastly, the workshop fostered valuable relationships between the Chicago and California partners and across the California teams.

After the workshop, CPSC, often in consultation with Chicago PD, turned its attention to actively supporting the California departments as they tailored the curriculum and worked through the process of preparing to deliver the training. During this period, CPSC supported the teams as a community of practice, convening conference calls and peer technical assistance meetings, including workshops in May 2014 with Chicago PD Officers Al Ferreira and Dina Patterson. The workshops brought instructors from all three cities together for an all-day meeting and then focused on each of the sites, customizing each day’s agenda to their needs and progress at the time. As the sites completed their preparation and implemented the training, a number of cross-site insights and “lessons learned” emerged.

Each of the departments learned firsthand **the importance of instructor qualifications to train their peers and to serve as internal advocates for procedural justice**, echoing the principles Chicago PD shared early in the process.

- Instructors not only had to command the respect of their peers but also had to master the material and manage a room of often skeptical officers with a range of professional experience.
- In addition, the initial team of instructors in each city often functioned as unofficial, internal champions of the work. This required selecting instructors who embraced the concepts and dedicated time to understanding their application to everyday policing.
- None of these departments used dedicated training staff, partly because of their size but also because the training’s subject matter and goals required a specific set of instructor skills and qualifications.

Some **important aspects of the preparation process** also emerged.

- First, the changes to the curriculum, though important, were not as extensive as might have been imagined. Thus far, the core content of Chicago PD's training appears to be broadly relevant to policing regardless of the specific community context.
- Second, mastery of the content and the classroom was dependent on both preparation and teaching experience. Repetition enabled trainers to evolve from relying on lesson plans and powerpoints to active engagement with officers around the course content. In all three cities, one solution was to begin the teaching process by training command staff, who were candid but supportive audiences.²

Chiefs played a leadership role in signaling that the organization valued procedural justice. In Stockton, Chief Jones opened every training session by emphasizing the importance of the principles to the department and community. In Salinas, Chief McMillin also attended a portion of each training to highlight its importance and relevance to officers' work. Additionally, the Salinas instructors had a direct reporting relationship with Chief McMillin, ensuring them the support they needed to meet a series of challenging deadlines. Since the commencement of the training in Oakland, Chief Whent and Assistant Chief Figueroa reiterate the importance of the procedural justice principles in management meetings and community meetings. In all three cities, command staff were trained first so managers understood the concepts being introduced to their staff.

IV. Each city's training story

The paragraphs below offer snapshots of how each department implemented the training, adapting it to their own resource constraints, organizational priorities and policing challenges.

Salinas

Salinas is a town of 155,000 residents, 75% of which are Latino. Nearly 70 percent of residents speak a language other than English at home. It is a working-class city with agriculture as its primary industry, and 21 percent of the documented population lives below the poverty line. Salinas has a long history of gang violence and in recent years has had one of the highest youth homicide rates in California. Its police department has experienced significant reductions in staffing over the last five years: It now has 149 sworn officers, down from 187 in 2010.

As the Salinas instructors modified and prepared for the training, they added more content on cynicism and the disillusionment and frustration officers can experience and the impact of cynicism on officers' lives and work. This helped officers connect to the material in a very personal way, and the trainers emphasized how procedural justice can be used as a tool to alleviate the stress of work. They also added examples of Latino immigrant experiences with law enforcement that made the training more relevant to their largely farmworker community. The four instructors who went to Chicago trained two of their colleagues to expand the training team to four officers and two sergeants. The department trained commanders first, so managers understood the concepts being introduced to their staff.

Salinas PD trained all sworn personnel over eight weeks of Advanced Officer Training in February to April 2014. Since then, the department has trained all of its civilian staff, code-enforcement and animal-services employees.

Instructors felt the time invested in debriefing each session and learning from each other improved the quality of the training over time. While Salinas PD did not conduct a real-time course evaluation, instructors all said the training was well received. In fact, many officers who were skeptical of the training at first later expressed appreciation and support for it. "To say that I was resistant to it would be a good understatement," one officer said. But he described experiencing the benefits first hand when he was called to a scene where a teenager had a gun in his waistband. In the course of responding, the officer yelled aggressively at two onlookers to back away. After the arrest, as he was leaving the scene, he decided to go back and explain his behavior to the men. One thanked him for coming back and asked him for help coping with alcoholism. The officer ended up getting him into a support program and helped get him a job. Later, the same young man came forward as a crucial witness in an officer-involved shooting. "I thought, 'I hate to admit this, but maybe the chief is onto something,'" the officer said.

