EXHIBIT A
(part 3 of 3)

The World Is Not Black and White: Racial Bias in the Decision to Shoot in a Multiethnic Context

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Abstract

We examined implicit race biases in the decision to shoot potentially hostile targets in a multiethnic

context. Results of two studies showed that college-aged participants and police officers showed anti-Black racial bias in their response times: they were quicker to correctly shoot armed Black targets and to indicate "don't shoot" for unarmed Latino, Asian, and White targets. In addition, police officers showed racial biases in response times toward Latinos versus Asians or Whites, and surprisingly, toward Whites versus Asians. Results also showed that the accuracy of decisions to shoot was higher for Black and Latino targets than for White and Asian targets. Finally, the degree of bias shown by police officers toward Blacks was related to contact, attitudes, and stereotypes. Overestimation of community violent crime correlated with greater bias toward Latinos but less toward Whites. Implications for police training to ameliorate biases are discussed.

As the country becomes increasingly diverse, attempts to address overt and subtle forms of prejudice and discrimination based on race and/or ethnicity takes on a new importance. The U.S. Census Bureau (2008) projects that by 2050, racial and ethnic minorities combined will constitute 54% of the population, the numerical majority. The largest changes to the racial/ethnic composition of the country are expected in the decrease of non-Latino, single-race Whites, and corresponding increase in Latinos and Asians. Whites are expected to decrease from 66% to 46% of the population. In contrast, Latinos are expected to increase from 15% to 30% and Asians are expected to increase from approximately 5–9% of the population. The representation of Blacks is expected to remain relatively stable, constituting about 15% of the population.

In understanding the racial and ethnic transition the country will face, two implications seem evident. First, research on stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination should increase its attention to bias toward people of Latino or Asian descent (Martinez, 2007; Peterson & Krivo, 2005). Second, researchers should anticipate that the shift of Whites from the numerical majority to a minority is likely to strain relations among racial/ethnic groups within the United States. In fitting with this special issue, the current research examined how implicit racial biases toward Blacks, Latinos, and Asians may be evidenced in the decision to open fire on suspects in the United States.

From this point forward, we use "race" rather than "race/ethnicity" for simplicity because most available national sources record race or ethnicity, but not both (the census is an exception). Our choice of race is meant to represent physical attributes such as skin color, hair, etc., that facilitate categorization. It should be noted that it is possible that race and ethnicity each contributes independently to biases, or that the differences attributed to race are at least in part due to ethnic differences.

Race and Law Enforcement

Data drawn from national sources such as the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ; 2001) and Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS; 2007) provide evidence that some minorities, especially young Black males, are incarcerated at disproportional rates. Compared to their proportion of the general population, Blacks are grossly

overrepresented and Whites are underrepresented as inmates. Latinos, in contrast, are incarcerated at rates approximately equal to their representation in the population.

Equally disturbing is the fact that some minorities are overrepresented in the suspects shot and killed by police officers. The DOJ (2001) reports that Black suspects were killed by police at a rate about five times greater than White suspects in the period from 1976 to 1998. Information on the rates of justifiable homicide for Asians and Latinos are less clear. Asians are designated simply as “other” (a category encompassing multiple races) and at a maximum account for 2 or 3% of those shot. The prevalence rates for Latinos cannot be directly discerned from the DOJ data because Latinos are included in the racial category “White.” Some sources report, however, that Latinos are shot and killed more often by police than Whites but less than Blacks (for a review, see Geller, 1982).

The available national-level data clearly point to Blacks being killed by police more often, and Whites and Asians less often, than would be expected given the percent of the population they represent in the United States. It should be noted that evidence for disparate treatment of ethnic minorities, immigrants, or “foreigners” by the criminal justice system has been found cross-culturally (Albrecht, 1997; Johnson, van Wingerden, & Nieuwbeerta, 2010). However, the focus of the current work is on implicit racial biases that may underlie differential treatment in the United States.

It is one thing to document the discrepancy in treatment of racial/ethnic minorities by police and/or the criminal justice system in the United States, and it is quite another to understand why it exists. A major debate in the criminology literature involves the degree to which this discrepancy reflects bias in the justice system, the tendency for minorities to engage in more criminal activity, or both (Cureton, 2001; Goldkamp, 1976). In other words, are minorities more likely than Whites to participate in criminal behavior (justifying the differences in incarceration) or is the law differentially enforced for suspects as a function of their race?

Evidence on this point is mixed. The subculture of violence (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967) and danger perception (MacDonald, Kaminski, Alpert, & Tennenbaum, 2001) theories suggest that minorities are more likely than Whites to commit crime due to the history of each group in the United States, cultural variations in response to minor affronts, and/or distrust in the justice system to resolve disputes. The overrepresentation of minorities in prison, especially Blacks, is often cited in support of this view. However, survey research has found no evidence that African Americans endorse violence as more acceptable than other races (Parker, 1989; Smith, 1992). Further, Hannon (2004) reviewed 950 cases of nonjustifiable homicide and found no evidence that victim provocation patterns differed by offender race. Thus, African Americans perpetrators were no more or less likely than White perpetrators to react with lethal force to minor transgressions.

Perhaps, the most researched theory of law enforcement in the United States, conflict theory, proposes that the purpose of law is to sustain the position of the majority in society (Turk, 1969) building an inherent bias into the system. Historically, in the United States, this has meant buttressing the position of Whites against the “threat” of minority groups based on race and socioeconomic and immigrant status (Holmes, 2000). This theory lends itself to two immediate corollaries: First, police officers may label or “criminalize” minorities unfairly and police them differently than Whites (Cureton, 2001) and second, as the ethnic composition of the country changes, minorities should pose a greater threat to the majority and attempts to police and control them will intensify (this has been labeled the threat hypothesis, MacDonald et al., 2001). Given the current

climate of concern over racial bias, it seems unlikely that blatant, intentional discrimination of the sort proposed by conflict theory is responsible for differential outcomes experienced by racial groups in the criminal justice system at present. Instead, it is more likely that stereotypes insidiously influence behavior without awareness or intention. Nevertheless, as called for by Kang (2012), it will be the charge of law and law enforcement to adjust to the shifting basis of discrimination.

Whatever the "cause" of the overrepresentation of minorities in the criminal justice system at the national level, we propose that knowledge of this racial/ethnic discrepancy may impact perceptions and conduct of police officers in encounters with civilians. To be clear, the current research does not and cannot determine whether or not disproportionate minority involvement with law enforcement is justified. But regardless of its cause, we suggest that the mere association between minorities (particularly Black and Latino groups) and crime at the societal level may have consequences for police behavior at the individual level.

In some encounters, police officers must make life-or-death decisions quickly. In these moments, prior expectations—be they fact or fiction, personally endorsed or simply prevalent in the culture—may influence how information is processed. Knowledge that racial minorities, and Blacks in particular, are overrepresented in prison and jail (BJS, 2007) and are more likely to use a firearm in commission of a crime (DOJ, 2001) may contribute to an increased perception of minorities as threats. Also relevant are characteristics of the neighborhood served. Violent crime rates and the proportion of non-White people in an area have been associated with increased perception of threat (Cureton, 2001). Taken in sum, these factors may influence the level of threat officers expect in interactions with minorities. Couple with this, the distrust racial/ethnic minorities report toward police (Locke, 1996), and fodder for a self-fulfilling prophecy of aggressive encounters is laid. Awareness of a societal-level phenomenon, whatever its underlying cause, may thus be associated with implicit biases that impact cognitive processing or behavior (Fisher & Borgida, 2012). Applied to the context of race and law enforcement, the mere association of race and criminality at the societal level may impact, for example, the speed with which stimuli are processed and the likelihood of a decision to open fire.

Race and the Decision to Shoot

It is difficult to determine whether or not race influences the course of encounters between police officers and suspects. In the real world, minority status is (on average) associated with a number of factors such as poverty, living in disadvantaged neighborhoods, and living within disorganized family structures (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1997), making a clear attribution difficult (e.g., were the officers responding to the suspect's race or to the threatening neighborhood?). However, experimental research that isolates the effect of race on shoot/don't shoot decisions demonstrates that race alone can influence responses to threatening objects. Correll, Park, Judd, and Wittenbrink (2002) asked college-aged participants to perform a first-person-shooter (FPS) task, so-called because the participants take the first-person perspective of an officer who must make rapid judgments about whether or not to shoot Black and White male suspects (targets) who appear on the screen holding either a gun or a nonthreatening object (such as a wallet or cell phone). Participants were faster to shoot armed Black targets than armed White targets, and they were faster to decide not to shoot

unarmed White targets than unarmed Blacks. Further, this effect transferred into mistaken decisions or behaviors when participants were forced to respond extremely quickly. Importantly, the degree of racial bias against Black targets did not differ between White and Black participants.

In these simulations, target race is not diagnostic of the presence or absence of a weapon. This is important because it allows the investigators to conduct a direct examination of the impact of racial cues, per se , on the tendency to shoot. Given the time pressure and complexity of stimuli employed, the ability to exert control over responses was diminished, making it likely that observed racial biases in behavior were implicit or operating outside of conscious control. Although compelling, demonstrations of implicit racial bias among college students in the laboratory lack external validity. Examining the phenomenon among police officers provides a better gauge of the extent to which implicit racial bias may impact the decision to open fire and thus contribute to the disparity in rates of minorities versus Whites shot and killed by police.

Two groups of researchers have investigated the effect of race on decisions to shoot with police officers (Correll et al., 2007; Peruche & Plant, 2006; Plant & Peruche, 2005). Correll et al. (2007) found that police officers and community members both showed bias in the speed of their responses (responding more quickly to stereotypic targets). Consistent with prior work, the extent of racial bias in response times did not differ between White and non-White officers. But in spite of this bias in reaction time, police officers were no more likely to shoot an unarmed Black target than they were to shoot an unarmed White. In other words, despite the influence of race on the time taken to make correct decisions, police officers were able to overcome the impact of race and choose whether or not to "open fire" as a function of the weapon held, not the race of the person holding it. Using a different paradigm, Plant and Peruche (2005) found that although police officers initially exhibited racial bias in the decision to shoot, bias decreased with practice. Thus, college students, community members, and police officers all evidenced an implicit racial bias in the time taken to make a decision to shoot; however, police officers were able to overcome this bias when instigating a behavioral response.

The Current Research

No prior research has investigated bias toward Latinos and Asians in a shoot/don't shoot scenario. In light of differential minority contact with law enforcement and the profound demographic changes taking place in the United States, such an investigation is both timely and important. The current research examined implicit racial bias in the decision to shoot White, Black, Latino, and Asian male targets in a FPS task in two studies. In the first study, we investigated the performance of college students on two primary outcomes. First, we examined the average response times needed to correctly determine if targets of each race were armed or unarmed. Racial bias in reaction times is indicated by faster responses to stereotypic combinations (e.g., armed Black target) than counter-stereotypic combinations (e.g., unarmed Black target). Second, we examined whether target race influenced the pattern of correct versus incorrect responses. Both racial bias measures are assumed to reflect the influence of cultural stereotypes; however, our previous work suggests that they may reflect different components of cognitive processing (Correll et al., 2007). Although stereotypes may impact the speed with which correct responses are made, whether or not they affect the ultimate

decision to shoot may depend on the extent to which perceivers can exert control over their behavioral response.

In the second study, we examined implicit racial bias in reaction times and errors among police officers, and whether these biases varied as a function of community characteristics and personal or cultural beliefs. For example, one might expect that officers who serve areas in which the predominant criminal element is Latino should show a greater bias toward Latinos than they do toward Blacks. To allow for sufficient variability in types of communities and personal beliefs, we recruited police officers from the Southeast, Southwest, and Northwest regions of the United States.

The present research thus exemplifies "full-cycle social psychology" (Cialdini, 1980; Dasgupta & Stout, 2012) wherein the phenomenon of interest was borne of real-life events (i.e., mistaken shootings of unarmed minority suspects by police officers) and examined both in the laboratory and with experts from the field. Inclusion of both samples allows for an investigation of whether or not implicit racial bias findings from the lab converge with those of officers who are accountable for decisions to use deadly force on the job. Another benefit of an investigation of police officers may be that "…implicit bias in decision-making from these studies can be directly connected to societal-level disparities" (Dasgupta & Stout, 2012).

Study 1: Overview

To examine the effect of different race/ethnic groups on the decision to shoot, we created a multiethnic environment in a computer task. We employed a four-group FPS task with target race randomly varying from trial to trial between Black, White, Latino, and Asian males.

Participants

Sixty-nine undergraduate students from the University of Colorado at Boulder participated in exchange for partial credit toward a course requirement. Participants were approximately equally divided on gender (34 males, 30 females, and 5 missing) and predominantly White (75% White, 2% Black, 5% Asian, 3% Latino, 3% Native American, and 8% other). Although there were too few Black participants in Study 1 to examine if Black and White participants performed differently on the FPS task, previous work found no evidence that bias varied between these groups (Correll et al., 2002).

Video Game Simulation

The original FPS task, developed by Correll and colleagues (see Correll et al., 2002), focused on bias in the decision to shoot Black compared to White males. To make a multiethnic version of the task, Latino and Asian American male targets were added. Latino and Asian college-aged males, recruited from three college campuses in the Denver metropolitan area, were paid $8 to be photographed holding four plastic guns (silver and black revolvers and automatic handguns) and four nonthreatening objects (black wallet, black cell phone, silver cell phone, and silver soda can) in each of five poses (e.g., standing with hand holding object positioned near the shoulder). Consent was obtained from all men to use their photographs in future research.

We chose new targets to be included in the shooter task based on a pilot study in which their race was correctly identified by a majority of police officers and community members.

Design

The multiethnic FPS task was based on the 4 (Target Race: Black vs. Latino vs. Asian vs. White) × 2 (Object: Gun vs. No Gun) within-participant design. During each trial, one to three preceding empty background scenes (e.g., a bus terminal or a city park) was presented for 200 to 500 ms each. The number of preceding backgrounds and the duration of the backgrounds were randomly determined per trial. Next, the target background appeared for 500–800 ms before the target photo appeared on the background. From stimulus onset, participants were required to respond within an 850 ms time window. Participants were instructed to "shoot" targets holding guns and to indicate "don't shoot" for targets holding innocuous objects. Responses were made on button boxes with the leftmost button labeled "don't shoot" and the rightmost button labeled "shoot" (the button box orientation was reversed for left-handed participants in order to have all participants "shoot" with their dominant hand). Participants were instructed to leave their thumbs or forefingers over the buttons in between trials.

A point structure for trial-by-trial performance was used to make the game and its potential consequences, personally relevant for participants. Mirroring real life, the cost of mistakes was greater than the reward of accurate responses, especially the error of failing to shoot a threatening target. Correct responses earned five points (not shooting an unarmed target) or 10 points (shooting an armed target). Incorrect responses were more heavily weighted and cost 20 points (mistakenly shooting an unarmed target) or 40 points (failing to shoot an armed target). A time-out, or failing to respond within the 850 ms window, resulted in a 10-point deduction. At the end of each trial, participants received auditory and on-screen feedback regarding the points earned or lost during the trial and a cumulative point total.

The multiethnic FPS task included 20 targets for each racial group, each presented once armed and once unarmed. Thus, there were 40 test trials per race group and 160 test trials overall. Twenty-four practice trials were also included. The sequence of trials was randomly determined within practice and test trials. Reaction time and whether or not the decision was correct were recorded per trial.

Procedure

An experimenter met participants and guided them to individual cubicles for the duration of the study. The experimenter explained that participants were to quickly and accurately respond to photographs of males on-screen based on the type of object they held. Detailed instructions and the FPS task were presented using Psyscope software (Cohen, MacWhinney, Flatt, & Provost, 1993) on iMac desktop computers. Participants wore headphones to receive auditory feedback and reduce interference from participants in neighboring rooms. Finally, the experimenter instructed participants to fill out a questionnaire packet that was left in a manila envelope in the room after they finished the video game. Participants were thanked and debriefed at the end of the session.

Results and Discussion

Reaction Time

Reaction times for trials on which participants responded correctly (94.8% of trials across participants) were log-transformed. An average log-transformed reaction time was then computed for each participant for each type of target (e.g., Black with gun and White with no gun). Log-transformed reaction times were analyzed by

a Target Race (Black or Latino or White or Asian) × Object (Gun or No Gun) repeated measures ANOVA. Means backtransformed to the millisecond metric are presented in Table 1 and Figure 1. Reported effect sizes are PREs that reflect the proportional reduction in error due to a predictor or planned contrast (Judd,

McClelland, & Ryan, 2008). In the analyses we report, PRE is equivalent to a partial eta-squared.

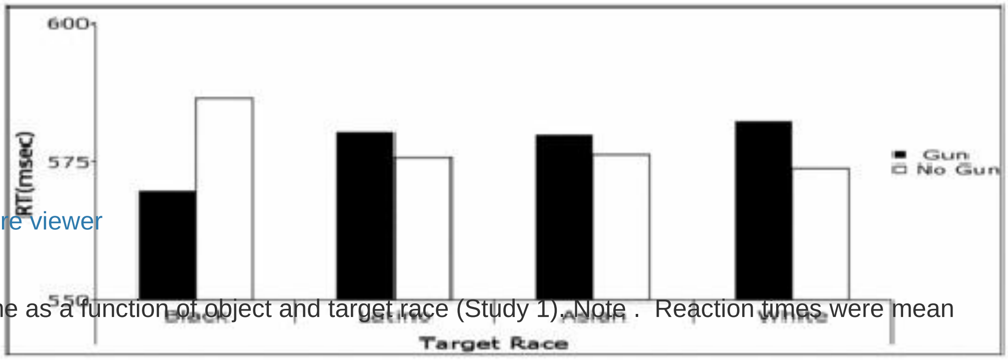
Table 1. Reaction Time and Sensitivity as a Function of Object and Target Race (Study 1)

	Target race					
Variable	Black		Latino		Asian	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Reaction time (ms)						
Gun	543 a	43	537 b	38	558 c	37
No gun	623 a	38	593 b	41	617 a	40
Average	583 a	36	565 b	36	588 c	35
Sensitivity (d′)	3.55 a	.51	3.61 a	.52	3.39 b	.51

Note . Differing subscripts within a row indicate significant differences, $p < .05$, except for the comparison between Black/unarmed and < .06. All sensitivity means significantly differed from zero, $p < .05$. N = 69.

Figure 1.

Open in figure viewer



Reaction time as a function of object and target race (Study 1). *Note* . Reaction times were mean polished.

There was a significant main effect of object, $F(1, 68) = 299.00$, $p < .001$, PRE = .81. Participants correctly responded more quickly, on average, to gun ($M = 548$) than no gun trials ($M = 610$). There was also a significant main effect of race, $F(3, 204) = 51.24$, $p < .001$. We tested all possible pairwise comparisons among target groups. On average, across the object held by targets, participants responded more quickly when making the correct decision for Latino targets ($M = 565$) than Black targets ($M = 583$), $F(1, 68) = 108.16$, PRE = .61, $p < .001$; White targets ($M = 579$), $F(1, 68) = 54.91$, PRE = .447, $p < .001$; and Asian targets ($M = 588$), $F(1, 68) = 17.22$, PRE = .20, $p < .001$. Participants responded more slowly overall when making the correct decision to Asian targets than White targets, $F(1, 68) = 17.22$, PRE = .20, $p < .001$, or Black targets, $F(1, 68) = 7.67$, PRE = .10, $p = .007$. As in our previous work, the comparison in mean reaction times for Black versus White targets was not significant, $F(1, 68) = 2.72$, PRE = .035, n.s.

Of primary interest were the Race × Object interactions that gauge racial bias in the decision to shoot. The omnibus Race × Object interaction was significant, $F(3, 204) = 16.81$, $p < .001$. We tested all pairwise "simple" Race × Object interactions to examine the patterns of bias as a function of specific pairwise race comparisons. For example, we tested if responses to gun versus no-gun trials differed when the objects were held by Black versus Latino targets. Further, to interpret the Race × Object interactions, we applied a mean polish transformation to the reaction time data within each pairwise comparison. Rosnow and Rosenthal (1989) noted that researchers often misinterpret interactions by looking at simple effect tests among original cell means. This approach is problematic because differences in the original cell means also reflect lower order effects (e.g., main effects) thereby obscuring the nature of the higher order interaction. The advantage of using the mean polish transformation is that it expresses the mean reaction time for each cell of the Race × Object design as a residual from the average reaction time to that particular race and that particular object.

For example, in the Latino/gun cell, the mean polished Latino/gun average is computed per participant as:

where values are averages calculated per participant and per cell of the design. The mean polished cell value yields the difference in how a participant responds to Latinos who are armed removing both the main effect to respond faster overall to gun trials, and faster overall to Latino targets. We chose the mean polish transformation to aid in interpretation of racial bias effects because for the first time in this line of research, we found differences in how quickly participants responded to different races, across the type of object held (i.e., main effect of race).

Black targets versus all others groups.

All Race × Object interactions involving Black targets were significant: Black versus White interaction, $F(1, 68) = 45.83$, PRE = .40, $p < .001$, Black versus Latino interaction, $F(1, 68) = 22.18$, PRE = .25, $p < .001$, and Black versus Asian interaction, $F(1, 68) = 32.14$, PRE = .32, $p < .001$. These effects demonstrate bias such that participants were especially likely to favor the “shoot” response over the “don't shoot” response when the target was Black rather than any other race.

Latino targets versus Asians and Whites.

There were no significant Race × Object interactions comparing Latino and White targets or Latino and Asian targets, Fs $(1, 68) < 1$, PRE s < .01, n.s.

Asian targets versus Whites.

The Race × Object interaction for Asians and Whites was not significant, $F(1, 68) = 1.40$, PRE = .02, n.s.

Thus, in Study 1, we found consistent evidence of the interactive influence of race and object on reaction times only toward Black targets compared to targets of other races. As shown in Figure 1, we replicated the implicit racial bias found in previous research for Black versus White targets. Participants correctly responded more quickly on gun trials to Black than White targets but correctly responded more slowly on no-gun trials to Black than White targets. A strikingly similar pattern of bias emerged for Black compared to Latino or Black compared to Asian targets.

Signal Detection Analyses

We next examined if race influenced the pattern of errors versus correct decisions made based on the object that targets held. On average, participants made incorrect responses on 3.3% of trials and time-outs on 2.5%. Overall, participants performed quite well on the task, a pattern consistent with previous work with the FPS task that employed extended response windows (850 ms; Correll et al., 2002).

The number of correct and incorrect responses for a given target race was submitted to signal detection theory (SDT) analysis. SDT extrapolates two normal curves on a continuous judgment dimension from correct and incorrect responses to targets holding guns versus nonguns. For the FPS task, we conceive of this dimension as the amount of threat posed by targets. Placed on the dimension is one curve that represents the distribution of responses on no-gun trials (low threat) and another curve that represents the distribution of responses on gun trials (high threat). Two statistics are computed. First, the d' statistic, or

sensitivity, assesses the degree of separation between the gun and no-gun curves. Higher d′ values indicate that the curves do not overlap much, i.e., participants are able to discriminate between gun and no-gun trials and to make accurate responses in general (fire on armed targets, do not shoot unarmed targets). Lower d′ values indicate that the curves overlap more and that participants mistakenly shoot when they should not (false alarm) or fail to shoot when they should (miss). The more overlapping the curves, the greater difficulty perceivers have in discerning weapons from nonthreatening objects. Second, the c statistic, or decision criterion, reflects the threshold at which targets are perceived as threatening enough to shoot.

Although racial bias in the placement of the criterion has previously been found with the FPS task (e.g., Correll et al., 2002; Correll et al., 2007), there was only one significant pairwise race comparison on the decision criterion across studies. However, in previous research, this result generally emerges when the response window for the task is 630 ms or less. Thus, the failure to find effects on the criterion in the current studies, which use an 850-ms time window, is not surprising. Analyses of this measure are not discussed further.

We computed d′ values separately for each target group and found that the mean sensitivity (d′) toward each group significantly differed from zero, all t s (68) > 48.84, p s < .001. The positive d′ values in Table 2 indicate that participants distinguished guns from nonthreatening objects and, on average, were able to make appropriate decisions based on the object.

Table 2. Reaction Time and Sensitivity as a Function of Object and Target Race (Study 2)

	Target race					
Variable	Black		Latino		Asian	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Reaction time (ms)						
Gun	548 a	41	537 b	40	575 c	37
No gun	640 a	36	615 b	37	629 a	39
Average	595 a	35	577 b	34	607 c	34
Sensitivity (d′)	3.53 a	.51	3.66 b	.55	3.44 c	.59

Note . Differing subscripts within a row indicate significant differences, p s < .001. Except average reaction difference between Black a < .10. All sensitivity means significantly differed from zero, p s < .05. N = 224.

ANOVA.

Sensitivity scores were submitted to a repeated measures ANOVA with Target Race (Black or Latino or White or Asian) as the within-participant factor. There was a main effect of target race, $F(3, 204) = 6.20$, PRE = .03, $p < .001$. More pertinent for our purposes were the pairwise comparisons of sensitivity between target groups. Results showed that accuracy was significantly higher toward Blacks and Latinos than toward Whites and Asians (Blacks vs. Whites, $t(68) = 2.23$, PRE = .07, $p = .029$, Blacks vs. Asians, $t(68) = 2.73$, PRE = .10, $p = .008$, Latinos vs. Whites, $t(68) = 3.46$, PRE = .15, $p < .001$, and Latinos vs. Asians, $t(68) = 3.49$, PRE = .15, $p < .001$). There was no evidence that participants were able to better discriminate guns from nonthreatening objects for Blacks than Latinos, $t(68) = 1.12$, n.s. , nor was there a difference between Whites and Asians, $t < 1$.

