Operational Strategies to Build Police-Community Trust and Reduce Crime in Minority Communities:

THE MINNEAPOLIS CEDAR-RIVERSIDE EXPLORATORY POLICING STUDY

POLICE EXECUTIVE RESEARCH FORUM

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RESEARCH FORUM

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CONTENTS

FOREWORD

FROM 2012-2015, THE POLICE EXECUTIVE Research Forum (PERF), in partnership with the United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), and justice officials in the City of Minneapolis conducted an exploratory study of the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy in policing in a practical, real-world setting.

Specifically, the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD) led the charge on this effort to build public trust in the justice system in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood, a predominately East African immigrant community just east of downtown Minneapolis. This community is geographically separated from the rest of the city, and fear of the police, in addition to culture and language barriers, have made community members reluctant to engage with the police to help resolve crime and violence issues.

One of the most exciting aspects of the work in Cedar-Riverside—much of which is still ongoing—is that it is a joint effort among multiple justice agencies. Whereas other similar efforts have focused solely on policing or prosecution, this initiative focused on the broader criminal justice system. Police officers—in particular uniformed patrol officers—are more likely to interact with communities than are members of any other branch of the criminal justice system; consequently, police officers often become the *de facto* representatives of the justice system in many communities. However, there are many other players—police investigators, prosecutors, probation officers, and others—whose work directly impacts not only neighborhood safety, but also a community's trust in the justice system. Through this initiative, the criminal justice system in Minneapolis has paired the principles of procedural justice with evidence-based crime reduction strategies to develop a strong relationship with the Cedar-Riverside community. It is our belief that this approach works and has important implications for procedural justice work in other cities.

The lessons learned from this initiative have created the foundation for a national model for police and other justice system partners to build community relationships while reducing crime. This report includes many of the important lessons learned during the course of the project and provides the information needed for other communities to implement a similar model of collaborative policing and justice.

Chuck Wexler
Executive Director
PERF

LETTER FROM MINNEAPOLIS POLICE DEPARTMENT CHIEF MEDARIA ARRADONDO

Dear Colleagues,

It is with great enthusiasm that I write this letter. The Cedar-Riverside Study was a momentous effort for the Minneapolis Police Department, for our local justice partners, and for the Cedar-Riverside community. It has had a significant impact on all involved and has launched us into our current efforts to advance policing in Minneapolis.

While many of the program's concepts are not new, what is new is how we used the principles of procedural justice to rethink our current approaches and partnerships, and to empower officers to return to proactive, community-based policing. The Cedar-Riverside Study was a test of the "Minneapolis 2.0" concept, fully implemented in one community. It also paved the way for many internal changes, including how we link our investigators and officers in the field, how we think about our interactions in the community, and our understanding of how the police are perceived during our community interactions. There are steps we can take as police officers to improve the community's overall perception of the fairness of our interactions with them, by demonstrating respect and transparency in all our contacts with the community.

It also was career-changing for many of the officers involved. This program provided officers with a broader understanding of how the role of police officer can make a difference in community participation in the justice system; the influence that police officers can have in solving problems and addressing crime at the community level; and how to develop the partnerships with others in MPD and other parts of the justice system, to have a greater impact on crime and improve the overall quality of life in the community.

The program also provided officers with leadership and communication skills, relationship-building strategies, and problem-solving approaches that helped many of the participants to find new meaning in their jobs and to take the next steps to advance their careers at MPD.

I am fortunate to be able to write not only from my perspective as Chief of the Minneapolis Police Department, but also as a participant in the project. I joined the project team in 2013, when I was appointed as the Inspector of the First Precinct, and had my first real "test" with the Cedar-Riverside community during the devastating January 2014 fire in which several lives were lost. This program changed how I approached certain issues as a Precinct supervisor, as well as the professional development of officers, first-line supervisors, MPD investigators, and others as they put the principles of this program into practice and really began to work in collaboration with the community we served.

This program has been foundational in advancing policing in Minneapolis, and in the implementation of subsequent initiatives to build on this work, including efforts in partnership with the National Initiative to Build Community Trust and Justice.