Stockton

Stockton is a city of 300,000 and its residents are primarily low- and middle-income. Its population is diverse: 40 percent of its residents are Latino, 23 percent are white, 22 percent are Asian, and 12 are percent black. Approximately one in four live below the poverty line. Stockton also has a longstanding violence problem – its violent crime rate is consistently two to three times higher than the state average and in 2012 experienced a record high of 71 homicides. The Stockton Police Department has 405 authorized sworn officers and is continuing its effort to increase staffing levels to 485 sworn by mid-2017.

Stockton PD chose to make minimal changes to Chicago's curriculum but did solicit community input. Stockton PD surveyed select community partners about their expectations of police and their perspectives on Stockton officers' conduct. The results of the survey – which included the traits residents want in their police and assessments of the department's professionalism, trustworthiness, partnerships, and treatment of residents – were incorporated into Stockton PD's training. Stockton sent two additional trainers to Chicago, expanding its training team to one sergeant and two officers. The department also shortened the training to five hours to fit into its Advanced Officer Training program. Stockton PD also teaches the training at the local Delta College Basic Peace Officer Academy so new officers receive the training as part of their academy experience.

Stockton trained its sworn and civilian personnel over seven months, finishing in October 2014. Participants overwhelmingly rated the training "Excellent" (70 percent) or "Very Good" (25 percent). One officer wrote that the training "helped open the floor for peer support and better communication." Others wrote, "I was pleasantly surprised"; "encouraged by it"; and "This is the right direction we need to be going."

Stories of the value of procedural justice also emerged during the training. One officer who had been in an officer-involved shooting was warned by a man who was gang-involved that threats had been made against the officer's family as retribution. The man said he wanted to share the warning because the officer had always treated him with respect. This example not only showed the value of procedural justice, but also that it can have profound positive effects among residents of all backgrounds.

Oakland

Oakland, a city of 406,000, is both racially and socioeconomically diverse. 28 percent of its residents are black, 26 percent are white, 25 percent are Latino, and 17 percent are Asian. While 20 percent of the city lives below the poverty line, economic development in Oakland is on the rise. Oakland has also had a very serious violence problem for more than 40 years; it's often among the most violent cities in the country and the state. Police staffing has increased since layoffs in 2010; the department now has 722 sworn officers.

Oakland's most significant change to the overall training – the inclusion of community members in design and delivery – is explored further in the coming section. Other changes included developing and incorporating local videos, scenarios, and examples. Some of Oakland's curriculum changes have emerged through the course of implementing it. For instance, in addition to the in-depth discussion about officer cynicism, Oakland's instructors address the cynicism that can exist among residents of neighborhoods most affected by crime. With its community partners, Oakland also modified the module about the intersection of race and policing in a way that preserved the core content but also included the community instructors' perspectives and direct experience. Using personal experience to explore the distrust communities of color often have of the police has made officers more receptive to the content of the module and has spurred more candid discussion during the training.

The department conducted two rounds of beta testing in March and May 2014 to build instructors' skills and explore using multiple training teams. Ultimately, the department decided to use two lead police instructors and rotate four community partners to teach the module about the historical and generational effects of policing. Oakland began its training in June 2014. After training about a quarter of the department, Oakland added an additional sworn trainer and shifted to one lead community partner so the same training team consistently work together.

By the end of 2014, 55 percent of the department's sworn personnel had received the training and dispatchers, crime scene technicians and neighborhood services coordinators are attending the training alongside sworn personnel. OPD now runs the training two days per week and plans to train all sworn personnel by April 2015.

The training is consistently rated "Excellent" (60%) or "Very Good" (27%) and 98% of participants rate it "Excellent", "Very Good", or "Good". Many commenters said the training exceeded their expectations, felt relevant, and reinforced essential police practices. One officer wrote that the training "reminded us why we're here." Another said it "reminded me of how my attitude affects my interactions" and many commented that the training helped them see how the principles can ease tensions, especially in neighborhoods where distrust is prevalent. Officers also consistently spoke highly of the instructors, calling them "upbeat and knowledgeable."