Racial bias in the amount of time needed to correctly determine whether or not to shoot Blacks perseveres in a multiethnic context. Participants were faster to correctly "shoot" a Black armed target than a White, Latino, or Asian armed target but slower to correctly "not shoot" a Black unarmed target than a White, Latino, or Asian unarmed target. There was no evidence, however, of race impacting the time to respond to Latino versus White or Asian targets, or White versus Asian targets regardless of the object held. Thus, the perceived threat Blacks pose appears to overwhelm any potential threat from other groups. In Study 2, we investigate the extent to which such bias is found among police officers, and if the degree of bias varies as a function of community characteristics and individual differences in officer beliefs about the groups.

Study 2: Overview

Police officers are among a selected few whose job it is to make shoot/don't shoot decisions. Although guidelines exist to limit when deadly force may be used, there are nonetheless allowances for officer discretion to open fire. Chief among these is the perceived imminent threat posed by the suspect to innocent bystanders, fellow officers, or the officer himself/herself.

Factors that may be associated with threat, such as stereotypes about suspect race and aggression, may influence how a potentially deadly encounter unfolds. Prior work with the shooter task found that police officers were prone to the same bias in reaction times toward Black than White targets shown by college students and community members, though, importantly, their ultimate decision of whether or not to shoot was not affected by target race (Correll et al., 2007). One purpose of Study 2 was to investigate if the pattern of racial biases toward Blacks versus Latinos, Asians, and Whites found with college-aged participants in Study 1 would similarly be replicated among police officers.

The second purpose of Study 2 was to investigate if characteristics of the community and explicit personal beliefs and attitudes of officers might be affiliated with implicit multiethnic racial biases in the shooter task. Our prior work showed that the degree of racial bias in reaction times toward Black versus White targets in a sample of police officers from a variety of cities was associated with several characteristics of the community served. In particular, bias was larger for officers from larger cities, those cities with higher minority and/or Black populations, and for officers who perceived greater violent crime in the community served (Correll et al., 2007). Using a similar computer simulation, Peruche and Plant (2006) found that police officers with general negative expectations about Blacks tended to show more racial bias in reaction times on early task

trials. Thus, research has shown that differences in racial bias toward Blacks than Whites may be related to both community characteristics and individual officer beliefs. The present study will extend prior work by examining the factors related to multiethnic racial bias toward Latinos and Asians.

To obtain variation in officers' experiences with Black, Latino, or Asian suspects, we recruited police officers from the Southeast, Southwest, and Northwest regions of the United States. Officers completed the four-group multiethnic FPS task and provided information about the community in which they served, their history of service in law enforcement, and their beliefs and attitudes toward each of the four racial groups.

Method

Participants and Design

Police officers attending a voluntary two-day training seminar in the Southeast, Southwest, and Northwest were recruited. Officers were compensated $50 for their time. Two hundred and twenty-four officers participated (41% from a seminar in Florida, 35% from a seminar in New Mexico, and 24% from a seminar in Washington). Although many officers were from the state in which the seminar was held, 11 states were represented across the seminars. Most participants were patrol officers (61%) and male (86%). The majority of officers were Caucasian (53%) and Latino (31%). Fewer than 3% of the officers reported being African, Asian, or Native American (5% missing). Note that we found no evidence in Study 2 that officer race (minority versus White, or Latino versus White) was associated with differential racial bias in response times or accuracy, F s $(1, 214) < 1$, n.s.

Police officers completed the 160 trial multiethnic FPS task with Black, Latino, Asian, and White male targets. The study was a Race (4: Black or Latino or Asian or White) × Object (2: Gun or No gun) within-participants design.

Materials

Intergroup attitudes.

The discrimination scale (Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997) is an 11-item scale that gauges the extent to which people believe that discrimination toward African Americans is currently a problem. The scale was modified to address racial discrimination, in general, by substituting "ethnic minorities" for "Blacks." Example items included, "Members of ethnic minorities often exaggerate the extent to which they suffer from racial inequality," and "In the United States, people are no longer judged by their skin color." Ratings were made on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree) response scale. The scale was found to be reliable (α= .86).

Stereotypes.

The stereotype rating scale consisted of three items measuring the extent to which a group was viewed as aggressive, violent, or dangerous (Correll et al., 2002). For each item, participants marked an "X" on a 5-inch line with 12 evenly spaced tick marks, including endpoints. The line was anchored with not having the trait

(e.g., not aggressive) to having the trait (e.g., aggressive). The percent estimate task also consisted of three items to assess the aggressiveness of a group, however, in this task, ratings were of the percent of people in the group who were believed to participate in specific behaviors. Participants rated what percent of the group commits violent crimes, owns a handgun, and dies at the hands of an in-group member. Participants completed these stereotype measures twice, once for their personal stereotypes and once for cultural stereotypes. In the former case, they were asked to report their own personal beliefs. In the latter case, they were asked to rate how they believed "people in general in the United States would respond."

Intergroup contact was measured with three items for each group. Participants were asked the amount of contact they had with each racial/ethnic group in the neighborhood in which they spent the most time growing up, at the high school from which they graduated, and with childhood friends. Responses on each item could range from 1 (none) to 7 (many).

Community characteristics and demographics.

Officers were asked to provide information about their history in law enforcement and the community they served. Officers reported the total number of years on the police force and in the department in which they were currently assigned. Officers estimated the rate of violent crime in their community relative to the FBI 2000–2002 rate of 500 offenses per 100,000 people. They chose between five options ranging from "much lower than average" to "much higher than average." In addition, we generated the extent to which officers over- or underestimated the amount of violent crime in their community by comparing the self-report percentages to those we gathered from the Uniform Crime Reports (2007) per city (or county, if city information was not available). Both variables were standardized, and then a difference score was computed ($Z_{\text{self-report}} - Z_{\text{UCR}}$).

The ethnic makeup of the community was also derived from two sources. Police officers estimated the percent of African, Asian, Latino, Native, and European Americans in the area. We also obtained U.S. Census Bureau (2000) information on the racial/ethnic makeup of the area served. Both variables were standardized and a difference score ($Z_{\text{self-report}} - Z_{\text{Census}}$) reflecting the degree to which officers over- or underestimated the percentage of a group in the community.

Officers also provided demographic information including their gender, ethnicity, education, and political orientation.

Procedure

Police officers were recruited to participate through announcements made each day as the seminar reconvened from lunch break. Officers reported to a room in the hotel in which the seminar was held.

Participation took place in the evenings after the seminar concluded for the day. Although we could not isolate officers in individual cubicles, no more than two officers were seated at a table at a time and officers did not face each other during the study. To reduce disruption from other participants, officers wore headphones. Officers completed the FPS task on Macintosh iBook laptop computers with 13-inch screens. The button boxes were the same ones used to collect responses in the laboratory in Study 1. Following the

FPS task, officers completed the questionnaire packet and sealed it in a manila envelope. Officers were paid, thanked, and fully debriefed.

Results and Discussion

Reaction Time

Log-transformed reaction times for correct trials were analyzed by a Target Race (4: Black or Latino or White or Asian) × Object (2: Gun or No Gun) repeated measures ANOVA. All pairwise comparisons among target race groups (e.g., Black vs. Latino) and between target race pair and object (e.g., Black vs. Latino by Object interaction) were tested. Means backtransformed to the millisecond metric are presented in Table 2. There was a significant main effect of object, $F(1, 223) = 1970.62$, $p < .001$, $PRE = .90$. Participants were faster, on average, to gun ($M = 553$) than no gun trials ($M = 631$). There was also a significant main effect of race, $F(3, 669) = 256.41$, $p < .001$, $PRE = .53$. On average, across gun and no gun trials, participants were faster to correctly respond to Latino targets ($M = 575$) than Black targets ($M = 592$), $F(1, 223) = 250.27$, $PRE = .53$, $p < .001$, White targets ($M = 591$), $F(1, 223) = 221.12$, $PRE = .50$, $p < .001$, and Asian targets ($M = 605$), $F(1, 223) = 795.80$, $PRE = .78$, $p < .001$. Participants responded more slowly to Asian targets than White targets, $F(1, 223) = 163.33$, $PRE = .42$, $p < .001$, or Black targets, $F(1, 223) = 141.61$, $PRE = .39$, $p < .001$. There was no significant difference in mean reaction times for Black versus White targets, $F(1, 223) = 1.23$, $PRE = .01$, n.s. This pattern of results parallels that found in Study 1.

The omnibus Race × Object interaction was significant, $F(3, 669) = 52.35$, $p < .001$, as were all pairwise race × Object interactions (described below). As in Study 1, we used mean-polished values to aid in interpretation of the interactions.

Black targets versus all others groups.

As shown in Figure 2, implicit racial bias was found toward Black versus White targets, $F(1, 223) = 81.90$, $PRE = .27$, $p < .001$, Black versus Latino targets, $F(1, 223) = 22.47$, $PRE = .09$, $p < .001$, and Black versus Asian targets, $F(1, 223) = 189.06$, $PRE = .46$, $p < .001$. As in Study 1, police officers correctly responded more quickly to guns, but more slowly to nonguns, held by Black targets than by targets of any other race.

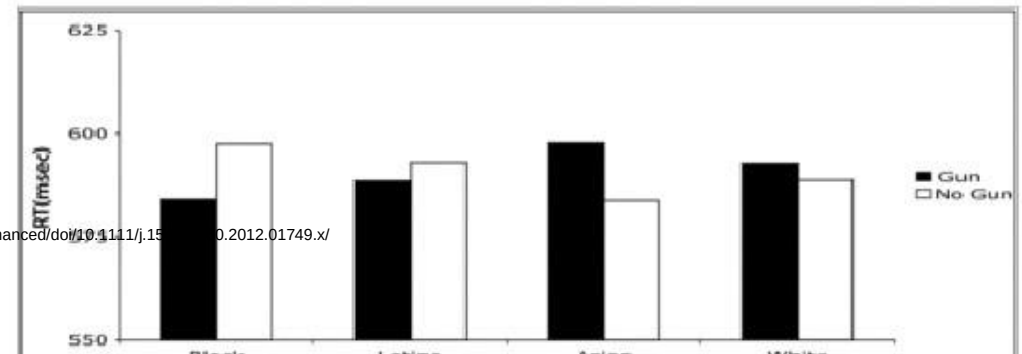


Figure 2.

Open in figure viewer

Reaction time as a function of object and target race (Study 2). Note . Reaction times were mean polished.

Latino targets versus Asians and Whites.

In addition, the Latino versus White, F (1, 223) = 16.00, PRE = .67, p < .001, and Latino versus Asian interactions were significant, F (1, 223) = 90.82, PRE = .29, p < .001. Officers showed racial bias in the decision to shoot Latinos relative to Whites and Asians.

Asian targets versus Whites.

We also found a significant Asian versus White × Object interaction, F (1, 223) = 24.90, PRE = .10, p < .001. Opposite to the typical pattern of bias toward racial/ethnic minorities, police officers were faster to shoot White than Asian armed targets, but slower to decide not to shoot White than Asian unarmed targets. In other words, racial bias was shown as a bias in favor of shooting Whites rather than Asians.

Signal Detection Analysis

Police officers performed well on the four-group FPS task with incorrect responses on 2.9% of the trials and time-outs on 2.6% of the trials. Sensitivity (d′) scores were submitted to a repeated-measures ANOVA with target race (Black or Latino or White or Asian) as a within-participant factor. The means appear in Table 2. The main effect of target race was significant, F (3, 669) = 18.48, p < .001.

Black targets versus all others groups.

Pairwise comparisons revealed that police officers were better able to discriminate weapons from nonthreatening objects when they were held by Black than White targets, F (1, 223) = 4.88, p = .028, PRE = .02, or Asian targets, F (1, 223) = 7.29, p = .007, PRE = .03. These results suggest that if minorities are policed differently than nonminorities (as posited by conflict theory), such differences are not due to poorer sensitivity toward Blacks. Unlike the results in Study 1, there was also a significant difference in sensitivity toward Black versus Latino targets among police officers, F (1, 223) = 24.40, p < .001, PRE = .10. Police officers evidenced higher levels of accuracy based on object for Latinos than Blacks.

Latino targets versus Asians and Whites.

Similarly, sensitivity was higher to Latino than White targets, F (1, 223) = 40.45, p < .001, PRE = .15, or Asian targets, F (1, 223) = 51.98, p < .001, PRE = .19.

Asian targets versus or Whites.

Overall accuracy to Asian and White targets was not found to differ, $F < 1$.

In sum, the pattern of sensitivity to objects as a function of target race found for police officers replicates the previous study reported herein, with one exception: police officers show higher accuracy to Latino than Black targets. Finally, it is interesting to note that reaction time bias and sensitivity bias were generally uncorrelated.

The only exception was a significant negative relationship for White targets, $r(223) = -.16$, $p < .05$. The more bias in reaction times to White targets is, the less accurately participants responded to the objects White targets held.

Racial Bias Correlates

We were interested in the extent to which characteristics of the community and officers' experiences with, and beliefs about, Blacks, Latinos, Whites, and Asians related to bias in the FPS task. We correlated the composite score for each questionnaire measure with two variables computed from the FPS task: racial bias in reaction times and sensitivity in the task. Because we wanted to examine correlations separately for each target race, we calculated the simple effect of object type on the mean-polished reaction times per group (e.g., Object Effect $_{Black}$ = Black RT $_{No\ Gun}$ − Black RT $_{Gun}$), which represents the tendency to respond correctly to armed targets more quickly than to unarmed targets. This effect is important because it represents a predisposition to shoot: shooting armed targets quickly and choosing not to shoot an unarmed target slowly. The simple object effect was chosen because it can be examined for each group alone, rather than relative to another group (e.g., differences in reaction times toward Blacks by type of object rather than racial bias in reactions to Blacks versus Whites). Mean-polished values were used to isolate the effect of object for a particular target race, once the main effects of object and race were removed.

The bivariate correlations of beliefs and community characteristics to reaction time and sensitivity per target race and FPS task outcome are presented in Table 3. We also tested the partial relationships between individual beliefs and racial bias in reaction times and sensitivity controlling for community characteristics and vice versa. The pattern of effects was the same as with the bivariate correlations, indicating that the individual and community characteristics reported were uniquely related to bias.

Table 3. Correlations between Bias in Reaction Times, Accuracy, and Community Characteristics and Police Officer Beliefs

	Object effect (RT)				Sensitivity (	
	Black	Latino	Asian	White	Black	Latino
Community characteristics						
Population of city officer serves	−.03	−.07	.04	.08	.04	.05
Census% of race group	−.02	.06	.02	.04	−.04	.02

+

Self-reported violent crime	.05	.07	−.01	−.12 +	−.07	.01
UCR violent crime	−.02	.01	.04	−.02	.03	.01
Violent crime difference	−.05	.16*	.04	−.13 +	−.07	.03
Police officer beliefs						
Personal stereotype rating	.06	.12 +	−.02	−.03	.02	.04
Personal stereotype percent estimate	.05	.13 +	.07	−.11	.05	−.12 +
Cultural stereotype rating	.01	−.05	.08	−.05	.17*	−.06
Cultural stereotype percent estimate	−.04	.04	.15*	−.10	.09	−.10
Contact with race group	.21*	−.04	−.01	−.01	.12 +	−.04
Discrimination scale	.14*	−.10	.04	−.05	.03	−.08

Note . The object effect ($RT_{no\ gun} - RT_{gun}$) per target race was mean polished. Due to missing data, correlations are based on .05, + p < .10.

Reaction Time Correlates

Community characteristics.

We examined the reaction time bias to shoot as a function of community characteristics including measures of city population, the percentage of a target race in the community, and violent crime. Across target races, violent crime indices were often related to the bias to shoot. There was a tendency for the object effect (the bias to shoot) to decrease as perceptions of violent crime in an area increased, $r(206) = -.12$, $p = .083$. The violent crime difference was significantly positively related to the degree of bias to shoot Latino targets, $r(194) = .16$, $p = .025$, and marginally negatively related to the bias to shoot White targets, $r(194) = -.13$, $p = .063$. These correlations indicate that the more officers overestimated the amount of violent crime in their area compared to the Uniform Crime Reports (2007), he more bias shown toward Latinos, but the less bias shown toward Whites. There were no significant correlations regarding the overall size of the city or the number of members of a target race in the area, all r s < .10.

Officer beliefs.

The officer beliefs we examined included personal and cultural stereotypes, attitudes toward racial/ethnic minorities in general, and the amount of contact with a target race. Reaction time bias to shoot Black targets increased as a function of both reported contact with Blacks, $r(206) = .21$, $p = .002$, and prejudice reported

on the discrimination scale, r (206) = .14, p = .042. Bias to shoot Latino targets was marginally associated with personal stereotypes as reported on the rating scale, r (205) = .12, p = .079, and the percent estimate task, r (204) = .13, p = .068. The more officers endorsed stereotypes of Latinos as violent and dangerous, the faster they tended to respond to armed than unarmed Latino targets. Racial bias toward Asian targets as a function of object was significantly higher, the more officers rated the cultural stereotype of Asians to be aggressive on the percent estimate task, r (205) = .15, p = .033. We found no significant relationships between beliefs about Whites and reaction time bias to shoot.

In summary, racial bias in reaction time across target races was associated with the extent to which officers overestimated the amount of violent crime in a community. As violent crime increased, bias to shoot Latino targets increased, but bias to shoot White targets decreased. Further, for Black targets, contact and discrimination predicted racial bias, whereas personal stereotypes were related to bias toward Latinos and cultural stereotypes were related to bias toward Asians. Though not wholly consistent, these observed relationships suggest that attitudes and/or stereotypes can affect bias in latencies among officers.

Sensitivity Correlates

Community characteristics.

We also examined the relationships between racial bias in sensitivity and community characteristics. The amount of violent crime in an area was related to the ability to correctly distinguish a gun from a nonthreatening object. The more violent crime according to the Uniform Crime Reports (2007), the less able officers were to distinguish objects held by White targets, r (206) =−.14, p = .041. New in the accuracy data was a significant correlation between the proportion of Asians according to census data and discriminability for Asian targets, r (206) =−.18, p = .008. As the number of Asians increases in an area, accuracy in determining the object an Asian target held during the shooter task decreases.

Officer beliefs.

Across target races, the pattern of significant relationships between officer beliefs and sensitivity was similar to that found for reaction times. For Black targets, the correlation between sensitivity and contact was marginally significant, r (213) = .12, p = .068. Officers who reported more contact with Blacks showed a tendency toward higher accuracy in distinguishing guns from nonthreatening objects. Although general discrimination was not related to the accuracy of responses to Black targets, there was a significant association between sensitivity and cultural stereotypes of Blacks, r (212) = .17, p = .013. The more violent and aggressive police officers perceived the cultural stereotype of Blacks to be, the more accurate they were in decisions of whether or not a Black target was armed. For Latino targets, personal stereotypes on the percent estimate task were marginally related to sensitivity, r (211) =−.12, p = .073. The more aggressive their personal stereotype of Latinos, the less able officers were to accurately distinguish objects. For Asian targets, accuracy was marginally related to cultural stereotypes on the rating task, r (213) = .11, p = .093. As cultural stereotypes of Asians as aggressive increase, accuracy increases. None of the officer beliefs correlated significantly with accuracy toward White targets.

In summary, the community characteristics and officer beliefs associated with accuracy are similar to that found for reaction time bias, although the relationships are not always in the same direction and tended to be smaller in magnitude. Violent crime in an area was related to the ability to discriminate objects held by White targets. Greater sensitivity for Black targets was associated with more contact and sensitivity for Asian targets with higher cultural stereotypes, whereas sensitivity for Latino targets decreased for officers who more highly endorsed personal stereotypes.

General Discussion

We examined implicit racial bias in the decision to shoot Blacks, Latinos, Asians, and Whites. Replicating prior research, racial bias in response times to decide whether or not to shoot Black targets was pervasive. Interestingly, this was the only reaction time bias to emerge among college-aged participants. However, police officers showed additional racial biases in reaction times, on average, toward Latinos relative to Asians and Whites, and toward Whites relative to Asians, suggesting racial bias in the decision to shoot is not simply an anti-Black phenomenon.

To our knowledge, the current research is the first to find a differential pattern of racial bias in reaction times between participant samples, which highlights the importance of substantiating evidence garnered from convenience samples with field samples (Dasgupta & Stout, 2012). The multiethnic shooter task posed a greater challenge to participants, given that there were more irrelevant racial cues present in the task, and no predictability about which racial cue would occur from trial to trial. The difficulty of the task for college participants may have resulted in a tendency to default to the stereotype of Blacks as most aggressive. On the other hand, cultural stereotypes and local norms germane to the likelihood that groups will aggress may be more available and practiced among police officers. After all, police officers must constantly evaluate the potential threat posed by people. Several officers across conferences we attended spoke of searching for the "wolves" among the "sheep."

The second outcome considered was the accuracy of the decision to shoot. In contrast to the differential pattern of bias found for reaction times, both college participants and police officers were better able to distinguish weapons from nonthreatening objects when held by Black and Latino targets than by Asian and White targets, an unexpected effect given our previous work (Correll, et al., 2002; Correll et al., 2007). We suspect that in the more challenging multiethnic shooter task, both participant samples may have shifted attention to Blacks and Latinos, the groups potentially more associated with threat. This result is consistent with recent evidence that suggests that threat-based attentional biases may serve as a mechanism for the impact of race on such decisions (Donders, Correll, & Wittenbrink, 2008; Trawalter, Todd, Baird, & Richeson, 2009). The P200, an event related potential (ERP) that reflects orientation to threatening stimuli in the environment, is greater in response to Black than White faces (Ito & Urland, 2005). Further, Correll, Urland, and Ito (2006) found that the more threatening Blacks were than Whites (as indexed by the P200), the greater the impact of race on the decision to shoot. If perceived threat differences can be inferred from racial bias in the FPS task (Correll et al., 2007), our results suggest that Blacks and Latinos may be more stereotypically associated with violence than Whites and Asians.

Finally, we examined if the degree of racial bias in reaction time and accuracy in the decision to shoot was related to community characteristics and personal beliefs reported by police officers. There was evidence that individual beliefs were related to the extent of bias, though the specific individual differences that correlated with beliefs depended on target groups. Officers who overestimated the amount of violent crime in a community showed a greater bias toward Latinos and less toward Whites. The personal beliefs most associated with racial bias varied with the target group, but were generally strongest for Blacks. Contact, discriminatory attitudes, and cultural stereotypes of aggressiveness and danger were related to bias toward Blacks. There was a trend for relationships between racial bias toward Latinos and personal stereotypes of Latino aggressiveness, and between bias toward Asians and cultural stereotypes about Asians. There was no evidence that bias toward Whites was related to personal beliefs.

Training

Although we cannot speak definitively to the genesis of the stereotypic association between violence and certain minority groups, such as Blacks and Latinos, our results suggest that even when race is not diagnostic for the task at hand, expectations regarding the danger posed by some groups, and further, individual variation in such beliefs, can affect response time. Stated differently, Black, Latino, Asian, and White targets were equally likely to appear armed or unarmed in the shooter task but the association of Blacks and Latinos with danger in U.S. culture may have led to faster correct responses to armed than unarmed targets from these groups compared to Whites and Asians, who are not associated with danger to the same degree. It is interesting to note that biases in reaction times toward Blacks and Latinos were overcome by the time a decision was made, and in fact, there was no evidence that target race biased a police officer's ability to correctly shoot armed targets and to not shoot unarmed targets.

Our accuracy results seemingly bode well for police officers in that implicit racial biases affected the speed of responses but not behavior, but there is reason to temper the optimism in generalizing the results to officers in the field. First, a relatively long response window was used, possibly allowing both college students and police officers sufficient time to enact control over their decisions of whether or not to shoot. It is possible that participants were able to enact distraction-inhibiting goals to avoid basing decisions on race or response-facilitating goals to shoot only if they see a gun (Mendoza, Gollwitzer, & Amodio, 2010). In the field, however, the luxury of time and ability to focus on implementation intentions is far from guaranteed. Second, the environmental conditions under which police officers complete the FPS task may foster relatively high levels of accuracy. Officers are seated comfortably, distractions are reduced, and there is no possibility of imminent physical threat. In contrast, conditions vary greatly in the field that may compromise the performance. For instance, the average accuracy rate with which shots fired at suspects find their target is only about 20% (Geller, 1982). Factors that amplify the perceived threat in an encounter result in even lower accuracy such as a suspect with a firearm (Schade, Bruns, & Morrsion, 1989). Presumably, the average threat level is significantly higher on the job than in the lab. If so, the controlled processes needed to compensate for racial bias may not be implemented as easily. It is conceivable that race-based perceptions of threat (which seem to affect reaction times in the lab) may, in the real world, translate into the decision to open fire. If this is the case, racial biases may, in fact, play a role in encounters between police officers and suspects.

It may prove useful to broaden training considerations from how police officers react to suspect behavior

("passive" role of officers) to how they themselves behave as a situation unfolds (proactive role of officers). Mere expectation that a suspect will be violent may engender a self-fulfilling prophecy: the officer may behave in such a way to elicit aggressive behavior from the suspect resulting in an escalation of the situation.

Binder and Scharf (1980) suggested that decisions made in early stages of an encounter predict whether an officer is likely to open fire as the encounter unfolds. Fridell and Binder (1992) found that a crucial stage leading to a decision to open fire is that of information exchange between officer and suspect. Situations in which an officer was unable to ascertain pertinent information, or when suspects were agitated or noncompliant, were more likely to end with use of deadly force.