This report documents the elements of our initiative and describes the experiences and lessons learned

by MPD and our partners. This report will be instructive to other local jurisdictions as they seek to improve police-community trust and build relationships to meaningfully address crime and violence.

Sincerely,

Medaria Arradondo
Chief of Police
Minneapolis Police Department

LETTER FROM FORMER MINNEAPOLIS POLICE CHIEF JANEÉ HARTEAU

Dear Colleagues,

In 2012, the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD) entered a partnership with the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) and the United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) to implement principles of procedural justice and police legitimacy, as a strategy for building community trust and preventing crime in Minneapolis.

Cedar-Riverside, a neighborhood east of downtown Minneapolis, was selected as the site for this study. Residents of Cedar-Riverside are predominantly from East Africa, and in the past, many have been reluctant to report crime and work with the police department. In many cases, this lack of trust stemmed from their bad experiences with police officials in their home countries.

The goal for MPD's work with BJA and PERF was to overcome these barriers to engaging with the police that existed in Cedar-Riverside, by using procedural justice concepts and working to build legitimacy within this community. By increasing the trust of the community and focusing on specific crime strategies, MPD also hoped to decrease crime. Our reality is that if police are not seen as having legitimacy in all our communities, we cannot have the level of public safety that we should have. Effective public safety requires public trust in the police.

Our efforts in Cedar-Riverside fit with my overall vision and expectations for the department. When I became chief in 2012, I laid out my plan, "MPD 2.0," which emphasizes professionalism, accountability, transparency, excellence in policing, and respect. I expected my officers to operate by a single guiding

principle: "Do my actions reflect how I would expect a member of my own family to be treated?" The project in Cedar-Riverside was an opportunity for a concentrated demonstration of these efforts to build trust department-wide.

Change takes time. In order to implement change and obtain results, an agency needs continued focus from the top down. Equally important is a willingness by supervisors and leaders to listen to officers. This is central to the concept of *internal* procedural justice in policing, which is about treating officers with respect and soliciting their views, in the same way we strive to treat community members with respect and ask them for their side of the story. Thus, we must listen carefully to the officers who have the most intimate knowledge of our various communities and the people who reside in each neighborhood. Support and input need to come from all levels.

During the exploratory study in Cedar-Riverside, we held meetings with the patrol officers to find out what was working for them, and what was not working. We consulted with our partners at the Minneapolis City Attorney's Office and the Hennepin County Department of Community Corrections and Rehabilitation. This was a collaborative process, aimed at creating a model that can be used by police and justice system partners across the nation to reduce crime while building relationships of trust with the communities they serve.

We had excellent results in Cedar-Riverside. Residents were more willing to report crime, and they had a better understanding of the intricacies of the criminal justice system. The officers became more

engaged and effective at doing their jobs. This structure helped build trust in a community where trust was lacking. And the changes we observed in Cedar-Riverside are only some of the impacts that departments can achieve with a sustained focus on procedural justice and legitimacy.

Minneapolis, like many cities across the country, had experienced challenges in its police-community relations during the last few years. Now more than ever, it is important for the police to engage with communities and build relationships. During my tenure, we worked on many strategies to achieve this, including the new body-worn camera program and our participation in enhanced training on implicit bias and building trust. We also continued to work on the mission of MPD 2.0 by increasing foot patrols, fostering attendance by officers at community engagement meetings, and conducting business checks to prevent crime. MPD's successes in Cedar-Riverside should be celebrated, and the challenges in other areas of the city highlight the need to institutionalize these concepts across the department.

The lessons learned in Minneapolis, as outlined in this report, demonstrate what can be achieved through a focus on legitimacy in policing and procedural justice. The policing profession needs community support to be successful, and programs like the one detailed in this report demonstrate the benefits of a renewed, concentrated focus on community engagement and collaboration.