In Oakland, nearly everyone who participated expressed appreciation that community partners co-instructed the training. Commenters appreciated receiving a personal and direct perspective on experiences in the community and they liked hearing the history of policing in communities of color in a clear and relevant way. Notably, several officers suggested there should be more community participation in the training.

V. Oakland's unique and promising partnership of community, clergy, and police in procedural justice training.

Salinas and Stockton, following Chicago's precedent, assembled teams made exclusively of police officers to tailor the curriculum and train their departments. These departments felt it made more sense to have officers train officers because officers would better understand a colleague's perspective and because they felt that officers might not be frank and open if community members were present.

Oakland made a different choice. Its complicated politics and the longstanding tension between the community and police had, for years, inhibited Oakland's ability to mount a meaningful citywide violence reduction strategy. Despite very substantial public investment in addressing violence, including a dedicated tax measure, Oakland's rate of violence had resisted state and national downward trends for more than 40 years. Additionally, while Oakland is diverse overall, police have disproportionate contact with the black community – a reality that has magnified already prevalent distrust.

The partnership-based Ceasefire violence reduction strategy had shown promise in Oakland, but continuing distrust between otherwise motivated community and police leaders handicapped these prospective partners as they attempted to move from planning to implementation. A number of worthy but small-scale trust building efforts were in motion in Oakland, but the Legitimacy and Procedural Justice Training – a full day of training for the entire department – offered a foundational step toward broader institutional and community change. Seeing an opportunity to build additional trust by including community perspectives and to help police work through the process, Oakland decided to invite clergy and community leaders and service providers to the Chicago workshop.

The participation of the community and clergy leaders generated several pointed, spirited discussions during the November 2013 training workshop in Chicago, enriching the dialogue and leading to some significant differences in the design and planning of Oakland's training curriculum and process. Among other things, Oakland's community and clergy partners placed a higher priority on tailoring the curriculum to the local context, going to significant lengths to locate archival film footage on the racial legacy of policing in Oakland and undertaking a number of videotaped interviews of community members regarding their attitudes toward police. This reflected just one aspect of these leaders' exceptionally strong commitment to the quality of the training content and experience. Their participation also had other important benefits:

- First, the community, clergy, and police leaders were able to coalesce and move ahead with the partnership-based violence-reduction work of Ceasefire, which has played a significant role in Oakland's nearly 37 percent reduction in homicide over the past two years.
- Second, the training partnership, in which clergy and community leaders teach and facilitate the module on the intersection of race and policing has been well received by officers, who actively engage with the community trainers.
- Third, these two strands of work have together added to the credibility of the training in the eyes of the community and fostered a set of community leaders that act as "critical champions" who, for example, serve as bridges to the community and advocate on behalf of the police in a variety of settings while continuing to press for institutional change.

- This work has also created a network of trust-based working relationships among the clergy, community leaders and police. These partners are now turning their attention to applying the principles to police practice and policy and to using the training experience to develop a broader, ambitious community-police conversation.

VI. Translating the procedural justice training into concrete changes in policy and practice that improve the public's confidence and trust in police.

In a little over a year, these three very different police departments have tailored the Chicago Police Department's path-breaking curriculum to their communities and departments and trained their full departments, including their civilian personnel. We caution that **the training is not the change itself: it creates an opportunity for more meaningful change.** The Chicago Police Department's research partners have found that the training generates significant changes in officer attitudes, but the trust that it builds among police fades over time. With this in mind, CPSC is working with the three California cities to translate the training into policy and practice. An overarching element of this process includes examining how current department practices align with procedural justice principles.

Advancing internal change: Each city is taking steps to advance procedural justice within their department. Having trained their full departments, Stockton and Salinas now include the use of procedural justice in the field and in management as a criterion in personnel evaluations. Oakland has secured certification from California's Commission on Peace Officers Standards and Training (POST) for its training. This allows officers to receive continual professional training credit for the course, thereby formally integrating it into officers' ongoing training rather than the course being a department requirement without serving officers' state training requirements.