We argue that it is precisely in the early stages of an encounter that expectations police officers hold based on race, neighborhood, gender, etc., may unintentionally influence officer behavior and contribute to an escalation of the situation. A poignant anecdote comes from a conversation the first author had with a young Black male officer. He relayed a conflict between the Black culture in which he was raised and the police training he received regarding how to interact with a suspect. In his neighborhood, making eye contact with someone, particularly in a tense situation, was a sign of aggression. Compliance, on the other hand, was accomplished by avoiding eye contact. In dramatic contrast, as a police officer he was trained that lack of direct eye contact by a suspect was suspicious and associated with noncompliance. Such differences in the interpretation of nonverbal cues are likely to have marked effects on the progression of an encounter. To reduce the influence of such factors in escalation of police-community encounters, it may be beneficial for police departments to assign officers to districts in which they grew up whenever possible. We do not intend to suggest that it is necessary for officers to be of the same race as the community they serve, only that officers from the district are likely to be familiar with the neighborhood norms for verbal and nonverbal cues to aggression. It should be noted that our data cannot speak directly to this issue, but nonetheless, it may be fruitful for future research to pursue.

Another avenue for police departments to pursue is simulation training. Research has shown that those officers trained with a combination of video and "live fire" simulation training took more preventive actions to avoid escalation in subsequent encounters (Helsen & Starkes, 1999). It is possible that implementing such training would reduce the impact of suspect race on how an encounter progresses (cf. Reisig, McCluskey, Mastrofski, & Terrill, 2004).

Limitations and Extensions

An advantage of implementing an experimental approach is the ability to manipulate race independently of other factors that may covary with race in the real world. Targets they stood or kneeled in select stances. Because race was not diagnostic of weapon held, we could determine if prior expectations on the part of perceivers were associated with bias in the FPS task. However, the control was achieved at the cost of external validity. We are currently conducting research using a video simulation method that police departments across the country use to provide interactive training to officers. This research brings us one step closer to emulating the psychological and physiological stress officers experience in encounters with suspects, and thus, to an examination of the impact of suspect race in the

field.

Our investigation of racial bias provided an extension to prior work through inclusion of three distinct minority groups as targets rather than solely African Americans. We demonstrated that the extent to which bias was

present depended on the subject population. College students were biased against African –Americans, whereas police officers evidenced bias toward Latinos in addition to African Americans, and to a differential degree depending on individual differences, such as level of contact or stereotype endorsement. A limitation

of this work, however, derives from the fact that it was conducted with U.S. participants. Although our intuition is that treatment of specific minority groups would depend both on the cultural context, i.e., on the stereotypes regarding dangerousness of particular groups in a culture, and variations in belief in the beliefs

propagated within that context, it will be the charge of future studies to determine what factors contribute to racial bias cross-culturally (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1997).

Conclusion

Most social psychological work on racial biases in the United States has focused on African Americans and how they are discriminated against in the context of a society dominated by Whites. Our own previous reports

of implicit racial bias are very much in this tradition. The present work is based on the premise that an increasingly diverse American society demands that we assess patterns of bias toward multiple ethnic and racial target groups. Doing so highlights the ubiquity of bias in the FPS paradigm against African Americans

relative to Whites. But it also brings to light some evidence of bias against Latinos, and bias in favor of Asians (again, relative to Whites). Given that the United States continues to evolve into an increasingly multiethnic nation, research that speaks to such complexity becomes ever more important.

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Services
U.S. Department of
Justice
Train-the-Trainer
June 2014

Excerpt from above:

Recruit Academy and Patrol Officers' Training: Trainer Resources

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ROLE PLAY
EXERCISES

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Role Play: Woman/Man with a Gun[1]

Set Up

The instructor will need:

- Four trainees from the class (preferably two males and two females) to engage in the role play.
- Two female and two male role players.
- Two fake guns, chair and newspaper

The purpose of this scenario is to show that recruits/officers' biases about gender and weapons could impact their own safety. Often recruits/officers do not react to the 'Woman with a Gun" call the same way they react to the "Man with a Gun" call that follows.

The two female and two male role players should be trained ahead of time and have the opportunity to practice the role play before presenting it to the trainees.

Instructors will set up to run this role play twice: (1) "Woman with a Gun," and then (2) "Man with a Gun." BOTH role plays should be completed before the instructor engages the class in discussion/debrief. Otherwise, the debriefing on "Woman with a Gun" will negate the potential impact of "Man with a Gun." Instructors should conduct the "Woman with a Gun" role play first.

To prepare for two role plays, select two male trainees and two female trainees to form two male-female teams. The instructor should send both teams of "responders" out of the classroom.

Have one of the female role players conceal the gun and take a seat in a chair in the front of the classroom. Place the second female either outside the classroom or a far end of the classroom-to give her ample room to run toward the seated female.

After verifying that role players are in place, the instructor should bring the first pair of officers to the classroom door. Have them clear.

The Scenario

Call: Instructors should create a call, using code and district/sector assignments reflective of their city/county: "Respond to [provide location]. A nearby store owner thinks he saw a concealed weapon on this woman. He's been robbed several times recently. He reporls that the woman is now sitting on the bench at the bus stop.

[1] This scenario was developed by the Chicago (IL) Police Department (CPD) as part of their academy training. We are grateful to Curriculum Design Team member, James Ramos, CPD for permission to use this scenario.

Woman is dressed in black" (or whatever the role-player is wearing at the time)."

Instructors may change the nature of the call; however, the information provided by "dispatch" must be such that the officers *would be authorized to legally detain the woman and conduct* a *frisk.* It should not, however, provide information that would authorize an immediate arrest.

The officers enter the classroom, which is supposed to be the cross streets identified in the "call." The woman matching the description in the dispatch is sitting in the chair reading a newspaper. She has the concealed weapon.

After the officers interact with the seated woman for a few seconds, the second female role player comes into the room behind the officers (or through another door). The second woman is very animated/agitated; she tells the woman reading the newspaper, that a car that looks similar to the one belonging to the first woman's husband has been involved in a serious accident on the Interstate Highway. She is insistent that they must go to the scene of the accident immediately. This woman should not seem threatening to the officers; her purpose is to be a distracter. The objective of this second role player is to get the first woman away from the location and police.

After the scenario plays out, instructors should stop the role play and immediately implement "Man with a Gun."

For "Man with a Gun" the set up and scenario are the same as with "Woman with a gun," except that the two role players are men, instead of women. The instructor gives the second team of trainees the same "call," except that the suspicious person is a male.

After the "Man with a Gun" scenario is completed, stop the role play and have the female and male role players with concealed weapons pull out and show their guns if they were not found by the trainee teams.

Discussion/Debrief

A key to the discussion is whether/how the gender of the subject impacted the officers' response. It is important for the trainer to avoid comments pertaining to general tactics. (These could be covered, as necessary, *after the discussion* that is linked to the main points of this training.)

Start by asking the trainee role play teams to discuss what they did and why. "Start with the "Woman with a Gun" team(s), followed by the "Man with a Gun" team(s).

It may also be effective during the discussions to have the role players provide their own perspective. For instance, the women role players might observe, if it is the case, that the recruits seemed reticent to touch them in any way, much less frisk them. (Note that the reason for the male/female trainee teams is to try to circumvent any issues regarding a male frisking a female.)

[The questions below for the debrief are also contained in the curriculum.]

If the recruit team(s) responding to the women were less vigilant than the recruit team(s) that responded to the men:

Quite often with this scenario, the recruits do not frisk the woman in "Woman with a Gun" and therefore do not find the gun; in contrast, the "Man with a Gun" team might be more vigilant-conducting the search or otherwise being more aggressive with the men. This may be due to the officers' implicit bias that men are more dangerous than women-more likely to carry a concealed weapon. Discussion questions might include:

- Why do you think the recruit teams acted differently with the female versus the male subjects?
- With what societal stereotypes is this behavior consistent?
- What is the potential ramification to the officers of stereotyping women as not dangerous?

If the recruit teams responded with similar vigilance to the women and men:

This role play can produce a successful discussion even if the teams do not respond differently to the "woman with a gun" and "man with a gun" calls. If there is no difference in response, the discussion can take the form of how these officers did not succumb to a stereotypical "blink response," but that "some officers" might respond differently to women than men. Discussion questions might include:

- Do you think some officers might have responded differently to the females than to the males?
- With what societal stereotypes would that behavior be consistent?
- What danger would they put themselves in?

*As directed above, the instructor needs to have the "woman/man with a gun" role players produce the concealed weapons (if the police recruits did not find them during the scene) to show the danger associated with their lack of vigilance.

Note to Instructors: While tactics are an inevitable aspect of the discussion, instructors should refrain from letting the discussion of tactics overwhelm the "blink" take-away lesson. Separate any discussion of tactics from the "blink" discussion.

"Pantomime"'

The purpose of this scenario is to demonstrate how individuals may interpret the same stimuli very differently. It reinforces the skill "challenge what you think you see."

Set Up

This scenario is designed as a live tableau or a still-scene pantomime. The key to the tableau is to create a still scenario that implies action and can be depicted in such a way as to evoke multiple, varying interpretations of what is happening in the scenario. These interpretations become the foundation of the discussion/debrief which follows the tableau.

Four or five non-white and one white male role players produce a still scenario that shows the white male on the ground and the four non-white males around him. The scene is produced such that the four standing males could either be attacking the male on the ground, or assisting him in a medical emergency. Where possible set this scene up in a room other than the classroom used for instruction.

Instructor Directions to Prepare the Role Players/Actors[3]

We strongly suggest that this scenario be rehearsed before the actual training session in order to ensure that all the role player/actors are able to perform the pantomime effectively. In particular, the key to the pantomime is the ability of role players/actors to create both body stances and facial expressions that denote an "ambiguous" connotation. Thus, instructors will need to coach/direct role players/actors as follows.

- Facial expressions for all role players: Look like you are either "very concerned" (either because the "victim" is having a heart attack or because you must execute this robbery/crime quickly before you are seen by passers-by). The individual portraying the "victim" should look like he is in pain either from a beating or a heart attack.

- Body Stances:
  - Person #1 "Victim": Lie (comfortably) on your side with one arm/hand extended up above your head (as though in a defensive mode or in a surprising fall); with the other arm/hand, clutch your chest at the level of your heart/lungs

[2] This scenario has been adapted from the original developed by the Chicago (IL) Police Department. We acknowledge James Ramos, CPD Trainer for permission to use this scenario.

[3] Role players, from the law enforcement agency or academy, should be instructed to dress in casual attire, such as jeans and sweatshirts. Select officers who are NOT members of the recruit class for the pantomime. The instructor might identify "actors" from a local college drama program to serve as the role players.

- **Person #2** "Assallant/srlend": Kneel behind the "victim's" head and place your hands around his throat as though you were either attempting to choke him or turn his head around to administer CPR. Get as close as you can to the "victim's" face.
- **Person #3 "Assailant/Friend's** Stand at the "victim's" feet and grab his ankles with your hands as if to either be pulling him or attempting to stabilize him.
- **Person #4 "Assailant/Friend's** Stand behind the "victim" and place your right foot under his buttocks as though you were either kicking him or attempting to turn him over on his back. Simultaneously, grab the "victim's" chest and arm as though you were either attempting to hit him/steal his watch or help him turn on his back.
- **Person #5 "Assailant/Friend"** Stand behind the victim and place your hand in his pocket as though you were either attempting to steal his wallet or trying to turn him on his back.

Instructors should rehearse this pose several times in order for the role players to perfect both the requisite facial expressions and body stances. Role players should also rehearse the "back story" entrance. In this "back story" they are friends returning from an athletic event and having a conversation about the game when suddenly the "victim" has a heart attack and falls to the ground.

The Scenario

Once the role players/actors have been properly positioned, in an adjoining room to the classroom, bring the recruits into the room and ask them to take a close look at the still scene or "tableau." They may walk around the tableau and carefully study the faces and body positions of the "characters" in the tableau but they may not talk to the "characters."

Discussion/Debrief

After several minutes, ask the trainees, what they see going on in the tableau.

- What do you see happening in this scenario? (Probe for as many responses from as many trainees as possible.)

Generally, about half of the group will see a crime taking place (robbery; gang initiation) and the rest see a medical emergency.

When the discussion is completed, ask the role players to portray what happened prior to the moment that produced the "still shot." They enter the room talking about an athletic event they just attended; they will clearly all be friends. The white male will have a heart attack and fall to the ground. The friends will react and then they will

freeze as they resume their positions from the earlier "still shot" that the recruits found when they entered the room.

The point of the exercise is to show that officers can, and will, interpret the same stimuli differently and our interpretations can be impacted by biases (as well as other things, such as experiences).

Role Play: The Domestic Violence Call

Set Up

Instructors will need three chairs and three role players: two females (race not relevant) and one male (race not relevant). The instructor will select a pair of trainees from the class to respond to the call. The instructor will play the role of the dispatcher.

Review the scenario with the role players/actors prior to the role play. (See "Scenario" below.) Instruct the "victim" that she should NOT verbally respond to any questions that the "responding officers" ask her. She is to cry throughout, shake periodically and remain unresponsive to any questions posed to her by "responding officers" or to comments made by the other role players. She is to appear frightened and confused. The other two role players' behaviors and comments are similar to each other and provide no clues as to which one abused the victim.

The Scenario

Dispatcher: "Any car, Victor Sector. Female caller at approximately 12:15 a.m., crying/screaming and incoherent; appears to be victim of domestic violence. She is requesting police assistance to get to a hospital for medical assistance. Offender is still on-scene."

When recruits arrive at the scene, they find the three role players in chairs that are side• by-side. The victim, in the center, is hunched over and sobbing. There is a female on one side of her and a male on the other. The female is hovering over the victim with her hands placed gently on the "victim's" shoulders. She says, "I am so sorry, I am so sorry. This will never happen to you again." The male is on the other side acting the same way and saying the same thing.

Note to Instructors: In this scene, the male is not the abuser; instead, the abuser is the second female role player, who is the "live-in partner" of the "victim. Observe how the "responding officers" respond to the scene, attending to whether or not they assume that the offender is the male role player. Refer to the discussion questions to debrief the scenario. First be sure to advise the class as to which is the "real offender."

Discussion/Debrief

If the recruits seemed to originally assume the man was the abuser:

-):- Who did the responding team initially think was the abuser?
-):- On what did they base that assumption?
-):- What are the risks or other consequences associated with assuming one person, not the other, is the perpetrator?
-):- What skills do officers need to have to identify the right offender?

*If the recruits did **not** assume the man was the abuser:*

- Our team did not assume the man was the abuser? Do you think some police might make that assumption?
- On what basis might they make that assumption?
- What are the risks or other consequences associated with initially assuming one person, not the other, is the perpetrator?
- What skills do officers need to have to identify the right offender?

SCENARIOS: INSTRUCTOR VERSION

Note: For most of the questions associated with these scenarios, there are no right or wrong answers. (We indicate in instructor notes when that is not the case.) The key is to get the trainees to reflect on how biases might manifest and how biased behavior can be avoided.

Scenario #1: Men at the Door

You and your partner are newly assigned to the Dawn Oak neighborhood. This is an affluent, mostly Caucasian, community of large, newly constructed homes. The neighborhood is relatively safe from violent crime, although property crimes, especially burglaries and car thefts, over the past six months have been on a steady rise.

While on routine patrol, you and your partner observe two late model cars parked in front of 3342 Lester Drive-one of the newer homes on the block that is for sale. Two dark-skinned men are on the porch of the house; one man is standing in front of the other and he appears to be struggling to open the front door.

Discussion:

1. List any biases that might impact you.

2. What do you do? Would you be responding this way but for the fact that these are two dark-skinned men? What circumstances (e.g., added facts), if any, might justify enhanced scrutiny on the basis of race?

3. The men accuse you of racial bias. How do you respond?

4. Would you respond any differently to this situation if the people on the porch were white women?

Note to Instructors: The final question under #2 is an opportunity to apply the agency's biased policing policy to the situation. In an agency with a suspect-specific policy, police interventions based in part on race would be within policy if these individuals fit specific suspect descriptions (relevant to crimes in *this area* that might encompass *this activity)* that included reference to race or "dark skinned" individuals. In an agency that has a PERF model policy, the police intervention could be based *in parl* on race if credible, locally relevant information links a person or people who are "dark skinned" to unlawful incidents, criminal patterns, or schemes that, again, could reasonably be linked to the current situation (e.g., burglaries in this particular area).

Scenario #2: Photographers

Three 9-1-1 calls at approximately 12:10 p.m., describe three scraggly teenage males with long hair and low rider pants, taking pictures of a residence at 2233 Smith Street• the home of the police chief. Callers all report that one of the subjects has been taking numerous pictures of the home over the past 15 to 20 minutes.

Callers identify themselves as neighbors and they report that the chief and his family are out of town.

Discussion:

1. List at least three explanations for what might be going on.

2. List any biases that could have impacted the callers and might impact you.

3. You and your partner respond to 2233 Smith Street and see the three young males. What do you do? Would you be responding this way but for the fact that these are three scraggly teenage males? What circumstances (e.g., added facts), if any, might justify the enhanced scrutiny of them on the basis of youthfulness, gender and/or dress?

4. The boys accuse you of picking on them because of the way they are dressed. How do you respond?

5. Do you think you would have gotten the call if the photographers were three adult women in tailored pant suits? Would you respond any differently if you had gotten such a call?

Note to Instructors: This scenario is based on an actual incident from Seattle (WA). The photographers turned out to be architect students who were studying the Craftsman style homes, which are abundant in many Seattle neighborhoods. Again, the last question in #2 is an opportunity to apply the agency's biased policing policy to the situation.

Scenario #3: Partner's **Tickets**

Your partner is in the lead on this day and decides to ticket stop sign violators at a particular intersection. During the course of 4 hours at this location you determine that he is pulling over and ticketing all of the Hispanic drivers that run the stop sign, but is not pulling over the Caucasian drivers who do so-even though the nature of the violations are not different across the groups.

Discussion:

1. Is this racially biased policing? Can a person be a subject of biased policing even ifs/he did commit a crime or traffic violation?

2. List three different ways you might respond to this observation. List the pros and cons of each option.

3. Which option do you think is best?

Note to Instructors: For #1, there ARE right answers: Yes and yes.

Scenario #4: Woman Looking over a Fence

You are driving through a mixed race, middle class neighborhood and see a Caucasian woman dressed in a sundress looking over a fence. She appears to be looking around as if not wanting to be seen. She is holding a Macy's shopping bag.

Discussion:

1. List at least three explanations for what might be going on.

2. List any biases that might impact on how you perceive this situation and how you might respond.

3. Will you and you partner approach the woman? Why or why not? If you do approach her, what will you do and say?

4. You did not get a call about this woman. What dress and demographics of this person might have produced a call from the neighbors? Would you respond any differently than outlined above if you had gotten such a call? How and why?

Scenario #5: The BOLO

While on patrol, dispatch announces a BOLO for a suspect in a robbery that took place 30 minutes ago in your area. You see a young Asian male standing at a bus stop. His physical characteristics and dress are consistent with the BOLO, except that he does not have on the black coat described in the BOLO.

Discussion:

1. Will you approach and communicate with the man at the bus stop? Why or why not?

2. Let's say that you **do** approach the man and ask him questions. His answers dispel your concerns that he might be the suspect. He is angry and accuses you of bias against Asians because of recent publicity given to Asian gang activity. How will you respond to these accusations and what are your goals in designing this response?

Scenario #6: Victim Report

You are assigned to desk duty at the District Office. Several hours into your shift, what looks like a woman, enters the doors of the office. As she gets closer, you notice she is a transgendered individual wearing a fanny pack. She has long flowing brown hair, a short skirt, and silver, thigh high boots. You notice the long tear in the fishnet stockings. She tells you she was sexually assaulted earlier in the evening.

1. List any biases that might impact how you perceive and respond to this situation.

2. What might a biased response look like? What are the potential consequences of a biased response?

3. What would a bias free response look like? What are the advantages associated with implementing a bias-free response?

Note to Instructors: The responses to 2 and 3 about the disadvantages and advantages of a biased response and a bias-free response, respectively, should reflect on the fact that policing based on biases/stereotypes is ineffective and unjust. For instance, if this victim's report is not given the same serious attention as other assault victims, a criminal may go free and assault other women (ineffective policing). Also, not giving her story serious attention is unjust.

SCENARIO VERSIONS THAT FOLLOW

ARE FOR PRODUCING HANDOUTS FOR TRAINEES

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Discussion:

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Discussion:

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2. What might a biased response look like? What are the potential consequences of a biased response?

3. What would a bias free response look like? What are the advantages associated with implementing a bias-free response?

Man on the Porch, Instructor Notes

This case study exercise is intended to engage recruits in a series of decisions in responding to the facts in a real-life case that produced a tragic outcome. The recruits will have adequate time to think through various options and their consequences. Following their reporting, the actual result of this real-life case will be shared. The intent of this lesson is to convey how the real-life situation might have produced a less tragic outcome if the officers had "slowed down" to produce more thoughtful, deliberate decisions. Do not disclose, at the outset, that this is based on the case of the NYPD shooting of Amadou Diallo.

Instructors, if they choose, may adapt the case study to reflect an actual neighborhood in the local jurisdiction (and its associated crime problems) or sufficiently describe a neighborhood to which the recruits can relate.

Setup

Make the three handouts that follow these instructor notes; consider different color paper for each. The first handout is two sided. On one side is the description of the neighborhood and officers; on the second side is Segment 1. The second handout is Segment 2; the third handout is Segment 3.

Divide the class into small groups of five or six recruits. Ask each group to select a recorder (who should record the outcome of the discussions of the group) and a reporter (who will provide the group's feedback to the entire class).

The incident is presented in segments. Instructors will distribute each segment of the incident sequentially, allowing the incident to "unfold." Each segment contains a series of decision-making questions, such as: What do you think is going on here and why? What options do you have? What are the consequences of each option? What do you do and why?

Give each group a copy of the first handout. Have a trainee read through the first page and Segment 1. Tell the groups to answer the questions and then have the groups share their answers. (Note it would be tedious to have each group answer each question.) After you finish Segment 1, hand out and read Segment 2. Tell the groups to answer the questions. Have them share their responses. Then hand out and read Segment 3; have the groups work through Segment 3 and share their responses. (See instructions below for what to do after Segment 3.)

Case Study

The Neighborhood. The 1100 block of Holbart Street in Seattle's Rainer Valley, is a narrow street of small, modest homes. The neighborhood, along with most of Seattle, was developed in the early 1900's and now boasts a vibrant commercial avenue, parks, and growing redevelopment, including a newly developed light rail system that links the once isolated neighborhood with downtown. The neighborhood is comprised of predominantly poor and working class residents who represent African American, Asian-Pacific Islander, and immigrant communities from East Africa and the Caribbean.

The South Precinct is one of the busiest within the Seattle Police Department (SPD). The neighborhood continues to experience the city's highest rates of both violent and property crimes. Drug and gang-related shootings, homicide, sexual assault and domestic violence are among the most common calls for service. Within the last few weeks a number of strong-arm robberies, allegedly committed by a group of young white males in their twenties, have been reported. Suspects from these robberies as well as two sexual assaults and a drive-by shooting have eluded arrest.

The Officers. In an effort to address the criminal activity in the neighborhood, the SPD has formed a special Street Crimes Unit (SCU), dedicated to patrolling crime "hot spots." Four white officers in plainclothes and between the ages of 26 and 35 years are assigned to the Rainer Valley. They are usually dressed in jeans, sweatshirts, and bullet-proof vests; they carry 9-millimeter semiautomatic handguns. They drive unmarked vehicles.

Segment 1: Just before midnight, the officers of the SCU, in an unmarked car, turn down Holbart Street and see a 5'6" black man standing alone on a porch looking up and down the street. "Hold up," one officer says to the other officers in the car. 'What's that guy doing there? He is looking up and down the street, peeking his head out and then stepping on and off the porch."

Discussion:

- What do you think is going on here and why? What is another explanation?
- What are the various options that the officers have? What are the consequences for each option?
- What would you do and why? That is, what option do you choose?

Have the class share their answers. If any of the small groups report "leaving the scene," instructors can continue the case study with only the small groups that "remain on the scene." The other group(s) can either assume the role of "observers" or change their response and "remain on the scene."

Segment 2: Officers stop the car in front of 1157 Holbart Street. The black man sees the car come to a stop but does not move. All four of the officers get out of the car. There is no radio communication before the officers approach the man. Officer Scott holds up his police badge and calls out "police, can we have a word?" Officer Scott and Officer Dovldio begin moving toward the porch steps. The man does not respond but moves onto the porch.

Discussion:

- ~ Discuss and evaluate the decision of the four officers to all get out of the car and approach the man? What are the possible consequences of this action?
- ~ What other options do the officers have?
- ~ What are possible explanations for why the man on the porch does not respond to the officers?
- ~ What would you do and why?

Have the class share their answers.

Segment 3: Officers Scott and Dovidio accelerate their move up the stairs and toward the porch. The black man grabs the doorknob with his left hand and attempts to push the door in (the door is apparently stuck). He turns his body sideways and begins digging in his pocket with his right hand. Officer Scott yells, "Show me your hands-• NOW!" Officer Dovidio yells, "Get your hands out of your pockets...don't make me f----• ing kill you." The man is agitated and shaking. He continues to hold the doorknob with his left hand and starts removing a black object from his pocket with his right hand.

Discussion:

- ~ What do Scott and Dovidio think is happening that would lead them to accelerate up the stairs?
- ~ What are other interpretations of what was happening?
- ~ Do they have other options? What are they?

Have the class share their answers.

What Really Happened

The instructor reports that this was a real event with a horrific outcome.

The Outcome: Officers Scott and Dovidio fired 16 rounds each; the two backup officers fired a total of nine shots killing Mr. Akpan. When they approached his body, he was holding a black wallet in his right hand. During the trial, Officer Scott testified that when it was all over, he sat down on the porch steps, next to Mr. Akpan's bullet-ridden body and started to cry. Officer Dovidio later stated that when the ambulances arrived, he was so distraught, he couldn't speak.

Let's back up and see what happened.

During trial testimony, "Officer Scott" noted that he had two impressions as he assessed the situation. One, he thought that the subject (Mr. Akpan) might be serving as a look-out for an ongoing robbery; and two, that the subject may have fit the description of a suspect of the recent sexual assaults.

Again, what were the various other interpretations that your groups came up with?

[The key here is to highlight how the groups-with the luxury of time and deliberation-produced alternative interpretations and different actions.)

Is there any evidence that the officers acted with conscious racial bias? ["No" is an appropriate answer.)

Could they have been impacted by their implicit biases? [Yes.]

During trial testimony, we learned that the subject had a stutter and his English was not perfect. He may have attempted to communicate with the officers. It was also rumored that an acquaintance of the subject had recently been robbed by a group of men. The subject may have thought he was about to be robbed.

Discussion:

~ How might the officers have acted differently if they had known about or considered the possibility that there were communications issues?

~ How might they have acted if they had considered the possibility that the man was fearful of local robbers?

During trial, Officer Scott testified that his prior experience and training led him to believe that Mr. Akpan was reaching into his pocket to pull out a gun. He fires his weapon. Simultaneously, Officer Dovidio instinctivelyjumps backwards, firing his weapon as he falls. Officer Scott believes that Officer Dovidio has been hit by rounds from Mr. Akpan's gun.

Final Key Point(as contained in curriculum): The interaction between the police and Mr. Akpan lasted just 7 seconds. This rapid interaction produced bad decisions and a tragic outcome. The key lesson from this exercise is that you should, when you can, show down your response and make ambiguous circumstances UNambiguous.

When your groups worked deliberatively through the segments, you came up with very different police actions than the ones in the real incident. Gathering more information before you act can reduce the possibility that you make poor decisions - maybe even tragic ones.

It can also reduce the possibility that vou make biased decisions.

Man on the Porch, Participant Handout

The Neighborhood. The 1100 block of Holbart Street in Seattle's Rainer Valley, is a narrow street of small, modest homes. The neighborhood, along with most of Seattle, was developed in the early 1900's and now boasts a vibrant commercial avenue, parks, and growing redevelopment, including a newly developed light rail system that links the once isolated neighborhood with downtown. The neighborhood is comprised of predominantly poor and working class residents who represent African American, Asian-Pacific Islander, and immigrant communities from East Africa and the Caribbean.

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Segment 1

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- What do you think is going on here and why? What is another explanation?

- What are the various options that the responding officers have? What are the consequences for the various options?

- What would you do and why? That is, what option do you choose?

Segment2

Officers stop the car in front of 1157 Holbart Street. The black man sees the car come to a stop but does not move. All four of the officers get out of the car. There is no radio communication before the officers approach the man. Officer Scott holds up his police badge and calls out "police, can we have a word?" Officer Scott and Officer Dovidio begin moving toward the porch steps. The man does not respond but moves onto the porch.

- Discuss and evaluate the decision of the four officers to all get out of the car and approach the man. What are the possible consequences of this action?

- What other options do the officers have? What are the possible consequences of these options?

- What are possible explanations for why the man on the porch does not respond to the officers?

- What would you do and why?

Segment 3

Officers Scott and Dovidio accelerate their move up the stairs and toward the porch. The black man grabs the doorknob with his left hand and attempts to push the door in (the door is apparently stuck). He turns his body sideways and begins digging in his pocket with his right hand. Officer Scott yells, "Show me your hands--NOW!" Officer Dovidio yells, "Get your hands out of your pockets...don't make me f-----ing kill you." The man is agitated and shaking. He continues to hold the doorknob with his left hand and starts removing a black object from his pocket with his right hand.

- What do Scott and Dovidio think is happening that would lead them to accelerate up the stairs?

- What are other interpretations of what was happening?

- Do they have other options? What are they?

Recruit/Patrol Officer Curriculum

Module 1: Introduction and Understanding Human Bias

Instructor: Name of Instructor/Trainer

Time: 2.5 Hours

Summary and Rationale:

The purpose of this module is to lay the foundations of this curriculum. It introduces recruits and line officers to the training program's fundamental principles:

- All people, even well-intentioned people, have biases
- Having biases is normal to human functioning
- Biases are often unconscious or "implicit," thus influencing choices and actions without conscious thinking or decision-making
- Policing based on biases can be unsafe, ineffective and unjust.

The module introduces the concept of implicit bias and demonstrates how implicit biases can impact the perception and behavior of officers. The module, through a series of interactive exercises, allows officers to experience how implicit bias works and to discuss how implicit bias can impact on their own perceptions and actions.

Performance/Learning Objectives:

At the completion of this module, officers will be able to:

- Understand biases are normal and that all people, even well-intentioned people, have biases
- Understand how unconscious or implicit bias works in the human mind
- Describe the impact of bias on officers' perceptions and behavior

Equipment:

- Laptop with internal DVD drive
- Projector and screen
- 3 x 5 cards for homeless exercise
- 2 fake guns and newspaper for man/woman with a gun role play

Materials:

- Participants' Manuals, comprised of
  - Cover sheet
  - PowerPoints printed 3 to a page
- Trainers' Resource Materials
- Susan Boyle video [at www.fairandimpartialpolicing.com]
- "Money Train" video
- "Mad World" video [at FIP.com]
- "Crash" video

Role Players: Two women and two men of any race.

Room Setup: The optimal setup is a "U" shaped configuration or a large semi-circle configuration to allow training participants to see each other throughout the training session. However, if the class is large, a standard classroom configuration may be used.

Comments: The information presented in this module will likely be new to the trainees and the instructor should take time to explain that this training session has been designed to incorporate the current research on implicit bias. This training is not the usual or expected cultural diversity or racially-biased policing training that they may expect. In addition, this training is highly interactive-using perhaps unexpected training methods and tools. Participants should be told to leave their pre-conceived notions at the door, relax and be prepared for active participation.

Introduction and Understanding Human Bias

CONTENT	INSTRUCTOR NOTES/REFERENCE
Introduction	***Note to Instructors:*** *If two or three instructors are delivering this training session, all the instructors should open the training session, introducing themselves and introducing the training program.* *Have the trainees introduce themselves. Ask them to tell the class something about themselves that others may not know (e.g., family, hobbies).* *The lesson plans note recommended "transitions" between instructors. However, these transitions are discretionary; instructors should plan appropriate transitions during their preparation for delivery of the curriculum.*
	Display Slide #1: Fair and Impartial Policing: Recruit Academy and Patrol Officers' Training
Welcome to this training session on fair and impartial policing, designed to ensure that you conduct your police work fairly, impartially, and effectively.	**Recruit Academy and Patrol Officers 'Training**
	This slide should be displayed as recruits are entering the room.

The Premise and "Roadmap" to the Training Session

This training program is most likely unlike any other training you have received on the topic of biased policing.

We begin with the premise-based on scientific research-that all people, even well-intentioned people, have biases. That is, our starting assumption is that you are well-intentioned people who want to be fair and impartial in your work as police officers.

We will discuss various biases, such as those based on race, gender, socio• economic status, and sexual orientation.

We will explore what social psychology has taught us about how human biases affect our perceptions and behavior and impedes the ability of officers to practice fair, impartial, and effective policing.

Understanding the modern science of bias allows us to recognize our own *unconscious biases-that are referred to as* "implicit" biases-and to make conscious efforts to implement bias-free behaviors.

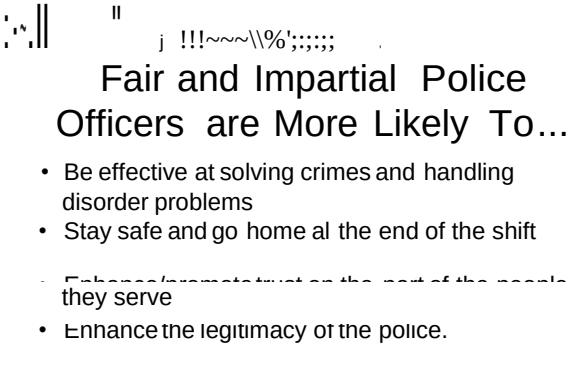
It is important to understand that implicit biases are different from "explicit biases." A person with explicit biases, such as a racist, has conscious animus towards groups, is unconcerned about their bias, and, indeed, will tell you about it.

This training is fundamentally about helping you to be the fair, impartial and effective professionals you want to be.

Fair and impartial officers are more likely to:

* Be effective at solving crimes and handling disorder problems
* Stay safe and go home at the end of the shift.
* Enhance/promote trust on the part of the people they serve
* Enhance the legitimacy of the police.

Display Slide #2: Fair and impartial Police Officers are More Likely to...



The goal of this training is to ensure that you will police-not based on your human biases-but rather based on relevant facts and circumstances.

You need to *review* facts and evidence impartially and fairly in order to be effective at solving crimes, handling disorder problems, and assessing whether you and others are in danger.

We also know that fairness and impartiality allows officers to build and sustain public trust. When you do your job well, the community sees the police as the legitimate authority. Thus fairness and impartiality not only produce effective police practices, but are essential for maintaining our legitimacy and living up to the values of the profession.

The goals of this training session are to have you:

- ~ Recognize your own human/implicit biases
- ~ Understand how implicit biases can affect your perceptions and behavior
- ~ Understand how biased policing negatively impacts community members and the department
- ~ Understand how FIP supports procedural justice and thus police legitimacy.
- ~ Develop skills and tactics to reduce the influence of biases on police practice and allow you to be effective and safe police professionals.

Display Slide #3: Goals of the Training

Goals of the Training

- Recognize your own human biases
- Understand how implicit biases can affect your perceptions and behavior
- Understand how biased policing impacts community members and the department
- Understand how FIP supports procedural justice and thus police legitimacy
- Develop skills and tactics to reduce the influence of bias on police practice and allow you to be effective and safe police professionals

What to Expect from this Training Session

Any discussion focusing on bias and policing is difficult, raising sensitive yet critically important issues that will affect our ability to be effective police professionals. This training program has been designed to examine these difficult issues from a new perspective-a perspective based on the science of human bias.

Through this training, we will explore our own conscious and implicit biases, examine how those biases can impact our perceptions and behavior.

Today, as we explore the science of human bias and its implications for policing, we are going to ask you to:

~ Leave your preconceived notions about "bias" training at the door-our approach is very different from traditional training in this arena.

~ Think and reflect about what it means to be an effective police officer.

~ Recognize the life experiences and expertise that you bring to this room. Sharing your knowledge and experiences will help all of us learn.

~ Participate in the discussions, case studies and exercises. Your participation will enhance both your learning and that of your colleagues here today.

Display Slides #4: During this Training

During this training:

- Leave your preconceived notions about "bias" training at the door.
- Think and reflect about what it means to be an effective police officer.
- Recognize the life experiences and expertise that you bring to this room.
- Participate.

The Basics of Human Bias

Let's take a look at this video. As you watch this, think about the judges' and audience's reactions to Susan Boyle; think about your reaction when you first saw it. We are going to show the entire segment including the judges' comments at the end.

Display Slide #5: Understanding Human Bias

Discussion/Debrief:

- ~ Why were people surprised when she began to sing? That is, what was it about her that led us, the judges, and the audience to think that she was not going to be a good performer?
- ~ Was the immediate reaction of the audience and the judges' justified?

Instructor plays the video of Susan Boyle's first performance on "Britain's Got Talent." Find it at www.voutube.com or at www.fairandimparlialpolicing.com under "Training Programs," "Train-the-Trainer," and "Resources for Trainers." (See the Fair Use Provision: Brief Summary of Recommendations in Trainer Resources and the Instructors' Guide). Show the video starting where she walks onto the stage (about 36 seconds in) and through the end to include the comments by the judges' panel. Follow with a discussion/debrief.

Display Slide #6: Susan Boyle

Susan Boyle - Britain's Got Talent

Let's explore what Susan Boyle's video tells us about human bias. It demonstrates the fundamental concepts of human bias and some of the fundamental lessons of this training:

- ~ Bias is a normal human attribute; everyone, even well-intentioned people, are biased
- ~ Biases are often unconscious or "implicit"
- ~ Implicit biases manifest even in individuals who, at the conscious level, reject prejudices and stereotyping.
- ~ Implicit biases can influence our actions
- ~ Understanding how implicit bias can affect perception and behavior is the first step toward developing our skills to "override" our implicit biases.

So let's take a deeper look at what we just experienced with Susan Boyle and what it says about the thinking process and implicit bias. In particular, let's explore these three questions:

- ~ Whom are we most likely to pre• judge?
- ~ What determines the characteristics we attribute to them?
- ~ Do we know when we are pre• judging people?

Humans tend to prejudge other people on sight. We attribute characteristics to them based on appearance and behavior.

We prejudged Susan Boyle on sight - made conclusions about her ability to sing based on her appearance/behaviors on stage.

Display Slide #7: Fundamental Concepts of Human Bias

Fundamental Concepts of Human Bias

- Bias is a normal human attribute-even *well• intentioned* people have biases
- Biases are often unconscious or "implicit"
- Implicit biases manifest even in individuals who, at the conscious level, reject prejudices and stereotyping
- Implicit biases can influence our actions
- Understanding how implicit bias can affect our 1rerceptions and behavior is the first step to 'ovemde" implicit bias

Instructors: Note that this next slide just provides a quick preview of the questions to be asked and answered below. [Just state the questions, don't start to answer them.}

Display Slide #8: Understanding Implicit Bias

Understanding Implicit Bias
(Preview of questions to ask/answer)

- •Whom we are most likely to pre-judqe?
- What determines the characteristics we asslgl'l to them?
- Oo we know when we are prejudging people?

Whom are we most likely to pre-judge in this manner? We are more likely to prejudge the people we don't know.

Because we don't know the person, because this person is what scientists call an "ambiguous stimuli"-we are inclined to "fill in" what we don't know about the person.

What determines the characteristics we assign to them? What do we use to "fill in" this person?

We fill in this person's blank slate with group stereotypes.

Stereotypes are generalizations about groups-often based at least in part on facts. Stereotyping is one of the many ways we organize all the information that we must process every day.

What stereotypes might people attribute to these people?

Note to instructors: The first two bullets on the next slide will come up with separate clicks as the trainer asks/answers the questions.

Display Slide #9: Understanding Implicit Bias-Answers

To Understand Implicit Bias• Answers

- Whom do we pre judge?
  ' „We prejudge ··ambiguous stimuli'
- Whal determines the characteristics we attribute to lhern?
  :;Group ~Mreotypesfbtases

Instructors will click through the pictures of individuals and ask the question at left.

Display Slides #10-12: Pictures of individuals that may prompt stereotypes

We will return to the important point about stereotypes being based, at least in part, on facts.
The downside of stereotyping is that it does not recognize individuality, and policing MUST recognize individuality in order to be effective, safe, and just.

Do we know when we are prejudging and stereotyping people? The short answer is "not always." Prejudging is one of the mental processes that **can and does** occur outside of our conscious awareness.

DisplaySlide #13: To Understand Implicit Bias:

To Understand Implicit Bias:

- Whom do we pre judge?
  owe prejudge "ambiguous stimuli"
- What determines the characteristics we attribute to them?
  uGroup stereotypes/biases
- Do we know when we are doing this?
  nNot always.

Bases on Which People May be Stereotyped and Treated Differentially

When talking about bias in policing, many refer only to biases or stereotypes based on race, ethnicity or nationality. But these are not the only bases on which people stereotype. They comprise just one subset.

What are *other bases* on which people are stereotyped that could lead to differential behavior on the part of police as well as others in our society?

There are bases-other than race/ethnicity-on which people are stereotyped that could lead to differential behavior on the part of society members, including police. You listed a number of these including:

- Income
- English language abilities
- Gender
- Age
- Religious affiliation
- Profession
- Sexual orientation, identity

Click once to produce the heading at the top of the slide and ask the question. Have students generate answers and then click again to produce the list on the slide.

Display Slide #14: Bases on Which People May Be Stereotyped and Treated Differentially

Bases on Which People May Be Stereotyped and Treated Differentially

- Income
- English language abilities
- Gender
- Age
- Religious affiliation
- Profession
- Sexual orientation, identity
- etc.

Note to Instructors: *This may be an appropriate time to take a 15 minute break to set up the role play.*

Now we are going to conduct a role play exercise.

Role Play: Woman/Man with a Gun

Discussion/Debrief:

If the recruit team(s) responding to the women were less vigilant than the recruit team(s) that responded to the men:

- ~ Why do you think the recruit teams acted differently with the female versus the male subjects?
- ~ With what societal stereotypes is this behavior consistent?
- ~ What is the potential ramification to the officers of stereotyping women as not dangerous?

If the recruit teams responded with similar vigilance to the women and men:

- ~ Do you think some officers might have responded differently to the females than to the males?
- ~ With what societal stereotypes would that behavior be consistent?
- ~ What danger would they put themselves in?

This scenario, should make us consider:

- ~ What types of judgments we make based on a person's demographics and other factors.
- ~ How, when we fill in the blank slate of an "ambiguous stimuli" with "stereotypes," we can make wrong decisions.

This role play exercise brings home the point that policing based on stereotypes is unsafe.

Instructor implements "Woman/Man with a Gun" role plays. Refer to instructions and then debrief with the appropriate set of questions at left.

Display Slide #15: Role Play

Rola Play

Display Slide #16: Key Point

Key Point of Role Play

Policing based on stereotypes is unsafe.

(**The "Blink" Response**

Malcolm Gladwell in his bestselling book "Blink" is basically talking about implicit biases. He refers to our snap judgments about people and other things as "thinking without thinking." In his book, he gives many examples of how the blink response• our "thinking without thinking"-can be helpful to humans, but it also can be fallible. Our "thinking without thinking" is not a reliable source of information to guide policing decisions.

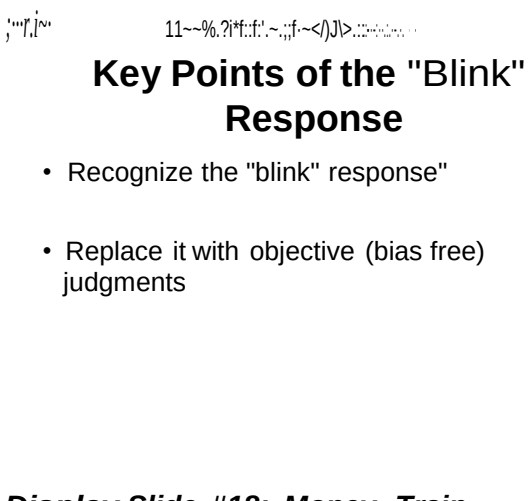
Not frisking a female when we have information that she is armed, is an example of how relying on our blink responses can make us unsafe as police professionals.

A key lesson of this training is to recognize the "blink response" in us and replace it with objective judgments based on the particular facts we face.

Let's take a look at this scene from the film, "Money Train." You'll see Woody Harrelson who is playing an undercover officer.

Note to Instructors: *Instructors may want t0 review Malcolm Gladwel/'s text prior to referencing it. Also, instructors might become familiar with other documents that describe the "thinking without thinking" concepts. See the "Psychology of Bias" tab at www.fairandimpartialpolicing.com*

Display Slide #17: Key Points of the "Blink" Response



Display Slide #18: Money Train

The instructor shows the clip from "Money Train" that portrays a scene on a subway where an officer witnesses a man being pick-pocketed by another man. (Scene

Selection #14, ftDipped".) The officer intercedes and points out to the victim that he has just been victimized. During the conversation, the officer realizes that he has been victimized as well-by the elderly woman who bumped into him in the train. While he saw her, he did not think that she was devious.

This scene demonstrates what we have learned about implicit bias. *We prejudge people we don't know.* The officer did not know the elderly woman, so he prejudged her.

We assign a group characteristic to them. The officer assigned a group characteristic to her-he decided that, as an old woman, she was not a criminal, she was not a risk.

Like the officer, *we don't always know when this is happening?* Often our biases are impacting us outside of conscious awareness. These are "implicit" biases.

Display Slide #19: Stereotyping and Human Bias

Stereotyping and Human Bias

- We prejudge people we don't know
- We assign a group characteristic to them.
- We do not always know when this Is happening.

(

The key point of this scene is that policing based on stereotypes is ineffective.

Display Slide #20: Key Point

Key Point

Policing based on stereotypes is ineffective.

You will deal, day in and day out, with an array of crime and disorder problems and interact with a wide range of community members from many cultures and circumstances.

Let's take a look at all-too-familiar images that we find on the streets of our nation's cities.

As you watch the following video, write down the various stereotypes that you or others associate with these individuals.

Note to Instructors *Instructors should pass out an index card to each of the trainees.*

The video is posted on YouTube: Mad World Video-Gary Jules Homeless People (by Fender 1990).
www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrPDVtxyiBk
This video is also available at www.fairandimpartialpolicing.com at "Training Programs," "Train-the-Trainer," and "Resources for Trainers." Play approximately 60 seconds of photos. Alternatively, instructors can create a video with still photos of homeless individuals. Play without sound.

DisplaySlide #21: Mad World Video• Gary Jules

Mad World Video - Gary Jules

What you just experienced is like a study conducted by Princeton University Professor Susan Fiske.

She used an MRI scanner to observe the brain activity in subjects when they saw pictures.

She reports that, generally, when people see pictures of humans, a certain part of the brain lights up. She has shown many subjects varied pictures of human beings and almost always that certain part of the brain lights up in the picture. It is the "this is a human being like me" MRI picture. Clearly this is not consciously activated; it occurs automatically.

At the conclusion of the video, instructor collects the cards. Read some of the responses on the index cards. Common/relevant descriptors: lazy, drunk, disgusting, mentally ill.

The goal of this exercise is to elicit a discussion about biases ***not basedon race/ethnicity.*** *A video of homeless people is used here to highlight biases based on socio-economic status.*

There is one exception. When the pictures are of the homeless, this part of the brain does not light up. That is, the brain does not register that these are human beings; instead the brain sees these people as "non human." The brain shows activity consistent with reactions of disgust and avoidance. This response occurs automatically.

Discussion Questions:

How do people in our society react to homeless people?

How might some officers-impacted by these same biases-treat the homeless person versus the person who is not homeless?

This exercise also helps us to think about how we, as officers, and society, in general, may treat people of low socio-economic status; or more broadly, how our biases may impact our behaviors toward people who are not "like us."

Our profession affords us the opportunity to deal with a wide range of groups of people. As police officers, we need to be aware how our implicit biases can lead to unfair, unjust, and ineffective policing.

We will return to these points later in this training. However, the key point we want to make here is that policing based on stereotypes can be UNJUST.

Possible Answers:

- *Avoidance of the homeless person*
- *Not making eye contact or looking away from the homeless person*

Possible answers:

- *Treat them with less respect*
- *Deal with them harshly*
- *Assume they are criminals*
- *Find their concerns or complaints less credible or worthy of attention*

Display Slide #22: Key Point

Key Point:

Policing based on stereotypes (biases) is unjust.

The Race-Crime Association

We have discussed some of the basics of implicit bias. Humans fill in "ambiguous stimuli" with group stereotypes. Often we don't know this is happening and yet it can impact on our perceptions and behavior.

Display Slide #23: The Race-Crime Association Studies

Research has documented implicit biases based on ethnicity/race, gender, sexual orientation, body shape, and age, to name a few.

Display Slide #24: Research documenting implicit biases

Research has documented implicit biases ("blink responses") linked to

- Ethnicity and race (e.q., Nosek, Banaji and Greenwald, 2002)
- Gender (e.g., Banaji and Hardin, 1996)
- Sexual orientation (e.g., Dasgupta and Rivera, 2008)
- Body shape (e.g., Bessenoff and Sherman, 2000)
- Age (e.g., Perdue and Gurtman, 1990), etc. etc.

And there are studies focusing on specific professions, such as doctors, nurses, prosecutors, judges, teachers, and law enforcement.

Display Slide #25: Implicit biases related to all professions

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Relevant to Humans in gJJ professions

- Current studies focusing on
  - o Doctors, nurses (e.g, VanRyn s Saha. 2011)
    - Biases on the basis of race, class, weight
  - CJ Lawyers, prosecutors and judges
    - Gender (e.g . Levinson & Young, 2010)
    - Race/ethnicity {e.g , Srnlth & Levinson, 2012)
  - D School teachers (e.g.. Van den Bergh et al. 2010)
  - u Law Enforcement (e.g., Correll et al., 2007; Peruche &Plant
  - *uEtc. etc.*

We will turn now to a specific subset of implicit biases that has particular relevance for the police profession: the Black-crime implicit bias. We will look at how we link Blacks to crime.

There are a number of scientific studies that have documented this implicit bias.

Display Slide #26: Turning to black• crime implicit bias

Turn now to research on an implicit bias with particular relevance to policing.