To further reinforce the core concepts and keep procedural justice at the forefront of officers' work, all three cities are considering ongoing training. This will include a combination of scenario-based training and advanced procedural justice training tailored to particular situations or roles in a department. Oakland is also exploring incorporating content on implicit racial bias into future training. Salinas is exploring a modified civilian version of the training to be taught by civilian staff to civilian staff, as well as a management-focused internal legitimacy training. Additionally, continued training would offer an opportunity to incorporate more community perspective and feedback received since the first round of training. Interestingly, in many course evaluations in Stockton and Oakland, officers suggested repeating the training annually.

Changing how departments carry out dispatch, problem solving, and other key functions: Developing procedural justice-based protocols for departmental functions that are highly visible or that involve interacting with numerous residents would leverage the opportunity these functions have to shape the community's opinion of police. Changes would include modifying the protocol that personnel in those functions follow to reflect greater respect, listening, fair decision-making and trust or goodwill toward residents. Having already trained their dispatchers, Stockton and Oakland plan to incorporate such protocol into dispatch. Stockton also plans to modify the protocol it currently uses to respond to traumatic neighborhood incidents so procedural justice is intentionally woven into the department's response to such incidents. Oakland plans to develop protocol specifically for its community resource officers, beginning with one area of the city and expanding from there.

Changing departmental strategies and tactics on key problems such as gun violence:

Oakland and Stockton are using Ceasefire – an evidence-based police-community partnership – to reduce community-wide violence and improve outcomes for those at highest risk of violence. The ways in which Ceasefire, described in further detail in an endnote³, incorporates the principles of procedural justice has been explored in a number of research publications.⁴ In Oakland and Stockton, a concrete benefit of the principles has been to unify the efforts of the working partners, many of which have longstanding conflicting perspectives and values and might otherwise have reverted to positions of mutual distrust and failed to maintain their joint commitment to reducing violence as a community priority.⁵

Incorporating procedural justice into searches, warrant services, and homicide scenes.

Oakland, Salinas, and Stockton each plan to convene working groups of officers and community members affected by homicide to incorporate the principles of procedural justice into homicide scene protocols. They also plan a similar process to develop protocols for search warrants, beginning with those associated with gun violence and expanding to other categories. Currently in Salinas, residents who approach the perimeter of a search warrant scene with questions receive follow up from members of the SWAT team or the Violence Suppression Unit to answer any questions community members have and to explain what happened and why.

VII. Conclusion

As noted in the introduction, the training we describe is an effective, “doable” and versatile tool for building police officers’ ability to employ the principles of procedural justice to increase public trust and confidence in police. There are four other benefits from the training relevant to the challenge of improving police-community relations, producing needed momentum among some key partners – for example, officers and community partners – useful in promoting organizational and community change.

- **The training exceeds officers’ expectations – they take it seriously and view it favorably:** Carefully designed by police officers for police officers in partnership with leading experts, the training is rooted in the reality of police practice and focuses on skill-building and acknowledging the cynicism officers can develop over their careers. The training format and process encourage meaningful participation and frank discussion and create an environment where officers can be candid and introspective about their interactions with the community. Officers have not experienced the training as corrective, but as a helpful framework for engaging with the public and as a genuine opportunity to renew their original inspiration to serve their communities.
- **Police managers find the training practical and effective as a tool for organizational change:** Police departments in Oakland, Stockton, and Salinas tailored the curriculum to their very different settings and rapidly trained their officers. Managers used the compact time frame and the depth and scale of the training to signal a strong commitment to procedural justice and lay a foundation for change in practice and policy. The training can complement accountability measures such as body-worn cameras and citizen review boards: it may even be more likely to generate tangible improvements in the interactions between the police and the public⁶.
- **The training supports authentic community engagement:** The Oakland Police Department and community and clergy leaders have developed a unique training

partnership and work together to teach the module of the curriculum on the intersection of police practice and race. This enhancement of the training has increased its credibility in the eyes of the community and produced a set of community leaders that act as “critical champions” who advocate for the police at the city level while continuing to press for institutional change. It also has fostered trust-based relationships that have been central to Oakland’s successful violence-reduction strategy.

- **The training has practical utility and quickly lays a foundation for applying the principles to community relations and crime reduction:** In Oakland and Stockton, the departments’ embrace of procedural justice principles has provided a set of unifying values and guiding principles that a group of diverse partners – the clergy, community leaders, service providers and criminal justice agencies – regularly invoke as they implement an evidence-based violence reduction strategy.