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(or 'Impilcil As5l)oi~tion'>

The "Shove" Study

First, let's take a look at a study in which the subjects watched a video of two people interacting. The discussion of the two individuals being observed in the video became heated and one of the two gave the other an "ambiguous shove." By ambiguous, I mean that the shove wasn't clearly aggressive and yet wasn't clearly "playing around" either. The subjects were then asked to rate the observed individuals' behaviors in terms of their level of aggressiveness and violence.

Some of the subjects saw a Black individual give the shove; others saw a White individual give the shove. Importantly, the Black and White actors had practiced many times to ensure that their shoves were identical. The researchers also made sure that other aspects of the individuals were the same, including dress, expression, and so forth.

How do you think the subjects interpreted the shove by the Black person versus the shove by the White person?

Note to Instructors: *The "Study," "Results," and "Replicated" bullets will appear with separate clicks.*

Click once to show the "Study" bullet.

Display Slide #27: The "Shove" Study

The "Shove" Study

- Study: How dtd p<Jopkt mtorprct lhl) shove by Bkicki! 'XlJl>tJs ttio s.li<M1 by Whitus?
- 1l Re.suit: The "shove"was per~elved M more thre(ltening when performed by a Bl~cK
- Repll<:E\ted and show~d Ihls was tme tor Mth White and Blad: subjects:

Click again to produce the "Resatts" bullet.

The researchers found that the subjects were likely to label the shove as more aggressive, more violent, when it was performed by a Black person than when the same act was performed by a Caucasian.

This was shown to be true for both White and Black subjects. We'll return to this point that even people who hold *conscious* non-prejudiced attitudes can be impacted by implicit biases.

This study provides support for what researchers call the Black-crime association.

The "Shove" study indicated that people are inclined to think Blacks are more aggressive.

Click a third time to show the {<Replicated" bullet.

Note to Instructor: *If asked, the instructor would report that this study used college students as research subjects. This fact should not reduce the credibility of the findings, however, as (1) many other studies, including some that use police officers as research subjects, affirm the findings found here; and (2) recruits and patrol officers are similar to college students.*

The Visual Perception Study

Another study, conducted by Jennifer Eberhardt of Stanford University and her colleagues, also tested the existence of the Black-crime implicit bias.

During the first phase of the study, the subjects sat passively in front of a computer screen. They were "primed" with Black male faces, White male faces or no faces. That is, one-third of the subjects saw flashing Black male faces, one-third saw flashing White male faces, and one-third• the control group-saw no faces (they saw only flashing lines).

In the second phase, the subjects were again in front of computer screens. They were shown a series of blurry objects that would become more and more clear with each frame advance. This happened very quickly and they were instructed to hit a certain computer key as soon as they could discern what the object was. They would then be asked to name the object.

Display Slide #28: The Visual Perception Study

The Visual Perception Study

- Subjects were "primed" with Black male faces, White mate faces, or *no* faces
- Completed object recognition task

(Eberhardt, Gotf, Purdie, & Davies, 2004}.

For instance, here is frame 1, frame 25 and frame 41.

Note to Instructor: *Instructor clicks three times on the gun slide to show how the object becomes more and more clear. [These slides are used with the permission of Dr. Eberhardt.]*

Display Slide #29: Levels of degradation

Levels of Degradation

Half of the objects were related to crime.

Display Slides #30 - 31: Crime relevant <Jbjects

Crime Relevant Object

Crime Relevant Object

Display Slide #32: Crime neutral/irrelevant objects

Other objects were crime neutral/irrelevant.

Crime Neutral Irrelevant Objects

The researchers measured how quickly the subjects were able to discern the object.

They wanted to see if thinking about Black faces (from the first phase of the study) made the crime objects more "accessible" to subjects.

Before we look at their hypotheses, let's consider some relevant background science. If two concepts are linked in our heads, psychological researchers have determined that, if we bring one to the fore, the other one is close behind. It is readily accessible.

So, for instance, if spent a few minutes speaking to you about doctors and medicine and then asked you to name a profession associated with females you would say ..... *[Jet the students fill in the blank with "nurses.'1* You wouldn't say

school teachers or nannies. Having you think about doctors and medicine made "nurses" accessible. That helps us understand the hypothesis for this study.

The key hypothesis was that, if the Black• crime implicit bias exists, then participants primed with Black male faces should be faster to identify crime-relevant objects than those primed with White male faces.

They further hypothesized that there should be no effect of the "priming" for how quickly the subjects could discern crime-irrelevant objects.

Let's look at the results.

At the bottom of this graph, we see our three groups-the groups that saw White faces, no faces and Black faces during the first part of the study.

At the left it says "frame number." The bars that will appear will indicate how quickly the groups of objects were identified. A low bar indicates "faster" responses (detecting the object in an early frame) than a high bar.

First I'm going to show you how quickly subjects in the three groups saw the non• crime objects.

The hypothesis is that there will be no differences in how quickly subjects in the three groups see non-crime objects. There is no reason to believe that people who looked at, say, Black faces, will see an umbrella more quickly than someone who looked at White faces or no faces.

These results confirm the hypothesis. Even though those bars look a little different in terms of their heights, those differences are not statistically significant. These bars

DisplaySlide #33: Hypotheses

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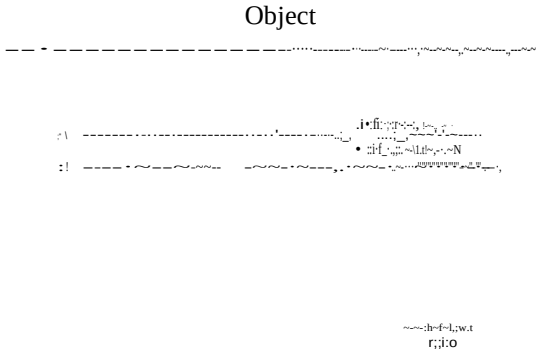
Hypotheses

If the Black-crime association impacts our visual perception, then:

- Participants primed with Black male faces should be faster to identify crime-relevant objects than those primed with White male faces.
- There should be no effect of prime for crime• irrelevant objects.

Note to Instructors: *The slide will first appear as shown below; then instructors should click six times, as directed, to produce results.*

DisplaySlide #34: Study Results



Click three times to produce the three blue bars.

show "no difference" in how quickly the three groups saw non-crime objects.

Next let's see what happened when the control group saw crime objects. Again, the hypothesis is that the speed at which they detect crime and non-crime objects should not be different because they did not see White or Black faces.

Click once to show the green crime-relevant "No Prime" group.

This confirms what we would expect. There is no reason to expect that people who looked at lines on a screen would detect blurry pictures of crime and non-crime objects differently.

But, if there is a Black-crime implicit bias, we would see it in the next two bars I will show.

Did the subjects who saw the Black faces in part 1 of the study see the crime objects more quickly than they saw non-crime objects and more quickly than the control group?

Click once to show the green crime-relevant bar for the "Black Prime" group.

Yes, the subjects who saw the Black faces in part 1 of the study discerned the crime objects significantly more quickly than they did the non-crime objects and more quickly than the control group.

This shows: Exposure to Black male faces facilitated the identification of crime-relevant objects. This indicates a link in people's heads between Black faces and crime.

But importantly, we need to see if exposure to White faces impacted on how quickly subjects saw crime related objects. Again, the hypothesis ls that seeing White faces will NOT facilitate recognition of crime objects.

Click one last time to show the green crime-relevant bar for the 'White Prime" group.

This is striking and is consistent with the hypothesis. This very high bar-higher than all others-actually indicates that seeing White faces HINDERS the recognition of crime objects. This implies we do not connect White faces and crime.

Object

The Findings: The results of Eberhardt and her colleagues affirmed a black-crime implicit bias:

- Exposure to Black male faces facilitated the identification of crime-relevant objects.
- Exposure to White male faces inhibited the identification of crime-relevant objects.

Display Slide #35: Results affirmed a black-crime implicit bias

Results: Affirmed a Black-Crime Implicit Bias

- Exposure to Black male faces facilitated the identification of crime-relevant objects.
- Exposure to White male faces inhibited the identification of crime-relevant objects.

Note to Instructors: *Instructors may wish to switch here.*

Be a Research Participant

Now, let's look at a study that shows how an implicit race-crime bias can impact on behavior.

A look at the work of Josh Correll, a professor of Psychology at the University of Chicago, and his colleagues will demonstrate the dangers of allowing stereotypes/biases to influence your actions.

Josh Correll and his colleagues conducted a study to assess whether the race of the person made a difference-using images on a computer screen of people holding a gun or harmless object. The participants were told if they saw someone holding a gun to press a computer keyboard key labeled "shoot." But if they saw a harmless object, they were to press a key labeled "don't shoot." They were directed to act as quickly as possible. Again, the people in the photos varied by race and whether they were holding a gun.

We will attempt to give you a flavor of this study from the subject point of view. I'm going to show you images of people and if you see a person holding a gun, shout 'THREAT." If you see a person holding a harmless object, say nothing. Like the research subjects, you must respond as quickly as possible.

Ready? Here we go.

Display Slide #36: Be a Research Participant

Be a Research Participant!

- We will see slides of backgrounds and then a person will appear-very quickly• with something in his hands.
- Shout "Threat" if you see a threat
- [Silent if no threat]

Note to Instructors: *Flash through the following slides very quickly. The trainees should have no more than a split-second to respond.*

These slides are used with the permission of Dr. Josh Correll.

DisplaySlides#37 - 56.

Correll and his colleagues measured:

- **Speed:** How fast people made the decision to "shoot" or "not to shoot"
- **Errors:** Whether or not the "shoot, don't Shoot" decision was the right decision

Results and Implications for Law Enforcement

The findings have critical implications for all of us in policing.

- Race did make a difference• affirming the implicit Black-crime bias.
- In terms of speed: Participants shot a White armed man slower than a Black armed man. The implication: An officer may react too slowly and be at risk of injury or death.
- With respect to errors: Participants were more likely to "shoot" an unarmed Black man than an unarmed White man.

Again, the Black-crime implicit bias is just one example of an implicit bias related to police.

Another example is a study looking at how we link Muslims with danger.

The Turban Effect Study

For example, a study published in 2008 by Australian researchers replicated Correll's methods but included Muslim-looking people in the computerized exercise.

Volunteers played a computer game that showed apartment balconies on which different figures appeared, some holding guns, others not; some were wearing Muslim-style turbans and others were bare• headed.

Display Slide #57: Correll Results: Race Made a Difference

Correll Results: Race Made a Difference

Speed: Participants shot a White armed man slower than a Black armed man.
Errors: Participants were more likely to shoot an *unarmed* Black man than an unarmed White man.

(Correll, 2002)

Note to Instructor: *The speed measure reflects that fact that individuals are slower to process "stereotype incongruent targets." As an example, since we link Blacks to weapons, it takes us longer to process the "stereotype incongruent" picture that has an unarmed Black (incongruent) than it would to process an armed Black (congruent).*

Display Slides #58: The Turban Effect Study

The Turban Effect Study

- Research volunteers played a computer game that showed apartment balconies on which different figures appeared, some wearing Muslim-style turbans or hijabs and others bare-headed.
- They were told to shoot at the targets carrying guns and spare those who were unarmed.

The subjects were told to shoot at the people carrying guns and spare those who were unarmed.

The researchers found that subjects were more likely to "shoot" at Muslim-looking (with Islamic headdress) people.

They also found a gender effect Subjects were more likely to shoot men than women (even when the men were harmless).

Thus, these findings indicate that the race• crime bias applies to other minority groups.

Implications: Implicit Bias Linked to Officer Safety and Effectiveness

What these studies show is that implicit biases may lead officers to see danger when it is not there and act aggressively with someone who is not actually a real threat; this is *over-vigilance.*

Conversely, officers may place themselves in danger by not reacting to a real threat; this is *under-vigilance.*

We saw under-vigilance with the "woman/man with a gun" role play. We saw this in the "Money Train" scene, as well. Officers who are under-vigilant because they are policing based on group stereotypes can put themselves in danger or be ineffective in preventing/solving crime.

Because of the race-crime implicit bias, officers:

- ~ May increase scrutiny of people of color
- ~ May interpret ambiguous behavior on the part of people of color as more threatening
- ~ May respond to people of color more aggressively

Display Slide #59: Turban Effect Results

The Turban Effect Results

- People ware mecn more likely to shocil Muslim· rooking characters even if they were cwying an 'innocent item' h;istead of~ weapon.
- They also'round a gender~ffod $ubjactswG'r& more tikely .lo flh(>Ol man than women even when the men were harmless;.

(UnJ.;elbach, Forga$& Dem~on. 20()8)

Display Slide #60: The Race-Crime Implicit Bias Linked to Officer Safety and Effectiveness

The Raes-Crime Implicit Bias Linked to Officer Safety and Effectiveness

- Officers may:
  - DIncrease their scrutiny of people of color
  - olnterpret ambiguous behavior on the part of people of color as more threatening
  - n Respond to people of color more aggressively, as criminals
  - nunder-respono to Whites, Asians, etc.
  - netc.

- May under-respond to people who are not of color-for instance, Whites, Asians.
- And so forth

There is a second study by Josh Correll that used police as subjects in a series of shoot/don't shoot simulations. We will talk about that study a little later in this training session.

Let's continue our review of what we know about biases and stereotypes.

Note to Instructor: *Instructors may wish to add an example or two from their own experience which further demonstrates the point that our implicit biases may lead to misjudgments. A good example might be when you were under-vigilant with* a *person because of his/her demographics, dress, or other factor.*

Biases and Stereotypes are Often Based, at Least in Part, on Fact

Display Slide #61: Biases are Based, at Least in Part, on Fact

Earlier today we talked about how stereotypes/biases are often based, at least in part on fact.

This is true for the race-crime stereotype.

Numerous studies have shown a strong link between economic status and street crime. That is, poor people are disproportionately involved in street crime; conversely, people with means/money are under-represented among people who commit street crime. (They are more likely to commit white collar crime, not street crimes.)

In our country, as well as many other countries, there is disproportionate representation of people of color among lower income individuals.

Note to Instructors: *After stating that stereotypes/biases are often based in part on fact, the instructor might provide an example from his/her own life. The instructor should be careful in selecting the example. The wrong selection will offend some in the room and/or otherwise present the instructor as* a *poor role model for the messages in this curriculum. The safest examples will use the instructor* as *the object of his/her own humor (e.g., you are a male who spent 45 minutes looking for* a *location because you would not ask for directions) or will link another individual to a positive group stereotype (e.g., the gay friend with fabulous taste in clothes and decor). A humorous example is best.*

So the result of those two facts-(A) lower income people are disproportionately represented among people who commit street crimes; (B) people of color are disproportionately represented among lower income levels-produces this outcome: A+B=C confirmed by criminologists: "People of color are disproportionately represented among people who commit street crimes."

This is an example of our statement that stereotypes are based, in part, on fact.

But, as we'll continue to show in this training, that stereotypes are based in part on fact does not justify you making policing decisions based on those stereotypes.

Where we err is when we automatically treat individuals in the group as if they fit the stereotype. ***Policing decisions based on biases and generalizations about groups can be unsafe, ineffective and unjust.***

Note to instructors: *Many studies support the points made on the next slide. The Topical Bibliography lists a number of references for these points.*

Note: The term "Street Crimes" is merely used to distinguish between crimes like burglary, prostitution, and robbery and "crimes of the powerful," that include tax evasion, fraud, and so forth.

Instructors should click three times to separately display the three bullets. Use the exact wording at left and on the slide.

Display Slide #62: Economic Status, Race and Crime

Economic Status, Race and Crime

- A= Lower income people are disproportionately represented among people who commit street crimes
- B =People of color are disproportionately represented in lower income levels
- A+B=C People of color are disproportionately represented among people who commit street crimes

Instructors: Don't forget to make the important points at left!!

Let's take a look at this clip from the film "Crash."

DisplaySlide #63: Crash Scene-The Streets of Los Angeles

Discussion/Debrief:

In this scene, the character, played by Sandra Bullock, fears that two Black men are criminals and this turns out to be accurate. Her stereotype became true.

Of course, that happens sometimes. Yet there are also situations where a fear-or lack of fear-based on biases is inaccurate. You may assume a woman does not have a gun, when she does.

Your implicit biases might be right sometimes, but they can also be wrong. Because they are not reliable, you should not police based on your biases.

Policing based on stereotypes or biases is unsafe, ineffective, and unjust.

Note to Instructors: *Show the scene in crash where Sandra Bullock and her husband are robbed by the two Black males. (In the scene labeled "Blind Fear" at about 7:49.)*

Key Point

Policing based on stereotypes/biases Is unsafe, ineffective, and unjust

Note to Instructors: *Instructors might switch here.*

Implicit Bias Manifests in Non-Prejudiced People

So what else do we know about biases and stereotypes? As we shared earlier in this session: Implicit bias manifests itself even in non-prejudiced people. It manifests in people who **consciously** hold non-prejudiced ideals and attitudes.

One example of this finding is that many people who are themselves racial/ethnic minorities have a race-crime implicit bias. Recall, that in the "Shove Study," even Black subjects perceived the Black person's shove to be more aggressive.

This finding-that even members of racial/ethnic groups targeted by stereotypes have those same implicit biases-is true for other groups, too. Women can have biases about women, poor people can have biases about poor people, and so forth.

Understanding that bias manifests even in non-prejudiced people is important because some people think that biased policing is "someone else's issue." They think that because they have progressive attitudes towards racial and other groups that their behavior must be bias free. Quite likely, they are wrong.

Display Slide #65: Implicit Bias Manifests in Non-Prejudiced People

Addressing Implicit Bias

So what do we do about our implicit biases? There are two "remedies" for our implicit bias affliction: (1) we can try to reduce our implicit biases, and (2) we can recognize our biases and thwart their impact on our behavior.

Let's look at what the science tells us about the first - trying to reduce our implicit biases.

Display Slide #66: Addressing Implicit Bias

We will discuss two mechanisms that have been shown by research to reduce our human biases. One is related to what has been referred to as the "contact theory" and another has to do with "unlinking" stereotypes.

We turn first to the "contact theory."

Display Slide #67: Contact Theory: Reducing Implicit Bias

Contact Theory

According to the "contact theory," positive contact with other groups reduces both conscious and implicit biases.

That is, our biases toward a group are reduced when we have more positive contacts with that group. We begin to see members of that group as individuals.

If you remember, when we began this module, we talked about how we use stereotypes/biases to "fill in" people we do not know.

It is logical that the more we "know" people from different cultural, racial, socio• economic, religious, etc. backgrounds, the more we begin to see their individuality, which reduces our biases.

According to this theory:

- Biases against Muslims are weaker in people who have positive interactions with Muslims.
- Biases against Hispanics are weaker in people who have positive interactions with Hispanics.
- Biases against gays and lesbians are weaker. ....
- Biases against poor people, homeless are weaker .....

contactrheory: Reducing ImplicItBIas

Pos:itive contact with other groups reduces both conscious and lmpliqit blases.

Note to Instructors: If you have a personal story which demonstrates the positive effect of the contact theory, you may wish to share it here.

Contact Theory and Cops

A study conducted by Peruche and Plant assessed the impact of positive personal contact on the implicit racial biases of police officers.

They measured implicit racial bias using computer "shoot, don't shoot" simulations and also had the officers complete questionnaires about positive and negative interactions with racial/ethnic minorities.

They found that officers with higher levels of positive contacts with racial/ethnic minorities had less or weaker implicit racial/ethnic biases.

So, just as the science of bias has helped us understand how normal, human biases can impact our perceptions and behavior, science has also demonstrated how we can use *very* normal, human interactions to help reduce our implicit biases.

And the contact theory works two ways for police. As discussed above, we can harness the contact theory to reduce our own biases. But additionally, we can use the contact theory to reduce community members' biases about police.

Let's watch this video.

These officers are apparently unknown to the community members. They are "ambiguous stimuli" and so the community members "filled them in" with negative stereotypes they have about law enforcement. What if, instead, these cops had formed positive relationships with the members of the community? They would be seen as individuals-and hopefully good cops-rather than as the stereotype. This is how we can use the contact theory to reduce biases against members of our profession.

Display Slide #68: Personal Contacts and Implicit Biases in Officers

Personal Contacts and Implicit Biases in Officers

- Peruche and Plant (2006) Measured implicit bias on the part of officers
  - o Shoot/don't shoot simulator to measure implicit bias.
  - o Police, too, manifest implicit racial bias
  - o But implicit racial/ethnic bias is weaker in officers who report positive interpersonal contacts with racial/ethnic minorities

Note to Instructors: *Play the "Cops with a Boy" video on the fairandimparlialpolicing.com web site ("Trainer Resources').*

Unlinking Stereotypes

A second way to reduce our implicit biases is to train our brains to unlink the stereotypes. This strategy is more difficult to do because it took a lifetime to develop our group stereotypes.

That said, we want to share here some "good news" research about how high quality police firearms training seems to do just this-unlink the stereotypes we associate with groups.

A person could "unlearn" a linkage between threat (crime) and people of color IF they were repeatedly exposed to stimuli where there was a random pairing of threat and race. That is, the person might see threat linked to White people as often as they see threat linked to a person of color.

Similarly, with respect to gender stereotypes, a person can unlearn gender/threat pairings if they see women linked to threat as often as they see men linked to threat.

Some use-of-force scenario-based (role play) training methods (whether Simunitions or computer simulator) do just this. Over and over again, officers find themselves in scenarios where demographics do not predict threat. That is, they find during these scenarios that they are just as likely to face a threat from a woman as a man, from a White person as person of color, from an old person as a younger person.

Josh Correll's second study provides confirmation of this potential to "unlearn" the race-crime stereotype with good use-of• force training. In his second "shoot/don't shoot" study, Correll and his colleagues used both police and civilian research subjects. Again they measured the speed of the decision to shoot and the errors made.

Display Slide #69: Unlinking Stereotypes: Correll Study #2

Unlinking Stereotypes:
Correll Study #2 (2007)

- Speed: Bothpo!lce and clviltans exhtbiled robust reclal bias
- Errors.: Blas was les~ likely to manifest itself in the decisit>nto by police
- Bottom Line: flol1ce made the correct declsiens.
- Implh;atlon~Hi9h quality, role pl&y use-of-fcrce tralnfng helps p¢!ice •·unlink" ra<:e & crlrne for sp!it·secoQd li$e·of.f<;itce de{;isloM.

One measure-speed-confirmed that unconscious racial bias exists in both police and civilians.

But, importantly, in terms of errors, police (even though biases slowed some of their responses) were likely to make the right decision to shoot or not shoot.

The researchers concluded that police do have implicit racial biases, but frequent, scenario-based use-of-force training that randomly pairs threat and demographics helps police "unlearn" stereotypes about who may pose a threat when it comes to the split second, use-of-force decisions, such as decisions to shoot.

Note to Instructors: Do not generalize the results of Correll #2 beyond the use-of-force decisions encompassed by scenario-based use-of-force training. Implying that this finding generalizes to all police decisions is untrue and negates the key messages in this unit.

Implementing "Controlled" Behavior

Again, we are discussing here what we are supposed to do about our human biases. Above, we talked about mechanisms for reducing implicit bias-referencing the contact theory and how police training seems to "unlink" stereotypes and groups for those key split-second use-of-force decisions.

Display Slide #70: Implementing "Controlled" (unbiased) Behavior

SQ~~1~1~'fdF/

Implementing Controlled (unbiased) Behavior"

- *II we recognize our biases*
- We can implement ~controlled behaviors" that override our (natural) Implicit biases.

One of the most important and effective ways we can respond to our human biases is to recognize them and decide NOT to let our behavior reflect those biases.

The scientists talk about implementing "controlled behaviors" instead of behaviors based on biases. They have shown that people who recognize their biases and are motivated to be unbiased, can effectively override their biases and implement fair and impartial behavior.

Summary

In summary, what have we learned?

Bias is a normal human attribute-even well-intentioned people have implicit biases.

Biases are often unconscious or "implicit."

Implicit biases manifest even in individuals who, at the conscious level, reject prejudices and stereotyping.

Implicit biases can influence our actions.

Understanding how implicit bias can affect our behavior is the first step to "override" implicit bias.

The next module will explore how biased policing impacts on community members and police departments.

Display Slide #71: The Fundamental Concepts of Human Bias

Fundamental Concepts of Human Bias

- Bias is a normal human attribute-even *well-intentioned* people have biases
- Biases are often unconscious or "implicit"
- Implicit biases manifest even in individuals who, at the conscious level, reject prejudices and stereotyping
- Implicit biases can influence our actions
- Understanding how implicit bias can affect our exceptions and behavior is Iha first step to 'override" implicit bias

Note to Instructors: Instructors should

Take a short break here and switch.

Fair and Impartial Policing

Module 2: The Impact of Biased Policing on Community Members and the Department

Instructor: Name of Instructor/Trainer

Time: 60 minutes

Summary and Rationale:

The purpose of this module is to discuss how biased policing affects the department and the community. It provides an opportunity for officers to hear, first-hand, from individuals-including sworn officers-who have been the subject of bias, including biased policing. This module also discusses the impact of biased policing on the department through the concept of police legitimacy. The module articulates how legitimacy is threatened and how it is strengthened. The importance of procedural justice in producing police legitimacy is highlighted and the role of fair and impartial policing is discussed. Students learn skills for producing procedural justice

Performance Objectives:

At the completion of this module, trainees will be able to:

- Reflect upon and articulate the impact biased policing has on community members.
- Reflect upon and articulate the impact of biased policing on their law enforcement organizations.
- Understand the importance of police legitimacy and the threats to it.
- Understand how procedural justice produces police legitimacy and be able to articulate the major components of procedural justice.
- Understand the central role of fair and impartial policing in producing procedural justice and thus legitimacy.