It’s unusual for a training to generate such promising results. This may stem from the extraordinary commitment the police managers and officers, community leaders and researchers who authored, conducted and otherwise supported the training have made to meaningfully improving police-community relations. This is both encouraging and noteworthy for those who might wish to replicate the training.

The California Partnership for Safe Communities

CPSC works with civic and community stakeholders to achieve sustainable community-wide reductions in violence, to reduce the reliance of cities and counties on enforcement practices that contribute to over-incarceration, and to strengthen trust between criminal justice agencies and the communities they serve.

In each city where it works, CPSC conducts a close and systematic analysis of local violence and fosters working alliances including a broad cross-section of community stakeholders – including criminal justice agencies, faith leaders, community organizers, young people and their advocates, street outreach teams, service providers, victims of violence, residents of neighborhoods affected by violence and the formerly incarcerated.

CPSC has long-term partnerships with the cities of Stockton, Salinas, and Oakland, all of which have reduced violence significantly over the past two years. In addition to helping form civic and community partnerships, CPSC offers substantive expertise in the systematic analysis of local violence, community engagement, procedural justice, reentry, strategic policing and the development of outreach and support strategies.

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Endnotes

1. Wesley G. Skogan, Maarten Van Craen, Cari Hennessey. Training police for procedural justice. *Journal of Experimental Criminology* (Forthcoming).
2. A note on group process, facilitation and adult learning theory. The interactive nature of the procedural justice training facilitates officers' engagement in the trainings' substance. Aspects of this included sitting around small tables in groups of four to five, capping the class size at 25, and having no fewer than two instructors in the room at any time. These make the interactive process manageable. At the same time, the curriculum and training day are carefully ordered to build officer buy-in (i.e. how this benefits them in their professional and personal lives) early in the day as they progressively work through material they might otherwise be resistant to. Throughout, the instructors create opportunities for candid discussion and participation, allowing officers to process the material, share their perspectives and learn from their peers.
3. Ceasefire is an evidence-based strategy that features the direct communication of a powerful anti-violence message by an alliance of community leaders to young people at highest risk of violence. It consists of: 1) an ongoing analysis of gun violence to identify those at highest risk of violence; 2) partnership among public agencies, mission-driven organizations and concerned residents; 3) direct communication with those at highest risk; 4) supportive follow-up to manage risk and build relationships with those at highest risk of violence and 5) reserving the use of law enforcement suppression for those individuals and networks that persist in violence.

The Campbell Collaboration conducted an in-depth analysis of all the formal evaluations on Ceasefire-style interventions and found that 10 of 11 evaluations reported noteworthy reductions in violent crime. These remarkable results – ranging from a 63% reduction in youth homicide in Boston to 34% reduction in total homicide in Indianapolis – were seen in cities of different sizes, with varying violent crime problems, demographics, and economic conditions.

4. For further discussion, see Meares, Tracey L., "The Legitimacy of Police Among Young African-American Men" (2009). *Faculty Scholarship Series*. Paper 528.
5. In Oakland, in 2013, homicides fell 28 percent and nonfatal shootings fell 16 percent; 2014 brought an additional 11 percent reduction in homicides and 13 percent reduction in shootings. Stockton saw homicides drop 55 percent and nonfatal shootings fall 40 percent in 2013; homicides rose in 2014 compared to the prior year's remarkable decline for a cumulative drop of 37 percent, but Stockton sustained its reduction in nonfatal shootings.
6. A Campbell Collaboration analysis of 41 police interventions aimed at improving police legitimacy found that by incorporating procedurally just dialogue into any type of contact with civilians, police can achieve positive changes in people's attitudes toward them. Currently there is minimal research on the effects of body-worn cameras.