Equipment:

- Laptop with internal DVD drive
- Projector and screen

Materials/Resources:

- ~ Testimonials from agency personnel or community members who have been subjects of police bias
- } California POST video, "Racial Profiling: Issues and Impact." (This training video is only available to California law enforcement agencies and academies.)
- ~ Video: Civil Rights Protest, Alabama 1963
- ~ Video: Baltimore Cop and Skateboarder
- ;.. Participants' Manuals

Room Setup: The optimal setup is a "U" shaped configuration or a large semi• circle configuration to allow training participants to see each other throughout the training session. However, if the recruit class is large, a standard classroom configuration may be used.

Comments: The Testimonial. The most powerful training tool of this module is the testimonial(s) from citizens, officers (including individuals from the class), and leadership from the law enforcement agency/academy who perceive they have been subjected to police bias. (Instructors could also arrange for individuals to speak about other bias experiences that did not involve police, for instance, experiences involving bias manifested by retail establishment, landlords, etc.)

Police professionals, from the law enforcement agency, can be particularly powerful and effective voices. Instructors are encouraged to identify speakers who can speak, not only to racial/ethnic bias, but to other potential biases, such as those based on gender, age, socio-economic status, religious affiliation and/or sexual orientation.

This personal commentary can have a lasting impression on trainees. It is important that instructors carefully consider and select the speakers they will engage for this session. If a class member is selected, s/he should be one who has garnered the respect of his/her fellow classmates.

Additionally, it should very clear, from the experience s/he shares, that *biased policing* occurred. (Otherwise, it might just be a story about "bad" policing that just happened to involve a minority group member.) Sometimes the language used by the police involved in the incident conveys this; in other situations, the person may be able to articulate that the way s/he was treated by the police was different from that received by a person not in a group that is subject to police biases. For example, in a testimonial included in a CA POST training video, an off-duty Black officer, changing his flat tire, could compare how he was treated by the responding police officer to the Caucasian person also changing a tire nearby.

There are several alternatives to presenting "live" testimonials in class. The instructors could show videos of testimonials. Instructors may go to:

www.fairandimpartialpolicing.com for sample video testimonials. (See "Training Programs," "Train-the-Trainer" and "Resources for Trainers.")

California Trainers:

Instructors from California agencies and academies may use the California POST training video that includes effective case scenarios of biased policing. Instructors show the California POST: "Racial Profiling: Issues and Impact" training DVD segment, "Bike rider out of place." Show the entire segment, including the subsequent segments in which the Black man discusses his experience with his wife. These are segments at 23:14 and 31 :58 on the DVD.

Instructor debrief: *Thinking about the video segment .....*

- ~ *How is the bike rider feeling? How would you feel?*
- ~ *What* is *the potential long-term impact of this interaction on the relationship between the bike rider and the officer(s) assigned to his neighborhood? Or to the police department* as *a whole?*

Additionally or alternatively, instructors could show the California POST: "Racial Profiling: Issues and Impact" segment that depicts an off-duty police officer changing his tire. This segment is at about 44:15 on the DVD.

Instructor debrief:

- ~ *This individual was relatively understanding although offended. How might another person-who is not himself an officer-fee/ about such an experience? How might it affect his overall attitude toward police?*

With either or both videos, the discussion of how these interactions might impact on the subject's view of the police will provide a transition to the discussion of police legitimacy.

Alternatively, instructors may wish to create their own training video by filming [with the written consent of the individual(s) being filmed] the testimonials provided at a training session that can be shown in later training sessions. (If you film a testimonial and the speaker agrees, please send it to the FIP team for posting on the web site for others to use.)

Another alternative to "live" testimonials, is the presentation and discussion of testimonials contained in written works. For instance, in his book, 'The Presumption of Guilt," Harvard Law Professor Charles Ogletree recounts the stories of 100 African American men-both famous and everyday Americans• who reflect on their experiences with law enforcement officers. Instructors can either read select narratives from the text and engage trainees in discussions

about the scenario or instructors may wish to adapt various narratives and create a series of case studies to be used during small group exercises and discussion.

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The Impact of Biased Policing on Community Members and the Department

CONTENT	INSTRUCTOR NOTES/REFERENCE
Introduction During the previous session, we described what science has taught us about implicit bias, how implicit bias can impact on the perceptions and behavior of you and your fellow officers. We focused on forms of implicit bias that have particular relevance for policing, including the race-crime implicit bias. We argued that biased policing results in ineffective, unsafe and unjust policing. In this session, we will look at the impact of biased policing on community members and on the law enforcement agency.	*Display Slide: The Impact of Biased Policing on Community Members and the Department*
The Impact of Biased Policing on Community Members Biased policing, whether subtle or overt, can have detrimental effects on community members.	*Display Slide: Biased Actions Can Ne,f/atively Impact* Biased Actions Can Negatively Impact: • Community members •Your law enforcement agency

OPTION: Live Testimonial

We have asked to share his/her experience with you.

Possible prompts/questions:

- Tell us about the bias situation you encountered.
- How many times have you experienced a situation which you perceived as biased?
- How did you feel immediately/during the interaction with the officer(s)?
- What were your feelings later, when you had a chance to think about the interactions in detail?
- Did you share your experience and feelings with others? Why or why not?
- Did the interaction change your perception of police officers? In what way?

Articulate "the take-away" from your experience that would help trainees in their future interactions with the community.

OPTION: Videos at www.fairandimpartialpolicing.com

Possible questions (depending on the video content):

- *Police officers are often more understanding of these situations. How might a non-sworn person feel about this incident?*
- *How might such an experience impact on this person's view of police?*

Display Slide: The Impact of Biased Policing on Community Members

The Impact of Biased Policing on Community Members

Testimonial

Note to Instructors: The purpose of this lesson is to put a "human face/emotion" on biased policing and to create a learning environment where trainees can safely and comfortably discuss their own experiences.

If a live testimonial is not possible, instructors may refer to videos located at www.fairandimpartialpolicing.com. Instructors may also refer to the summary sheet for this module which describes other options to replace a live testimonial.

The Impact of Biased Policing on the Law Enforcement Agency

Biased policing can also have detrimental impacts on your law enforcement agency. We will explore this impact through the concept of police legitimacy.

"Police Legitimacy": The public view that the police are entitled to exercise authority.

Legitimacy reflects the trust and confidence in the police; if people see the police as legitimate, they are willing to accept police authority.

Legitimacy is beneficial to the police because it promotes acceptance of police decisions; cooperation with the police; and, it can even promote compliance with the law.

Display Slide: The Impact of Biased Policing on the Law Enforcement Agency

The Impact of Biased Policing on the Law Enforcement Agency

Police Legitimacy

The public view that the police are entitled to exercise authority.

Display Slide: Legitimacy Promotes

Legitimacy Promotes

- Acceptance of police decisions
- Cooperation with the police
- Compliance with the law

What specific things might people do if they have trust and confidence in the police, that is, If they see your police department as a legitimate authority?

On the first click, the heading of the next slide will appear. After trainees have generated some responses to the question at left, click to display some response options.

Display Slide: Community Members....

Community Members Who See Police as Legitimate Authorities ....

- Assist with crime prevention efforts
- Call the police when a crime occurs
- Provide information about criminal activity
- Serve as a witness
- Believe an officer who is testifying.

Research demonstrates that police cannot be effective without the support and cooperation of the community.

Threats to Police Legitimacy

There are significant threats to police legitimacy, some of which you can impact and some that you cannot. Some key threats are the history of police in this country, the views that immigrants bring with them, and disrespectful, abusive and/or biased interactions with community members.

Display Slide: Threats to Police Legitimacy

Threats to Police Legitimacy

- History of police in the US
- Views of police that immigrants bring with them to the US
- Disrespectful, abusive and/or biased interactions with community members

One threat to legitimacy that you cannot impact directly is police history, including modern history.

Since the establishment of the first police forces in the United States, the police have faced numerous challenges to their legitimacy as an institution, usually as a result of police misconduct.

Instances of police misconduct including use of excessive force-whether from the 1950s and 1960s or as recently as incidents such as Amadou Diallo in New York and Rodney King in Los Angeles-are embedded in the memories of local communities. Such incidents have produced reactions ranging from indictments of police practices to full scale riots.

Display Slide: Policing History and Our Communities

Policing History and Our Communities

- Cases of national attention
  - Live in our national memory
- Cases of local attention
  - Live in our community members' memory for generations

Particularly important for our discussion today, the police had very tumultuous relationships with some of the diverse communities that they served. This included people of color, immigrants, gays and lesbians to name a few.

Take a look at this video showing the police. during the civil rights era.

Display Slide: Civil Rights Protest Alabama 1963

Note to Instructor: This 2:11 video is *available on YouTube: www.voutube.com. Search: "Civil Rights Protest Alabama 1963" Note that the beginning of the video depicts respectful and peaceful interection between the protesters and the police-as the video progresses, the interaction becomes slowly more and more violent.*

While many of you have no direct memory of these events and while you personally did not create this history, you police individuals who do remember this history and whose views of police are still impacted by them. With these individuals, the challenge is even greater to produce police legitimacy.

Display Slide: Understanding Our History

Understanding our History

- You personally did not create our history
- But you police within the context of it.
- With certain individuals, it is even harder to produce police legitimacy.

Slide: Stonewall: 1969

And the police history of tumultuous relationships with communities is not limited to people of color.

Some of you might be aware of the confrontations between NYPD and the gay customers of the Stonewall Inn-a popular nightclub in Greenwich Village-and the subsequent protests which launched the gay rights movement.

Beginning of the Gay Rights Movement

Note to Instructor: This incidents of Stonewall are as follows:
In the early hours of June 28, 1969, a group of gay customers, who had grown angry at what they perceived to be police harassment, took a stand and a riot broke out. (NY law prohibited openly gay behavior and NYPD regularly raided businesses that gay men and women frequented.) For days following, demonstrations of varying intensity took place throughout the city. The Stonewall riots inspired LGB Tpeople throughout the country to organize in support of gay rights, and within two years after the riots, gay rights groups had been started in nearly every major city in the United States.

Another threat to legitimacy that you cannot impact directly is the views of police that immigrants to this country bring with them. These immigrants bring with them their own experiences with police some of which are very abusive and tyrannical.

Display Slide: Policing Our Immigrant Communities

Policing Our Immigrant Communities

- Immigrants from nations in which the police are tyrannical and abusive
- Immigrants may be hesitant to trust American police officers-based on their experiences in their home countries

Again, police history-including the histories that immigrants might bring with them to this country• is one of the challenges to achieving legitimacy. It is, however, one that you cannot impact directly; that is, you cannot change that history.

But there is another threat to police legitimacy that you *can* impact directly. This threat comes from the one-on-one interactions with community

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members that police have every single day. Disrespectful, abusive, and/or biased behavior will impact on police legitimacy. It will harm the trust and confidence that you need to do your jobs.

Strengthening Police Legitimacy Through Procedural Justice

Now let's turn to the ways that police officers can strengthen police legitimacy. Police legitimacy can be achieved through procedural justice, which encompasses fair and impartial policing.

Display Slide: Strengthening Police Legitimacy Through Procedural Justice

[)isplay Slide: Procedural Justice

Procedural Justice

The term "Procedural Justice" refers to the procedures used by police officers where community members are treated with respect, dignity and fairness.

The procedures used by police officers where community members are treated with respect, dignity and fairness.

Display Slide: Achieving Police Legitimacy

AchievingPolice Legitimacy

Procedural justice is what you can implement during every single encounter that you have with the public and, in so doing, you will enhance your agency's legitimacy. Police gain legitimacy - and thereby the support of community members - through procedural justice, including fair and impartial policing.

To help us better understand HOW procedural justice influences community members' assessments of encounters with police, let's take a look at the "Procedural Justice Formula."

- A = Outcome of interaction with the police (e.g., warning, ticket, arrest)
- B = The process used by the police during the interaction (e.g., respectful, fair)
- A+B=C
- C = A community member's assessment of the officer and the organization.

The procedural justice perspective acknowledges that in an interaction with a community member, the outcome for that person will matter to them.

That is, the person will evaluate the encounter, in part, based on whether s/he was given a ticket, arrested, and so forth. But as important, or even more important to that person's evaluation, will be *how s/he* was *treated* by the officer. Did the officer listen? Was she respectful? Was she fair and impartial?

Let's take a look at these data from a study looking at how community members evaluate encounters with the police. In this study, individuals who had been subject to a traffic stop reported in a survey on the outcome of the stop, how the officer treated them, and on their overall impressions of the officer and the stop.

In this first set of results we have the subject's overall evaluation of the officer and the department and we can compare those results across those who were and were not given a ticket The respondents who either did or did not get a ticket rated the event in terms of:

- Whether the officer handled the situation well
- How satisfied they were with the way they were treated
- Their trust in the police department to make decisions.

Display Slide: The Procedural Justice Formula

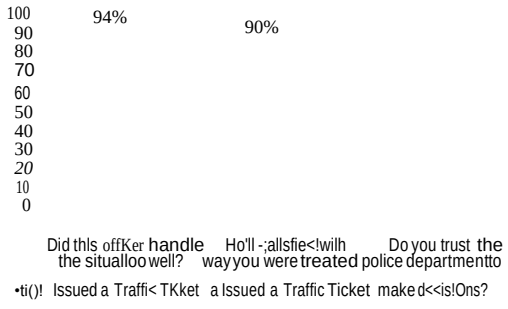
Procedural Justice Formula

- A = Outcome of interaction with police officer (e.g., warning, ticket, arrest)
- B = The process used by the police during the interaction (e.g., elements of procedural justice such as respect)
- A+B=C
- C = Community member's assessment of the officer and department

Note to Instructor: The following slides are used with permission from Professor Dennis Rosenbaum, Principal Investigator of the NIJ Platform Project. Professor Rosenbaum is a professor of criminology, University of Illinois at Chicago.

Display Slide: Outcome Matters

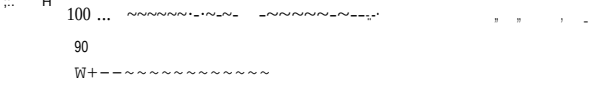
Outcome Matters: Getting a Ticket



These results show that outcome matters. The blue bars show the evaluations by the individuals who did not get a ticket and the red bars show the results for the individuals who DID get a ticket. The overall evaluations of the incidents were more favorable when the person got what they thought was a good outcome. For example, when asked if they thought that the officer "handled the situation well," 94% of the people who DID NOT get a ticket answered "yes"; and 54% of the people who DID receive a ticket said that the officer handled the situation well.

But additional results from this same study shows how powerful *process* is to individual evaluations of incidents with police. This slide shows only the results from individuals who DID get a ticket. It shows how satisfied they were with the incident incorporating their view of the process. The first two bars show that when the officer listened to the person they were much more likely to give the incident a positive evaluation than when the officer did not.

Display Slide: Process Matters When Getting a Ticket



Sixty-two percent of the individuals who got a ticket but who reported that the officer listened to them rated the incident favorably. In contrast, only 8 percent of the individuals who got a ticket and reported that the officer did not listen to them rated the incident favorably.

The next set of bars conveys the same important point. Here we see the ratings of incidents from people who got tickets, but whose experience varied by whether the officer was polite. If the officer was polite 60% of the people rated the incident favorably, even though they got a ticket. Only 5% of the individuals who got a ticket from an impolite officer rated the incident favorably.

Research also shows that process can also impact on whether a community member will voluntarily accept the police officer's decision in an encounter.

In this study *we have information on the outcome of their encounter, the community member's assessment of whether or not the process* was *good, and their willingness to accept police decisions. Again, outcome matters, but so* does *the perception of officer fairness.*

Let's start by looking at the evaluations of incidents where the person did not like the outcome.

Only 3% of those who had a bad outcome and rated the process as poor reported that they would voluntarily accept police decisions. In contrast, a full 73% of those who had a bad outcome and rated the process as good reported that they would voluntarily accept police decisions.

Next are the results for the individuals who reported a good outcome. Again we see how powerful the process is to the person's willingness to accept police decisions.

This next result is striking. Of the individuals who had a good outcome, but rated the process as poor, only 15% said they would accept police decisions.

In stark contrast, of the individuals who had a good outcome, but rated the process as poor, a full 87% said they would accept police decisions.

Display Slide: Research

Research: Community Members Voluntarily Accept Police Decisions

- When there is a bad outcome wilh poor trealment 3% of lhetime.
- When there is a bad outcome with good treatment 73% of the time.
- When there is a good outcome with poor treatment 15% of the time.
- When there is a good outcome with good treatment 87% of the lime.

Slide: Procedural Justice in Action

Procedural Justice in Action: How Do You Do This

So we know from the study results that the process of an encounter is important. How do community members judge the process of an encounter? Or asked another way: What are the components of procedural justice? This has been studied extensively and researchers have concluded that there are several key components of procedural justice. They are the quality of the treatment and quality of the decision making.

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Display Slide: Components of Procedural Justice

In key aspect of "Quality of Treatment" is whether or not the person was treated with respect.

Regarding "Quality of decision making," individuals evaluate the encounters based on whether or not they had a "voice" in the encounter and whether they perceived the officer to be *neutral and impartial.*

Components of Procedural Justice

- Quality of treatment:
  - o Demonstrating Respect
- Quality of decision-making
  - CJ Giving "Voice" to community members
  - o Acting in a neutral, impartial manner

These three are RVN: Voice, respect, neutrality.

Respect: By "respect" we mean that the officer treats the community member with dignity. This validates the person as a human being, regardless of whether the person is a law abiding individual, a victim or a perpetrator.

Voice: By "voice" we mean that the officer allows the person to voice their perspective and explanation. The officer can produce this through active listening.

Having a voice makes people feel that they are a part of the process and that they have input in the decision, even if it does not impact the decision.

Display Slide: The Three Components

The Three Components:

- Respect: Treating people with dignity
- Voice: Allowing people to tell their side of the story
- Neutrality: Decision-making based on facts, not personal biases

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Neutrality: The neutrality component reflects the person's perception that the officer is making decisions based on consistently applied legal principles and the facts at hand, not the officer's personal biases. This is the link between procedural justice and fair and impartial policing. Police gain legitimacy through fair and impartial policing.

Researchers have concluded that: ""When people believe that profiling is widespread and/or that they have been profiled, their support for police fades" (Tyler and Wakslak, 2004, p. 255; see also Weitzer and Tuch, 2002).

Display Slide: Gaining Legitimacy

Gaining legitimacy through fair and impartial policing

"When people believe that profiling is widespread and/or that they have been profiled, their support for police fades"

(Tyler and Wakslak, 2004, p. 255; see also Weitzer and Tuch, 2002).

Note to Instructors: Show video on YouTube and ask participants to carefully observe both what the Baltimore police officer does and the skateboarders' response to the officer. In YouTube, search for "Baltimore County Cop Takes Skate Board for Sitting." Stop the video at 2:45.

Let's take a look at what these principles look like in practice. As you look at this video, think about:

- What is a "good outcome" for the skateboarders?
- What is a "bad outcome" for the skateboarders?

Display Slide: As You Look at this Video ...

As You Look at this Video, Think About...

- What is a "good outcome" for the skateboarders?
- What is a "bad outcome" for the skateboarders?
- Recall what the research says .....

Recall What the Research Says About Community Members Accepting Police Decisions

- When there is a bad outcome with poor process only 3% reported that they would voluntarily accept police decisions.
- When there is a bad outcome but with a good process, 73% will accept police decisions.
- When there is a good outcome with a poor process the percent is 15%
- When there is a good outcome with good process the percent jumps to 87%

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Display Slide: Research

Research: Community Members Voluntarily Accept Police Decisions

- When there is a bad outcome with poor treatment 3% of the time.
- When there is a bad outcome with good treatment 73% of the time.
- When there is a good outcome with poor treatment 15% of the lime.
- When there is a good outcome with good treatment 87% of the lime.

What Did the Baltimore Officer Do Well?

- Did he treat the skateboarders with respect?
- Did he listen?
- Did he appear to practice fair and impartial policing?

Display Slide: What Did the Baltimore Cop Do Well?

- Did he treat the skateboarders with respect?
- Did he listen?
- Did he appear to practice fair and impartial policing?

Is there anything you think he could have done better?

Let's take each of these three components of procedural justice and turn it into skills for you. For each, we will identify the action taken, the skill the action represents, and the result of the action.

Respect: Taking a closer look at how respect is demonstrated, we see the following action, skills and results:

- Action: Officers treat ALL individuals• regardless of status-with dignity and respect
- Skill: Checking cynicism; developing respectful communication and relationships
- Result: Validates the individual as a human being (remember Susan Fiske and the homeless study)

You show respect through your communication, and keep in mind that your non-verbal communication can be as important as your verbal communication.

Research shows that:

- Verbal communication accounts for 7 percent of information communicated.
- Tone and volume account for 38 percent of information communicated.
- Body language accounts for 55 percent of information communicated

What are some negative non-verbal communications that could negate communications of respect?

Display Slide: Take a Closer Look-Respect

Take a Closer Look ... Respect

- Action: Officers treat ALL individuals• regardless of status-with dignity and respect
- Skill: Checking cynicism; Developing respectful communication and relationships
- Result: Validates the individual as a human being

Display Slide: Watch Your Non-Verbal Communication

Watch Your Non-Verbal Communication

- oVerbal communication accounts for 7% of information communicated.
- oTone and volume account for 38% of information communicated.
- rJBody language accounts for 55% of information communicated

Note to Instructor: Potential responses may be:

- *Arms folded*
- *Handon gun*
- *Not making eye contact*
- *Overbearing stance*

Voice:

- Action: Allow community members to voice their point of view
- Skill: Active listening
- Result Having a voice makes people feel that they are a part of the process and that they have input in the decision, even if it does not impact the decision.

Display Slide: Take a Closer Look-Voice

Taking a Closer Look: Voice

- Action: Allow community members to voice their point of view
- Skill: Active listening
- Result: Having a voice makes people feel that they are a part of the process and that they have input in the decision, even if it does not impact the decision.

Neutrality: What does a neutral or impartial approach look like?

- Action: Exhibit a fair and impartial approach to community members
- Skill: Officer recognizes his/her biases and chooses to override biases in actions
- Result: Fair and impartial policing and the perceptions of it

Display Slide: Take a Closer Look• Neutrality

Take a Closer Look... Neutrality

- Action: Exhibit a fair and impartial approach to community members
- Skill: Officer recognizes his/her biases and chooses to override biases in actions
- Result: Fair and impartial policing AND the perceptions of it

Summary

In this session, we have highlighted the potential negative impacts of biased policing on both community members and your department. In discussing the impact on the department, we highlighted the importance of police legitimacy. You and your colleagues cannot do your jobs effectively unless you are perceived as a legitimate force.

You can produce legitimacy by implementing procedural justice skills in each and every interaction you have with community members.

If you treat individuals with respect, give them a voice, and practice fair and impartial policing you will increase the likelihood that individuals will report crime, serve as witnesses, share information with you, come to your aid, believe you when you are testifying, and so forth.

In the next session, you will have the opportunity to apply your skills to produce fair and impartial policing.

Module 2: Key Points

- Biased policing can have negative impacts on both community members and the department
- You and your colleagues cannot be effective without legitimacy
- Procedural justice can produce legitimacy
- Fair and impartial policing is central to police legitimacy.

Note to Instructors: *Instructors should take a break here and switch instructors for Module 3.*

Fair and Impartial Policing

Module 3: Skills for Producing Fair, Impartial and Effective Policing

Instructor: Name of Instructor/Trainer
Time: 2.5 Hours
Summary and Rationale:

The purpose of this module is to provide officers with practical skills for producing fair and impartial and effective policing. The module uses a problem-based approach allowing instructors and participants to critically examine a series of real-life case scenarios and develop the following skills:

- Recognize implicit biases and implement "controlled" (unbiased) responses
- Avoid "profiling by proxy"
- Analyze options with a "Fair and Impartial Policing" lens
- Reduce ambiguity, slow it down
- Reduce ambiguity, engage with community members.

Performance Objectives:

At the completion of this module, officers will be able to:

- Demonstrate and discuss strategies that will help them be aware of personal biases
- Demonstrate and discuss strategies for ensuring that their behavior is bias free

Equipment:

- Laptop
- Projector and screen

Materials:

- Trainers' Resource Materials including Man on the Porch handouts and scenario handouts
- Participants' manuals

Role Players: Two women (any race/ethnicity), four to five males of color and one White male.

Room Setup: The optimal setup is a "U" shaped configuration or a large semi-circle configuration to allow training participants to see each other throughout the training session. However, if the class is large, a standard classroom configuration may be used. The room should have room for role plays.

Module 3
Lesson: Skills for Producing Fair, Impartial, and Effective Policing

CONTENT	INSTRUCTOR NOTES/REFERENCE
Introduction	
	Display Slide #97: Skills for Producing Fair, Impartial, and Effective Policing
In this unit, you will learn skills for producing fair, impartial and effective policing.	
To place this in context, recall that the goals of this training session are to have you: - Recognize your own human/implicit biases - Understand how implicit biases can affect your perceptions and behavior - Understand how biased policing negatively impacts community members and the department - Develop skills and tactics to reduce the influence of biases on police practice and allow you to be effective, safe, and just police professionals.	***Display Slide #98: Goals of the Training*** **Goals of the Training** • Recognize your own human biases • Understand how implicit biases can affect your perceptions and behavior • Understand how biased policing impacts community members and the department • Develop skills and tactics to reduce the influence of bias on police practice and allow you to be effective, safe, and just police professionals

In the first module, we covered the fundamental concepts of human bias:

- ~ Bias is a normal human attribute; everyone, even well-intentioned people, have biases
- ~ Biases are often unconscious or "implicit"
- ~ Implicit biases manifest even in individuals who, at the conscious level, reject prejudices and stereotyping.
- ~ Implicit biases can influence our actions
- ~ Understanding how implicit bias can affect perception and behavior is the first step toward developing our skills to "override" our implicit biases.

We learned that there are two ways to impact on our implicit biases: (1) we can try to reduce our implicit biases, and (2) we can recognize our biases and override their impact on our behavior.

During this session, you are going to apply the skills and tactics that will help you be fair, impartial and thus effective police professionals.

The skills we will learn are important for all people, but particularly for police officers whose very effectiveness and safety depends on taking thoughtful, bias free actions, rather than impulsive, biased ones.

As we discussed earlier in this training, fair and impartial police officers are more likely to:

- ~ Be effective at solving crimes and handling disorder problems
- ~ Stay safe and go home at the end of the shift
- ~ Enhance/promote trust on the part of the people they serve.

DisplaySlide #99: Fundamental Concepts of Human Bias

Fundamental Concepts of Human Bias

- Bias is a normal human attribute-even *we/1-intentioned* people have biases
- Biases are often unconscious or "implicit"
- Implicit biases manifest even in individuals who, at the conscious level, reject prejudices and stereotyping
- Implicit biases can influence our actions
- Understanding how implicit bias can affect our perceptions and behavior is the first step to 'overnde" implicit bias

DisplaySlide #100: Fair and Impartial Police Officersare More Likely To:

Fair and Impartial Police Officers are More Likely to:

- Be effective at solving crimes and handling disorder problems
- Stay safe and go home at the end of the shift
- Enhance/promote trust on the part of the people they serve

We have two exercises that will transition us into our coverage of skills.

Skill #1: Recognize your implicit biases.. Implement controlled (unbiased) responses.

Exercise: Pantomime

Note to Instructors: *Instructors should* ***NOT*** *announce the skill before the two exercises-Pantomime and Domestic Violence-as doing so could impact on how the recruits respond.*

The first exercise is "pantomime." The purpose of this exercise is to demonstrate how the same situation can be perceived in very different ways and our perceptions may be impacted by our implicit biases.

Instructors should refer to the pantomime instructions to implement the exercise. The pantomime exercise should be staged in a separate room from the classroom. Once the "back story" is demonstrated, return to the classroom to debrief the pantomime.

Pantomime Discussion

- ~ What do you see happening in this scenario? (Probe as many responses from as many trainees as possible.)
- ~ Let's see the "back story/storyline" here. (Have the role players show the back story.)

Debrief

Some of you saw a medical emergency and others saw a crime in progress.

Note to Instructors: *Instructors should also mention any other interpretations that the recruits* "saw" *depicted in the pantomime.*

The point of the exercise is to show that people can interpret the same stimuli differently and our interpretations can be wrong.

The exercise serves to caution us to challenge what we THINK we see. When you approach a situation, don't assume your first impressions are accurate.

We are going to take a look at another scenario-one that depicts a very routine call for service.

The Domestic Violence Call-Role Play

Note to Instructors: *Refer to The Domestic Violence Call Scenario. Conduct the role play and debrief the trainees, including the trainees who responded to the scene. Instructors explain, if it is not yet clear, that the* female *is the abuser, not the male.*

Debrief

Domestic Violence Call-Discussion/Debrief:

If the recruits seemed to originally assume the man was the abuser:

- ~ Who did the responding team initially think was the abuser?
- ~ On what did they base that assumption?
- ~ What are the risks or other consequences associated with assuming one person, not the other, is the perpetrator?
- ~ What skills do officers need to have to identify the right offender?

Proceed with the questions at left, depending on whether the responding team identified the man as *the abuser or the female as the abuser.*

Potential responses to the "assumption" question: Biases, *generalizations about who commits domestic violence.*

Potential response to the "risk" question: *Focusing on a non-dangerous person when the other person may be armed and dangerous.*

Potential responses to the "skltls" question:
Officers need to focus on the facts at hand and not generalizations about the demographics of who commits what types of crimes.

*If the recruits **did not** assume the man was the abuser:*

- ~ Our team did not assume the man was the abuser? Do you think some police might make that assumption?
- ~ On what basis might they make that assumption?
- }; What are the risks or other consequences associated with initially assuming one person, not the other, is the perpetrator?
- ~ What skills do officers need to have to identify the right offender?

Note to Instructors: *See potential responses above.*

These two exercises are related to our first skill. It has two parts.

Display Slide #101: Skill#1

First of all: "Recognize your implicit biases."

The Pantomime taught us to *challenge what we think we see.* We need to recognize that our first impressions could be wrong and our impressions could be impacted by our implicit biases.

Skill #1: Recognize your implicit biases and implement "controlled (unbiased) responses."

The domestic violence role play reminds us to recognize that what we "see" might be impacted by our implicit biases.

As we have discussed, it is difficult to rid ourselves of our implicit biases that took a lifetime to develop. We can, however, make sure that our biases do not impact on our behavior. If you *recognize* the activation of an implicit bias, you can override it by implementing a "controlled," that is, an *unbiased* response. You can *behave* in a manner that is bias free.

Let's discuss how behavior might be impacted by a recognition that biases may be at work.

The Case of Officer Taylor

Consider this situation. Officer Taylor runs the tags for warrants on all cars he passes that contain young Hispanic males and not on other vehicles.

What are the consequences of this narrow focus?

Potential response: *He misses the drivers with warrants who are not young, Hispanic males. He is profiling.*

Display Slide #102: Meehan and Ponder (2002)

Researchers have documented this type of police behavior in White neighborhoods. Meehan and Ponder (2002) found that police were more likely to run warrant checks on African Americans than Whites in these neighborhoods, but less likely to find warrants on the African Americans compared to the Whites.

Meehan and Ponder (2002)

- Found that police were *more likely* to run warrant checks on African Americans than Whites in white neighborhoods ....
- but *fess likely* to find warrants on the African Americans compared to the Whites.

So these police were more likely to scrutinize and assume criminality on the part of the African Americans drivers, when in fact they were more "productive" running the plates of the White drivers.

How might Officer Taylor change his behavior after he recognizes his bias?

PotentialResponses:
Run tags in a more discriminating manner; attend to other clues (e.g., behaviors) and not demographics.

Develop his own criteria that he will use for running tags that is race/ethnicity-free. Ask himself, "Would I be running this tag, but for..."

Here is another example for your consideration:

The Case of Officer Becker

At crash scenes, Officer Becker always approaches the person with the newer model car and business attire first to get that person's version of what happened.

What is wrong with this?

It is biased policing. The person not approached first might be offended.

How might Officer Becker change his behavior if he recognizes his bias?

He might develop an objective criterion that he will use when he goes to a 2-car crash scene. For instance, he will first approach the person who looks most injured or, if there are no injuries, he will approach the person who seems not to be at fault.

The lessons from these exercises are: (1) Recognize your implicit biases, challenge what you think you see. (2) Implement controlled responses to override biases.

Recognize your implicit biases: That is, if you enter a domestic violence scene and have an immediate sense that the male is the perpetrator, be sure to challenge what you think you see.

Implement controlled responses: That is, recognize your implicit bias and proceed in a bias-free manner.

You might test yourself with the question, "would I be proceeding this way, but for the fact that this person is Male? Asian? Black? Poor?"

What is a "Gut" Reaction?

This skill-to recognize your biases-is related to what officers refer to as their "gut reactions." You've heard officers refer to their "gut reaction" that "told" them that something was amiss, or you have had such a feeling yourself.

It is true that officers see things that others do not and draw conclusions that others would not have, based on their experience and training. Beware, however, that those "gut reactions" might also reflect your implicit biases. Why does that person seem suspicious to you? Are you picking up on behavioral cues and contextual elements that others would miss, or are you being impacted by the biases that we all have?

Officers need to rely on facts, intelligence and other valid information, not biased perceptions. Focus on the facts at hand and gather the additional information you need to understand the situation. Use critical judgment. Do not let the person's gender, race, socio-economic status, age, etc. inappropriately impact on your assumptions and on your systematic information gathering. Don't be "Susan Boyled." Don't be "taken in" or led astray by your biases.

Again, the first skill we have been talking about: Recognize your implicit biases and implement controlled (unbiased) responses.

Display Slide #103: Beware Gut Reactions

Beware: "Gut reactions" might be based on your biases.

Display Slide #104: Ski/11 Again

Skill #1: Recognize your implicit biases and implement "controlled (unbiased) responses."

Let's move on to the other skills to produce fair, impartial and effective policing. The skills we will cover are as follows:

- ;;.. Avoid profiling by proxy
- ;;.. Analyze options with a fair and impartial policing lens
- ~ Reduce ambiguity: slow it down, and
- ~ Reduce ambiguity: engage with the community.

Display Slide #105: Skills to Produce Fair, Impartial and Effective Policing

Skills to Produce Fair, Impartial and Effective Policing

- Avoid "profiling by proxy"
- Analyze options with a fair and impartial policing lens
- Reduce ambiguity: slow it down
- Reduce ambiguity: engage with the community.

Skill #2: Avoid "proflllnq by proxy"

A key point about our discussion of biases is that this is an "affliction" of humans, certainly not just police. Above we cautioned you to recognize *your own* implicit biases and make sure that, when your biases are activated, you implement controlled (unbiased) behavior.

Now we similarly caution, "beware *other people's* implicit biases." Do not let another person's biases lead you to biased behavior.

That is, "avoid profiling by proxy."

For instance, you may be asked to respond to a call on the part of a resident where that person's concerns are based on their own biases.

Black Man in Car Discussion

Consider the following call for service:

A woman, in an all-White neighborhood, calls 9-1-1 to report a "suspicious man in a car" out in front of her house. It appears that the only thing "suspicious" is that this man is Black; the caller is unable to articulate or identify any behaviors that indicate criminal activity.

Identify three possible response options and list the pros and cons of each of the options.

Display Slide #106: Avoid "Profiling by Proxy"

Skill #2: Avoid "Profiling by Proxy"

Note to Instructors: Divide the class into small groups of four (or so) recruits each. Then read the case scenario and ask the groups to identify three response options and list the pros and cons of each option.

After the trainees have a few minutes to generate some options, have a "round-robin" discussion. The purpose of this discussion is not to identify "one right answer," but rather to engage the trainees in a pro/con discussion that reflects their new "FJP lens." A key point is that they should not select their intervention based on what the caller thinks is happening. They should exercise their own critical judgment and use their "FIP lens."

Instructors should ask one group to share one response option and the pros and cons of it. The instructor would move to the next group to get a different option and stop when no group has a new option.

The instructor should avoid imposing his/her own preferred response on the discussion, but rather hear all of the options without judgment (unless there is an agency policy or practice that precludes a particular option).

Potential responses:

Go *to the car door of the man and inquire as to his business or to see if he is Jost.*
The recruits might add that they will do this in a very friendly manner. Pros include acting in accordance with the caller's request• making sure that, in fact, no crime is occurring. Cons include the likelihood that the cop is "racial profiling by proxy." Key to the discussion of this option is having the recruits understand this option from the vantage point of the man in the car. Many men of color report that these types of approaches by police are common. While people will react differently, some men of color will be quite angry at having to, as one chief put it, 'Justify their existence on the White streets of" America/(Canada. Reflect on the lesson in the previous unit, perceptions of biased policing can reduce perceived legitimacy of police, cooperation, etc.

Contact the caller for more information and, if none can be provided to justify intervention with the man, explain to her why you will not intervene. *The recruits might be aware that walking up to the front door of that caller is not advisable in some neighborhoods; they might choose to call her or have the dispatcher make the call to find out if there is additional information that might indicate criminal behavior. If none, the officer could reinforce the woman for calling, but educate her as to what to look for in the future - behavior that indicates criminal activity. Pros: We do not act on her biases and possibly offend the man in the car. Con: The caller may be upset that nothing was done. Another stated "con" might be that the person may, in fact, commit a crime after the officer leaves. Here the instructors can point out that police must do their jobs based on the information they have and not based on conjectures about "what if."*

Drive by the car to see if any criminal activity is indicated. *Pro: The person making the call knows (if she sees the car drive by or is so informed) that the police did something. The police do not potentially offend the man with a car-door query. Con: The caller may not be fully satisfied with the action; the man in the car may perceive that a police car is driving by because he is* a *Black man in* a *White neighborhood.*

The point of this discussion is not to designate one action as "the right one," but rather to have you think through such situations, analyzing your options and weighing the consequences.

This includes having empathy for the person who could be the subject of your interventions. In discussions of this scenario nationwide, many officers are immediately inclined to have empathy for the woman caller. They less frequently consider the situation from the man's point of view.

Many men of color report that these types of approaches by police are common. While people will react differently, some men of color will be quite angry at having to, as one chief put it, "justify their existence on the White streets of America." Some may be angry regardless of how professionally you approach them.

Again, the lesson here is to avoid "profiling by proxy." Do not automatically succumb to another person's biases. You have been selected and are being trained so that you can exercise critical judgment. In the same way you are learning not to let your *own biases* impact your behavior, you need to ensure that *others' biases* do not lead you to engage in biased behaviors.

NOTE: When in doubt about the viability of not responding to a dispatched call, contact a supervisor.

Let's change the scenario a bit. You get the same call, but this time the description given by the woman is consistent with a description of a person in a vehicle who committed a home burglary in the area. You approach the man and ask him what he is doing there. He convinces you that he is not a burglar. He is angry that you have approached him and he accuses you of biased policing. How might you respond?

Note to Instructors: *Instructors engage the trainees in a discussion of possible responses.*

The instructors should listen to various options that trainees might suggest. Instructors should discourage having trainees try to talk the woman out of her perceptions, suggesting that these conversations are at high risk of spiraling into an argument that will not change the woman's mind and will not change the officer's mind.

During this discussion, the instructors might have occasion to note that the woman might be right-that bias did impact the officer's decision to stop her.

Reinforce the following response: "I am sorry that you feel that way, I stopped you because ....."

This two-arl response acknowledges the person's concerns and steers the conversation back to the business at hand.

Trainees might also suggest:

- *"I understand why you might be angry, frustrated."*
- *"I am sorry for the inconvenience."*
- *"Here is my card. Feel free to call me if you want to follow up later."*

The key is to reduce the man's frustrations/anger. Saying something along the lines of "I'm sorry that you feel that way" acknowledges what the man said to you.

Then you need to return to business, because an argument on the side of the road will likely not be fruitful. You would then say, "I stopped you because ...."

Skill #3: Analyze Your Options with a "Fair and Impartial Policing" Lens

Here we challenge you to use an "FIP lens" to analyze the various options you have when responding to various situations. This lesson is most effectively conveyed through some exercises.

Note to Instructors: If needed, a 10-minute break may be appropriate here.

Display Slide #107: Analyzing Your Options with a "Pelr and Impartial Policing" (FJP) Lens

Skill #3: Analyze Your Options with a "Fair and Impartial Policing" (FIP) Lens

Read through your situation and answer the questions at the end. Each group will report to the full group.

Note to Instructors: Create groups and assign each group to one of the scenarios in the trainees' manual. [Trainers should not use "Men at the Door" if they believe that the trainees are familiar with, and may be influenced by, the we/I-publicized case of Dr. Henry Louis Gates and the Cambridge (MA) Police Department. While created prior to the actual incident, this case scenario is similar to the facts of that incident. This influence may vary by region.]

The instructors call on the various groups and have them walk through their questions and answers.

Summary of Skill

The intent of these various discussions is to encourage you to analyze your options with a fair and impartial policing lens. Those FIP lens bring together some previous lessons and some new ones. With your FIP lens, you:

- Challenge what you think you see
- Recognize your own biases
- Recognize others' biases
- Consider the options that would be bias free
- Consider the viewpoint of the people with whom you are dealing
- Minimize negative impacts on those individuals (including potential perceptions of bias policing) with your strong communication skills

DisplaySlide #108: With Your FIP Lens

With Your FIP Lens...

- Challenge what you think you see
- Recognize your own biases
- Recognize others' biases
- Consider bias-free options
- Consider the viewpoint of people with whom you are interacting
- Minimize negative impacts (including potential perceptions of biased-policing) with strong communication skills

Skill #4: Reduce Ambiguity - Slow it Down

Let's move on to our last set of skills. Recall that we used the audience's reaction to Susan Boyle to understand implicit biases. Recall that we:

- Prejudge people who are "ambiguous stimuli"
- Attribute group stereotypes, biases to them
- Do not always know we are doing this

Understanding that we are at risk for allowing stereotypes and biases to influence our behavior especially when we are in an uncertain situation-not quite knowing what to expect-produces our next two skills.

- Reduce ambiguity: Slow it down, when feasible.
- Reduce ambiguity: Engage with community members.

DisplaySlide #109: Reduce Ambiguity

Skills #4 and #5: Reduce Ambiguity

n #4: When feasible, "slow it down"

cJ#5: Engage with community members

Let's start with the first one. Veteran officers and law enforcement trainers promote the technique of consciously slowing down a police response when it is viable to do so.

Slowing down the response allows officers to analyze the legitimacy of their initial impressions and use their observational and analytical skills to effectively assess the situation and devise the appropriate response.

Man on the Porch Exercise

Let's take a look at how we respond to a complex and ambiguous set of circumstances that test our implicit biases.

Note to Instructor: *Instructors implement "Man on the Porch" exercise. See instructors' notes and trainee handouts. The purpose of this exercise is to show how much better decisions can be when they are thoughtful and deliberate. It highlights how making decisions in haste can lead to deadly decisions, possibly decisions based on biases, especially when we are confronted with ambiguous circumstances.*

FINAL DEBRIEF: The interaction between the police and Mr. Akpan lasted just 7 seconds. This rapid interaction produced bad decisions and a tragic outcome.

The key lesson from this exercise is that you should, when you can, slow down your response and make ambiguous circumstances UNambiguous.

When your groups worked deliberatively through the segments, you came up with very different police actions than the ones in the real incident.

Gathering more information before you act can reduce the possibility that you make poor decisions - maybe even tragic ones. It can also reduce the possibility that you make biased decisions.

Skill #5: Reduce Ambiguity~Engage with community members

The second skill linked to reducing ambiguity is "engage with community members."

Recall our earlier discussion of the "contact theory." Researchers have determined that positive contact between members of groups improves inter-group attitudes and reduces biases.

This occurs because that positive contact serves to reduce ambiguity. It reduces ambiguity about individuals and even about communities more broadly.

You are more likely to be a fair and impartial officer if you take the time to get to know the communities to which you are assigned, get to know the individuals in those communities.

How might you do this? Write down three very specific things you could do in a week's time that involves engaging with people in a community.

Think of the youth in the community, the parents, the other adults, including business owners. How might you get to know the members in the community to which you are assigned?

Display Slide #110: Contact Theory Revisited

Contact Theory :Revisited

Positive contact with other groups reduces both conscious and implicit biases.

f!)Nil FP.U.C

Display Slide #111: Write down three things...

Write down three very specific things you could do in a week's time to engage with members of a community.

Think of youths, parents, other adults, business owners.

Instructors ask one person to share one action thats/he listed. Instructors ask, "who has something else" until most new ideas have been shared. The answers could be listed on easel paper.

Potential Responses:

- *./ Join youth when they are playing basketball.*
- *./ Develop innovative ways to engage in police-youth dialogue.*
- *./ Visit the businesses and converse with the business owners.*
- *./ Ask to be included at gatherings of community subgroups (e.g., block party).*

Both of our final two skills are linked to the fact that we are at greatest risk of attributing group stereotypes to stimuli that are ambiguous. So that you can be fair and impartial police officers:

- ~ Slow it down, when feasible.
- ~ Engage with community members.

Summary of Training

This brings us to the end of this training session on fair and impartial policing. Let's review the key points from the three modules:

Summary of Key Points in Module 1

All people, even well-intentioned people have biases. They can be implicit (that is, unconscious).

We prejudge people we do not know.

We fill them in with group stereotypes.

Recall "Susan Boyle"

Often, we do not know we are doing this.

Policing based on biases can be unsafe, ineffective and unjust

Examples:

Recall the shoot, don't shoot research of Josh Correll; not shooting the White man with the gun can place officers in danger.

In the scene from "Money Train" the elderly woman was the thief.

Display Slide #112: Summary of Key Points-Module 1

Summary of Key Points: Module 1

- All people, even well-intentioned people have biases
  - They can be "implicit" (unconscious)
- Policing based on biases can be unsafe, ineffective and unjust

We talked about how some people, maybe including police, may treat the homeless.

Recall the Man and Woman with a Gun and Domestic Violence role plays.

Summary of Key Points in Module 2

Biased policing can have negative consequences for community members and the department

Biased policing can have a potent impact on individuals and the relationship between the community and the police department-eroding community trust.

Community trust is essential for cooperation and for the support of individual officers and the department.

Fair and impartial policing is essential for the police to be viewed as a legitimate authority.

DisplaySlide #113: Summary of Key Points-Module 2

Summary of Key Points Module 2

- Biased policing has negative consequences for community members and the department
  - Biased policing erodes community trust
  - Community trust is essential for cooperation and support of officers and the department
  - Fair and impartial policing is essential for police legitimacy

Summary of Key Points in Module 3

We learned in this last module that to be a fair and impartial officer, you need to:

- Recognize your implicit biases and implement "controlled" (unbiased) responses, behaviors.
- Avoid "profiling by proxy."
- Analyze options with a fair and impartial policing lens.
- Reduce ambiguity: (a) slow it down, when feasible, and (b) engage with the community.

DisplaySlide #114: Summary of Key Points-Module 3

Summary of Key Points: Module 3

To be a fair and impartial officer, you need to:

- Recognize your implicit biases and implement "controlled (unbiased) responses"
- Avoid "profiling by proxy"
- Analyze options with a fair and impartial policing lens
- Reduce ambiguity: (a) slow it down, and (b) engage with the community.

Closing

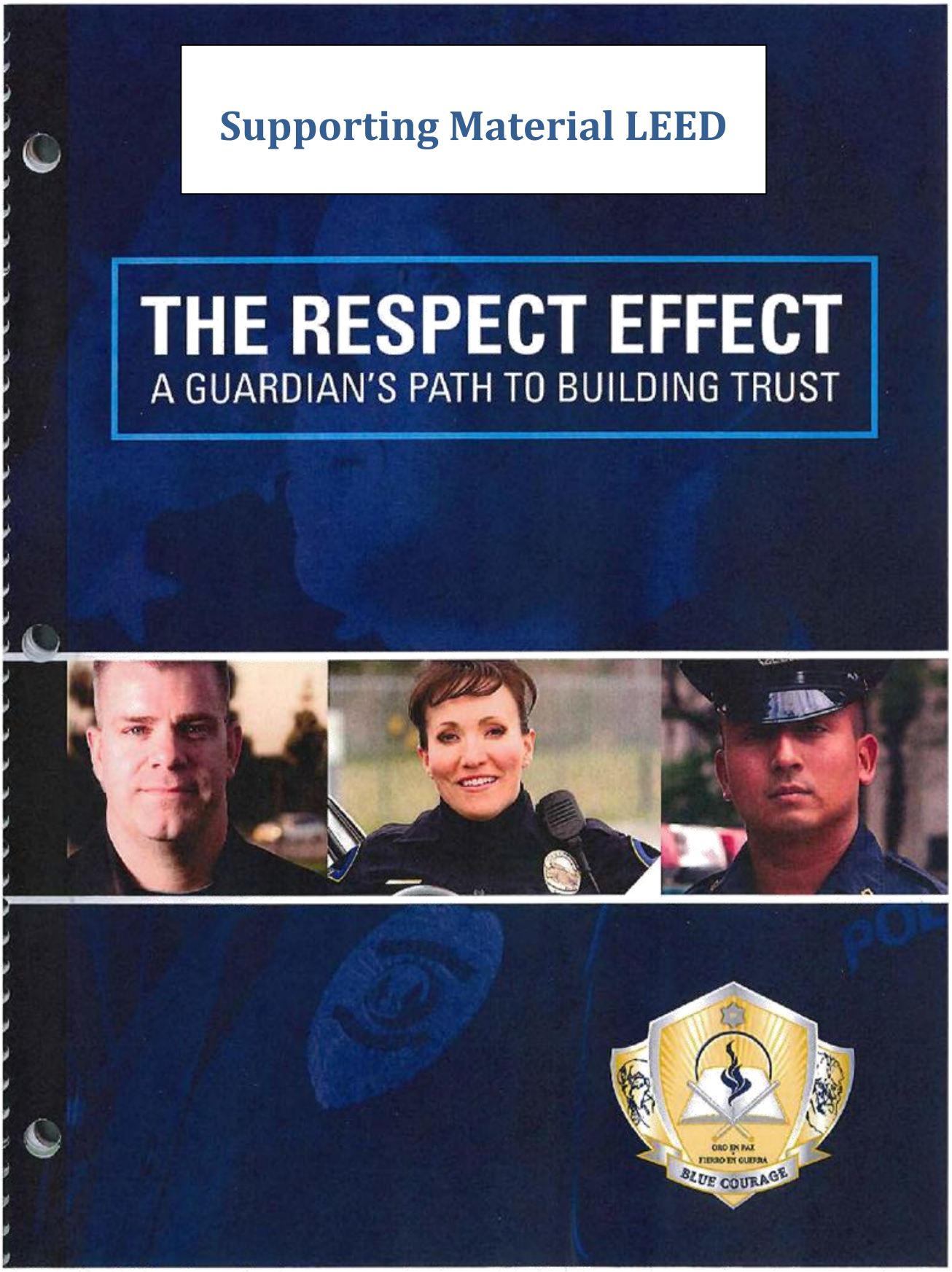
We hope that this training addressing fair and impartial policing has provided you with a better understanding of the science of human bias and how our perceptions and behaviors can be affected by our biases.