Appendix 1: Planning checklist for procedural justice training

The following checklist is intended to contribute to successful adaptation and execution of the procedural justice training discussed in this paper. It is not meant to be comprehensive, but rather support a city's procedural justice training planning process:

Instructors

- ✓ Select a small team of 2 to 6 instructors who are well respected in the department
- ✓ Key qualities for each training team: credible street experience; the ability to work well in a team; experience with teaching, training, facilitation, or adult learning
- ✓ Instructors should embody procedural justice – respect, listening, neutrality, trustworthiness – in their interactions with the public and with colleagues
- ✓ Instructors should be dedicated to making the training successful and willing to take the time to master the content and its instruction
- ✓ Instructors should feel comfortable sharing their own experiences and have enough professional experience to have draw credible examples into their instruction
- ✓ Instructors should genuinely care about the police department's relationship with the community
- ✓ Community partners may be able to partner with police instructors on relevant parts of the training
- ✓ Experience indicates that the quality of instructors is the most important element to successful training

Curriculum and structure

- ✓ Select locally relevant videos, examples, scenarios for each training module
- ✓ Actively seek out material of a positive nature to achieve a balance between affirmative examples and scenarios worthy of criticism
- ✓ Ensure no negative examples expose a specific person in the department
- ✓ For module examining the intersection of race and policing, include examples that reflect the racial and ethnic composition of your jurisdiction
- ✓ Determine which of the exercises and opportunities for discussion that are embedded in the training are most valuable for your department
- ✓ Determine if modules will be taught in pairs or if different instructors will cover different modules
- ✓ Determine minimum and maximum class size
- ✓ Arrange seating into small groups rather than classroom or auditorium style
- ✓ Determine length of class and what modifications should be made to overall curriculum to accommodate time constraints

Preparation

- ✓ Conduct at least two full run-throughs of the training with an audience
- ✓ Connect with instructors from other cities to leverage their expertise and lessons learned
- ✓ Encourage instructors to read and listen to lectures about procedural justice to become more comfortable teaching the concepts
- ✓ Set a goal for teaching the training without a script after a handful of run-throughs

Delivery

- ✓ Deliver training department-wide
- ✓ Consider if commanders should be trained separately from rank and file
- ✓ Prepare instructors not to take resistance to training personally
- ✓ Plan the duration of the training – entire department will be trained by X date

Quality control

- ✓ Request (or require) each participant complete a course evaluation
- ✓ Instructors observe their partners and provide feedback
- ✓ Debrief the overall training process every 2-4 training sessions
- ✓ Keep the same instructors working together throughout the training

Participate in a community of practice

- ✓ Chicago PD, Salinas PD, Stockton PD, Oakland PD and its clergy and community partners and CPSC have learned a great deal not only from executing the training but also from each other. Prospective partners will benefit from a network of peer support – along with research and academic partners – when adapting the training to their community.

Appendix 2: Legitimacy and procedural justice: A new element of police leadership

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

Legitimacy reflects the belief that the police ought to be allowed to exercise their authority to maintain social order, manage conflicts and solve problems in their communities. Legitimacy is reflected in three judgments:

- The first is public trust and confidence in the police. Such confidence involves the belief that the police are honest, that they try to do their jobs well, and that they are trying to protect the community against crime and violence.
- Second, legitimacy reflects the willingness of residents to defer to the law and to police authority, i.e. their sense of obligation and responsibility to accept police authority.
- Finally, legitimacy involves the belief that police actions are morally justified and appropriate to the circumstances.

What are those potential benefits? Studies suggest that they include: (1) greater public deference to the police when the police have personal interactions with members of the community; (2) increased compliance with the law; (3) higher levels of cooperation with police efforts to manage crime; and (4) stronger institutional support for police departments.

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

- First, people want to have an opportunity to explain their situation or tell their side of the story to a police officer. This opportunity to make arguments and present evidence should occur before the police make decisions about what to do.
- Second, people react to evidence that the authorities with whom they are dealing are neutral. This involves officers making decisions based upon consistently applied legal principles and the facts of an incident, not an officer's personal opinions and biases.
- Third, people are sensitive to whether they are treated with dignity and politeness, and to whether their rights are respected. The issue of interpersonal treatment consistently emerges as a key factor in reactions to dealings with legal authorities. People believe that they are entitled to treatment with respect, and react very negatively to dismissive or demeaning interpersonal treatment.
- Finally, people focus on cues that communicate information about the intentions and character of the legal authorities with whom they are dealing (their "trustworthiness"). People react favorably when they believe that the authorities with whom they are interacting are benevolent and caring, and are sincerely trying to do what is best for the people with whom they are dealing. Authorities communicate this type of concern when they listen to people's accounts and explain or justify their actions in ways that show an awareness of and sensitivity to people's needs and concerns.