We hope that we have renewed your appreciation for the negative impact that biased policing has on our communities and our law enforcement agencies.

Finally, we hope that skills you have developed during this training session will serve you well as you enter the police profession serving your agencies and your communities.

We thank you for your time and attention today.

Supporting Material LEED



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Welcome!

Thank you for choosing to embark on this exciting experience and welcome to a cooperative venture from Blue Courage and Legacy Business Cultures! As you navigate your way through this course it may challenge your current definition and operational use of respect. If your interest is in helping others through self-improvement, increased engagement, combating cynicism while improving mindfulness and well-being, then we are confident you will benefit just as much, both personally and professionally.

The members of our teams are dedicated and committed to providing you with first-class, quality materials as you participate in this process. We are here to help you maximize the information presented in this personal growth experience.

In the event there is a defect in any of the materials you received, please call us immediately, and we'll ship a replacement to you free of charge.

We extend to you our heartfelt appreciation for the noble calling you serve everyday and wish you success in your continued personal and professional development.

We welcome the opportunity to be of service to you!

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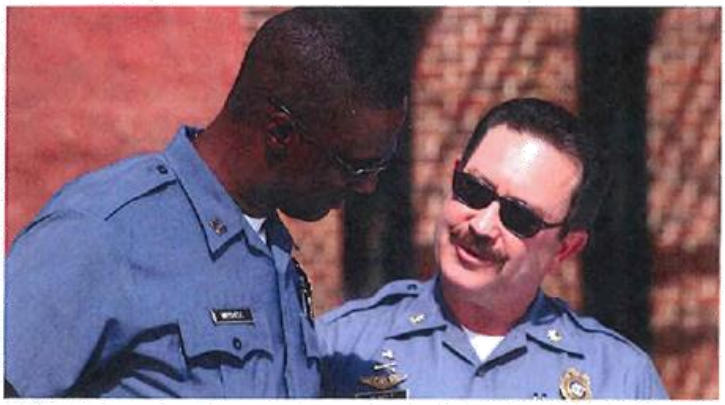
SETTING THE STAGE FOR RESPECT | UNIT 1



How do we understand "respect"?

1. How do you define "respect"?

2. How do others define the term?

Notes

"Police work is an honorable profession – if you do it with honor."

– Frank Serpico

Notes

"At the end of the day, people won't remember what you said or did. They will remember how you made them feel."

– Maya Angelou

Respect Definitions

Respect (noun):
1) the act of giving particular attention: consideration
2) high or special regard: esteem
3) the quality of being esteemed

Respect (verb):
1a) to consider worthy of high regard: esteem
1b) to refrain from interfering with
2) to have reference to: concern

Fear and Respect

Similar to motivation, respect can be driven either *intrinsically* or *extrinsically*.

Intrinsic respect for a thing or person is driven by our internal appreciation and value of what it represents.

- Typically long lasting, but may take time to develop
- Invites mutual support of our efforts and goals

Extrinsic respect can be driven by either fear/threats or reward.

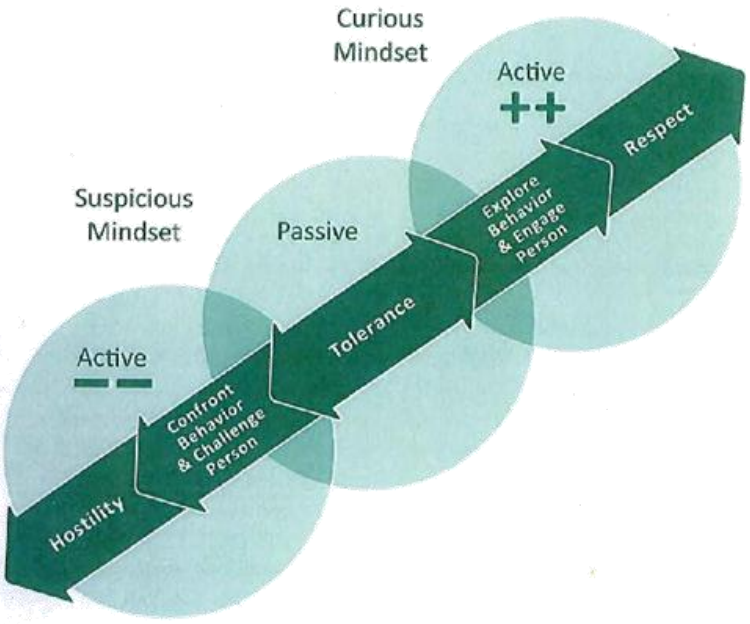
- Typically temporary or circumstantial. Has to be "fed" by sustained threats or reward
- May generate short –term compliance. Can also result in resistance.

Aspiring To Respect

Respect is an active process of non-judgmentally engaging people from all backgrounds with the intent to increase my awareness and my effectiveness. It is demonstrated in a manner that esteems both myself and those (others) with whom I interact.

The Road to Respect

A commitment to treating people with respect goes well beyond treating them with tolerance. Tolerance is essentially a passive state of being, while demonstrating respect requires action. A pattern of respectful interaction requires that we spend time and effort getting to know others and to explore the differences that exist between them without judging those differences.



Suspicion vs. Curiosity

Suspicion	Curiosity

Notes

"Hostile Behavior is an intentional activity that harms another person in any way, including physically, socially, financially, professionally, or by reputation. Hostility can also be demonstrated by behaviors that intentionally impede others in meeting their predetermined goals."

– Paul Meshanko, The Respect Effect: Using The Science of Neuroleadership To Inspire a More Loyal and Productive Workplace

Notes

"People have always been more impressed with the power of our example than the example of our power."

– President Bill Clinton

The Power of Engagement

One way to minimize the blind spots inherent in how we perceive one another is to intentionally get to know each other beyond what we see, hear and otherwise infer from superficial information. This means engaging in conversations that reveal the essence of who we are, what makes us unique, and the things (or people) that we hold to be important. It is through this sharing of invisible information that allows us to better understand and appreciate our differences, as well as connect on our similarities.

Engaging conversation hints:

- Identify topics that emotionally connect us to the other person.
- Look for both points of connection (values, interests, etc.) as well as examples of uniqueness (experiences, skills, aspirations, etc.).
- Find ways to communicate value for what you have learned about the other person.

Paired or group interviews:

1. _____

2. _____

Notes

"Understanding a person does not mean condoning; it only means that one does not accuse him as if one were a judge placed above him."

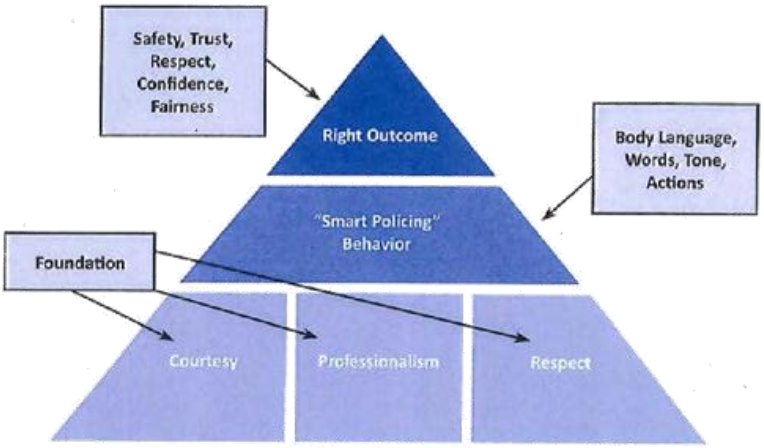
– Erich Fromm

12 Principles of Respect

1. Be aware of your nonverbal and extra-verbal cues
2. Develop curiosity about the perspective of others
3. Assume that everyone is smart about something
4. Become a better listener by shaking your "but"
5. Look for opportunities to connect with and support others
6. When you disagree, explain why
7. Look for opportunities to grow, stretch, and change
8. Learn to be wrong on occasion
9. Never hesitate to say you are sorry
10. Intentionally engage others in ways that build their self-esteem
11. Be respectful of time when making comments
12. Smile!

Group Activity

Effective Citizen Contact



Courtesy, Professionalism, Respect

You Must Actively Practice and Embody:

Courtesy:
Be patient - Be informative - Listen - Be approachable

Professionalism:
Have self-control - Be open-minded - Communicate - Be Transparent - Explain - Know your job - Command presence - Go extra step - Do your best work

Respect:
Be aware - Be compassionate - Demonstrate empathy - Care - Be strong but humble - Have humility - Have a service mindset - Treat people with dignity and respect

Notes

"Without courage, we cannot practice any other virtue with consistency. We can't be kind, true, merciful, generous, or honest."

– Maya Angelou

Prejudgments	Decisions prematurely concluded without all the evidence. May be negative or positive. Tend to become a habit of thinking.
Responsibility	Recognizing and accepting the consequences of my choices and actions. An equal willingness to accept accountability for errors and shortcomings as well as accomplishments and successes.
Self-Talk	My own words that trigger pictures, emotions and feelings which result in my attitude (self-image) about myself.
Stereotypes	Fixed or conventional notions or conceptions about a group, held by a number of people, allowing for no individual variation. May include an "ounce" of truth.
Subconscious	Thought process which stores and records my reality, and handles all of my automatic and overlearned skills (habits).
Values	Something that carries a significant amount of importance to you; of intrinsic value or desirable. Values are key to motivation, self-determination, resolution of conflicts and a purposeful life.

Seattle Police Department Manual

5.140 – Bias-Free Policing

Effective Date: 01/30/2014

5.140-POL

The Seattle Police Department is committed to providing services and enforcing laws in a professional, nondiscriminatory, fair, and equitable manner.

Our objective is to provide equitable police services based upon the needs of the people we encounter.

The intent of this policy is to increase the Department's effectiveness as a law enforcement agency and to build mutual trust and respect with Seattle's diverse groups and communities.

Bias-based policing is the different treatment of any person by officers motivated by any characteristic of protected classes under state, federal, and local laws as well other discernible personal characteristics of an individual. Such "discernible personal characteristics" include, but are not limited to, the following:

- Age
- Disability status
- Economic status
- Familial status
- Gender
- Gender Identity
- Homelessness
- Mental illness
- National origin
- Political ideology
- Race, ethnicity, or color
- Religion
- Sexual orientation
- Use of a motorcycle or motorcycle-related paraphernalia – RCW 43.101.419
- Veteran status

1. Every Employee is Responsible for Knowing and Complying With This Policy

The Chief of Police will reinforce that bias-based policing is unacceptable through specific yearly training, regular updates, and such other means as may be appropriate.

Supervisors are responsible for ensuring all personnel in their command are operating in compliance with this policy.

2. Officers Will Not Engage in Bias-Based Policing

Employees shall not make decisions or take actions that are influenced by bias, prejudice, or discriminatory intent. Law enforcement and investigative decisions must be based upon observable behavior or specific intelligence.

Officers may not use discernible personal characteristics in determining reasonable suspicion or probable cause, except as part of a suspect description.

Employees shall not express—verbally, in writing, or by other gesture—any prejudice or derogatory comments concerning discernible personal characteristics.

No employee shall retaliate against any person who initiates or provides information or testimony related to an investigation, prosecution, OPA complaint, litigation or hearings related to the Department or Departmental employees, regardless of the context in which the complaint is made, or because of such person's participation in the complaint process as a victim, witness, investigator, decision-maker or reviewer.

Employees who engage in, ignore, or condone bias-based policing will be subject to discipline.

Supervisors and commanders who fail to respond to, document and review allegations of bias-based policing will be subject to discipline.

3. The Characteristics of an Individual May Be Appropriately Considered in Limited Circumstances

Officers may take into account the discernible personal characteristics of an individual in establishing reasonable suspicion or probable cause only when the characteristic is part of a specific suspect description based on trustworthy and relevant information that links a specific person to a particular unlawful incident.

Officers must articulate specific facts and circumstances that support their use of such characteristics in establishing reasonable suspicion or probable cause.

Officers are expected to consider relevant personal characteristics of an individual when determining whether to provide services designed for individuals with those characteristics (e.g., behavioral crisis, homelessness, addictions, etc.).

4. All Employees Share Responsibility for Preventing Bias-Based Policing

Employees who have observed or are aware of others who have engaged in bias-based policing shall specifically report such incidents to a supervisor, providing all information known to them, before the end of the shift during which they make the observation or become aware of the incident.

Supervisors, commanders and civilian managers have an individual obligation to ensure the timely and complete review and documentation of all allegations of violation of this policy that are referred to them or of which they should reasonably be aware.

5. Employees Will Call a Supervisor in Response to Complaints

If a person complains of bias-based policing, the employee shall call a supervisor to the scene to review the circumstances and determine an appropriate course of action. For purposes of this policy, a complaint of bias-based policing occurs whenever, from the perspective of a reasonable officer, a subject complains that he or she has received different treatment from an officer because of any discernible personal characteristic listed above.

If the person declines to speak with a supervisor or wishes to leave before the supervisor arrives, the employee will attempt to offer the person the supervisor's contact information and information on how to file a complaint with the Office of Professional Accountability.

Officers may not extend a detention solely to await the arrival of a supervisor.

If officers have completed their business with the complainant, and the supervisor has not yet arrived, the officer will wait at the location for the supervisor to arrive.

6. Employees Will Document All Allegations of Bias-Based Policing

Where there has been a complaint of bias-based policing, the employee will complete a GO report to document the circumstances of the complaint and steps that were taken to resolve it. This GO must include the following information, if the person is willing to provide it:

- The person's name,
- Address,
- Phone number, or email address, and
- Contact information for witnesses who observed the events.

All reports involving a complaint of bias-based policing must be reviewed and approved by a supervisor before the end of the employee's shift.

If the supervisor believes the matter has been resolved to the satisfaction of the complainant, and that no misconduct was involved, the supervisor will draft a supplemental to the employee's GO report to document their actions in the inquiry. The supervisor will then send a memo with the report attached, via the chain of command, to the bureau chief.

7. Supervisors Conduct Preliminary Inquiry into Bias-Based Policing

If the person wishes to speak with the supervisor about the biased-policing concerns, the supervisor will discuss the incident with the complainant. If the complainant has left the scene the supervisor shall make efforts to contact the complainant by phone or letter.

The reviewing supervisor shall explain to the complainant the option to refer the complaint to OPA. If the complainant asks that the matter be referred to OPA then the reviewing supervisor shall refer it.

If the reviewing or approving supervisor determines that there may have been misconduct, that supervisor shall refer the matter to OPA for further investigation.

8. An Annual Report Will be Prepared for the Chief of Police and the Public

This report shall describe and analyze the year's bias-based policing complaints and the status of the Department's effort to prevent bias-based policing.

After review by the SPD command staff, and after names of individual officers have been removed, this report will be made available to the community.

9. Disparate Impacts

The Seattle Police Department is committed to eliminating policies and practices that have an unwarranted disparate impact on certain protected classes. It is possible that the long term impacts of historical inequality and institutional bias could result in disproportionate enforcement, even in the absence of intentional bias. The Department's policy is to identify ways to protect public safety and public order without engaging in unwarranted or unnecessary disproportionate enforcement.

This policy requires periodic analysis of data which will assist in identification of SPD practices – including stops, citations and arrests – that may have a disparate impact on particular protected classes relative to the general population.

When disparate impacts are identified, the Department will consult as appropriate with neighborhood, business and community groups, including the Community Police Commission, to explore equally effective alternative practices that would result in less disproportionate impact. Alternative enforcement practices may include addressing the targeted behavior in a different way, de-emphasizing the practice in question or other measures. Initially, disparate impact analysis will focus on race, color, and national origin. The Department will consult with the Community Police Commission about whether to examine disparity with respect to other classifications.

The Disparate Impacts section of the policy is not a basis to impose discipline upon any employee of the Department, nor is it intended to create a private right of action to enforce its terms.

a. **The Chief of Police or Designee Will Enforce Policy**

The Chief or designee will ensure that this policy is in effect and carried out.

b. Officers Document Enforcement Activity

See Seattle Police Manual Section 6.220 – Voluntary Contacts & Terry Stops.

c. The Department Analyzes Officer-Initiated Activity

The analysis focuses on enforcement practices (stops, citations, and arrests) that are not primarily driven by reports from crime victims. These include, but are not limited to:

- VUCSA
- Prostitution
- Obstructing
- Resisting arrest
- Driving crimes/infractions
- Pedestrian interference
- Illegal camping
- Pedestrian violations (e.g., “Jaywalking”)
- Drinking in public
- Public consumption of marijuana
- Public urination/defecation

d. An Annual Report will be prepared for the Chief of Police and the Public

This report shall describe the year’s data collection and analysis and efforts to address disparate impact of policing.

After review by the SPD command staff, and after names of individual officers have been removed, this report will be made available to the community.

5.140–PRO-1 Handling a Bias-Based Policing Allegation

Employee

1. **Receives** a complaint of bias-based policing.
2. **Calls** a supervisor to the scene.
3. If the officer's sergeant is not available, the officer **notifies** a sergeant from the officer's precinct.
4. If no sergeant is available, the officer **notifies** a lieutenant who may assigns a specific sergeant or who will personally respond to conduct the same review as would have been required of a sergeant had one been available.
5. **Documents** the complaint and action taken on a GO report.

Next Level Supervisor

1. **Responds** to the scene.
2. **Gathers** all relevant information from the complainant and any witnesses, if they are willing to provide it.
3. Relevant information is defined as any information that may tend to explain, prove, or disprove the allegations being made.
4. **Provides** specific information to the person on how to file a complaint or if warranted, **refers** the matter to OPA for further investigation.
5. See SPM Section 5.002 – Public and Internal Complaint Process.
6. **Documents** the preliminary investigation in a supplement to the employee's GO
7. **Sends** the report and a cover memo to the bureau chief via the chain of command.

Reprinted Article

Time to Develop One Hour of Training

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Designing training is as much of an art as it is a science. However, that doesn't mean we should abandon the act of trying to figure out how long it takes to develop an hour of training. Scientific measures and standards can be applied at least as rough guidelines. With some type of standard, it becomes possible to gain a general idea of how much time a training project might take. While many may argue about using "one hour of training" as a measuring stick because of the difficulty of determining exactly what one hour means, it is a common term and has some traction with managers trying to plan resources. It's not perfect, but it is a way of making comparisons.

Too often when asked about developing training, internal and external clients hear "it depends." While this is true, that answer doesn't help when budgeting time or resources. What someone really wants as a response to that question is a realistic number as to how long it will take to develop one hour of training. Or, at the very least, they would like a range of numbers so some type of planning can be done.

Here are the results from a survey we developed in a rough attempt to align credible numbers for use in estimating work based on delivery method and complexity of interactivity. We also review the key factors that can cause delays and contribute to that famous "it depends" answer.

Demographics

To conduct the study, we reached out to our peers in the industry to gather data and had 47 respondents, of which 83 percent have a degree related to the field of instructional technology/design. Other points to note:

- the majority (61 percent) of our respondents performed both the role of the designer and developer in their job tasks
- the majority (75 percent) of the materials that respondents worked with were raw; meaning they came from Subject Matter Experts (SMEs) and/or their own research
- the two dominate methods for estimating development hours were estimates based on similar projects (36 percent) and the use of variables (31 percent) such as expertise, project-related work, environmental factors, and so forth
- internal customers (41 percent) and vendors (39 percent) made up the majority of respondents. Independent consultants (11 percent) rounded out the top three
- several industries were also noted and a breakdown can be reviewed in the chart below.

Results

The mainstay of our study covered various development tools and the levels of interactivity based on the ADDIE model. The study did not include time estimates for summative evaluation, only formative. One set of questions covered the use of templates within development. The survey indicated that Microsoft Word and PowerPoint were the predominant development software as 71.7 percent of all respondents use these to develop instruction. Adobe Flash (56.5 percent) and Captivate (50 percent) were next in line as leading software development tools with LMS-based tools (26.1 percent) following them. Other tools such as Articulate (19.6 percent), Lectora (15.2 percent), and WebEx Presentation Studio (10.9 percent), though not as popular, still had a number of respondents.

The chart below indicates the numbers from our most recent survey and the numbers from the survey and data gathered in 2003. Respondents only provided numbers to the methods that they have used. It is interesting to note that in six of the areas, the time estimates actually increased. Note: NA is listed in some of the responses for 2003 because these are new questions in 2009.

Type of Training per 1 hour	**Low Hours Per hour of Instruction (2009)**	**High Hours Per Hour of Instruction (2009)**	**Low Hours Per hour of Instruction (2003)**	**High Hours Per Hour of Instruction (2003)**
Stand-up training (classroom)	43	185	20	70
Self-instructional print	40	93	80	125
Instructor-led, Web-based training delivery (using software such as Centra, Adobe Connect, or WebEx-two-way live audio with PowerPoint)	49	89	30	80
E-learning Developed without a Template				
Text-only; limited interactivity; no animations	93	152	100	150

Moderate interactivity; limited animations	122	186	250	400
High interactivity; multiple animations	154	243	400	600
E-learning Developed within a Template				
Limited interactivity; no animations (using software such as Lectora, Captivate, ToolBook, TrainerSoft)	118	365	40	100
Moderate interactivity; limited animations (using software such as Lectora, Captivate, ToolBook, TrainerSoft)	90	240	150	200
High interactivity; multiple animations (using software such as Lectora, Captivate, ToolBook, TrainerSoft)	136	324	60	300
Limited interactivity; no animations (using software such as Articulate)	73	116	NA	NA
Moderate interactivity; limited animations (using software such as Articulate)	97	154	NA	NA
High interactivity; multiple animations (using software such as Articulate)	132	214	NA	NA
Simulations				
Equipment or hardware (equipment emulation)	949	1743	600	1000
Softskills (sales, leadership, ethics, diversity, etc.)	320	731	NA	NA

Factors that effect development time

So why did some times increase and why does it take so long to develop instruction in the first place? (by develop we mean the ADDIE process). This leads us to our next question where would we be without our clients and SME's? Apparently developing instruction in a lot less time. Now this is not an attempt to knock clients SME's (we love them); however there were some clear trends in the qualitative responses indicating three main issues impacting the time to develop instruction and they primarily stem from the client; scope of work, technology, and review time.

It was noted in the qualitative comments that client project managers, SME(s), and their organizations, did not have a firm grasp on their own needs. This can be the cause of major time delays. Expectations of what the project would look like as a finished product causes delays as does the desire to add additional content at the last minute. Within the scope of work there were also sub-factors, such as

> lack of understanding of one's responsibility to project; which included not allotting enough time to review work, SME unavailability, provision of materials in a timely manner
>
> organizational changes; changes impacting either resources for the project or the overall project
>
> incompatible technology and/or lack of knowledge of a technology. It was noted several times that the clients' technology was incompatible and/or there was a learning curve to using the new tools. To a lesser degree it was also mentioned that software quirks also lent to development time being impacted.

So one of the ways to reduce the overall time to develop one hour of training is to streamline how you interact with the client. Finding methods to help the client work more effectively and understand the learning technologies would help to reduce the overall time investment.

Reducing the factors

We don't want to leave this article hanging on the negative attributes of developing an hour of training, so here are some ways to minimize some of these factors to reduce the time. Try incorporating a few of these best practices into your next project or better yet consider building them right into your process to speed up your projects.

> **Conduct an orientation for the SME and key project stakeholders.** During the time that you kick off the project and discuss roles and responsibilities include informational take-aways to reinforce main points reviewed during the meeting. For example, providing a SME with a description of their responsibilities and what that looks like from a time

perspective (how many hours should they set aside) can allow them to better prioritize and allocate their time for the project along with all of their other commitments.

Communicate, communicate, communicate. We may not want to do it, but more communication is effective for keeping project stakeholders current and familiar with the project and its present status and issues. The additional communications can also be leveraged to remind individuals of upcoming tasks and milestones. Help the SME or client prioritize by continually communicating to them their dea dlines.

Be prepared to help implement change management. If your client's organization just re-structured— they are probably dealing with their own internal change management processes. Create and implement your own change management process for these types of occurrences to ensure the project doesn't lose ground. For example, if you are losing two SME's from your project and gaining two new ones; have you developed a change management process to ensure that the two leaving are off-boarded and that you have everything you need from them to onboard the two new SME's?

Assess and develop a technology onboarding process. If you have identified that there is the potential for technology complications, build a parallel process that starts along with the rest of the project but handles identifying all concerns around the technology component of the project. Once the analysis is done develop a plan that resolves each issue identified in tandem with the other project goals to ensure the technology will work when its needed and that those key project members who must use the technology have been building their technology competency during the development of the training.

To be sure, "one hour of training" is not an absolute but can serve as a guide for managing projects that require the creation of instruction. In the current marketplace, the pressure is on to meet or exceed standards in terms of instructional development. Methods to reduce the overall time required are to ensure that the client-vendor (internally or externally vended) process accounts for the true breadth and depth of the client's expectations, the project stakeholders comprehend their role and responsibilities and the value of their contributions, and technological risk factors are considered. Once these factors are identified and addressed, the question "how long does it take to develop one hour of training" can continually have a shorter and shorter answer.

http://www.astd.org/Publications/Newsletters/Learning-Circuits/Learning-Circuits-Archives/2009/08/Time-to-Develop-One-Hour-of-Training