Sincerely,

Janeé Harteau
Chief of Police (Retired)
Minneapolis Police Department

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE POLICE EXECUTIVE RESEARCH Forum (PERF), the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), and the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD) designed, implemented, and evaluated a three-and-a-half-year project that took place in the Cedar-Riverside area of Minneapolis that explored a new approach to policing in minority communities. The project's approach is built on the foundational concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy.

The Cedar-Riverside neighborhood provided a unique laboratory for testing the approach in a challenging, real-world setting. Cedar-Riverside has the largest population of East African (primarily Somali) immigrants in the United States, largely resulting from the influx of refugees entering the U.S. in the 1990s. Many residents still speak their native language and follow traditional culture and customs from their homeland. Furthermore, residents' perceptions of government and particularly the police have been tainted by the corruption and abuse these refugees witnessed or experienced in their native Somalia and other countries. Fear and misunderstanding between East African residents and the criminal justice system in Minneapolis (especially the police) have been and continue to be major challenges.

The objective of this project was to test the idea that crime prevention and enforcement efforts of police departments are strengthened when the police actively strive to improve their relationship with the community by using every interaction as an opportunity to demonstrate civil, unbiased, fair, and respectful policing. Given the diversity and unique challenges of Cedar-Riverside, it is believed that if the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy can be successfully implemented there, they can be applied in a broad range of other communities throughout the United States.

Initially conceived as a police-community project only, it became apparent early on that to fully implement and test the principles of procedural justice and legitimacy, other elements of the Minneapolis justice system would need to be included as well. MPD's partners in this effort included not only the Cedar-Riverside community, but also the Minneapolis City Attorney's Office, Hennepin County Attorney's Office, and Hennepin County Department of Community Corrections and Rehabilitation (probation). In addition, BJA and PERF brought in two nationally-recognized consultants to advise on the project: Dr. George Kelling, co-author of the "Broken Windows" model and renowned police researcher, and Dr. Tom Tyler, Professor of Law and Psychology at Yale Law School and a leading advocate for applying the principles of procedural justice to policing. This collaborative team designed, implemented, and evaluated evidence-based crime reduction tactics in the Cedar-Riverside area, resulting in a system-wide prototype that we believe can be replicated in other areas of the city and in other cities around the country.

PROJECT GOALS

The goals of this initiative were threefold:

1. To positively increase the community's perceptions that the Minneapolis Police Department, its officers, and the broader justice system are fair and responsive;

2. To positively increase perceptions that the police and the justice system are able to address persistent crime problems; and

3. To prevent crime through evidence-based anti-crime strategies, primarily collaborative problem-solving, directed patrol, and a focus on chronic offenders.

The Cedar-Riverside community was involved in developing these goals and shaping the program from the beginning. As the initiative began to take shape, the partners requested that the focus be expanded to two additional areas:

1. Building relationships with youth by increasing opportunities for police-community interactions; and

2. Improving the reporting of and response to aggravated assaults (especially domestic violence) in the community.

The project team felt that these two concerns fit well with the overall design and objectives of the initiative, and they were incorporated.

THE INTERSECTION OF PROCEDURAL JUSTICE AND LEGITIMACY IN POLICING

This project combined the principles of procedural justice (an essential element to developing positive community-police relationships and maintaining support) with evidence-based policing strategies to develop and evaluate approaches to improve relationships between police and the East African community in Minneapolis.

In general, **procedural justice** refers to fairness and transparency in the processes by which decisions are made. In policing, procedural justice comprises four elements:[1]

1. **Voice**: Police give community members an opportunity to voice their concerns or offer their explanation of a situation.

2. **Neutrality**: Police respond in a neutral way and apply rules fairly and consistently.

3. **Respect**: Police treat each community member with respect and dignity.

4. **Trust**: Police make efforts to demonstrate that they are trustworthy through their actions and words.

"Procedural justice" and "legitimacy" are relatively new terms in policing, and have come into common use in the last few years. However, the underlying principles of procedural justice have long been important to policing. Treating community members with respect and demonstrating objectivity in decision-making have been seen as fundamental aspects of successful policing for decades.[2]

Research into the concepts of procedural justice indicates that when police use the principles of procedural justice, they increase perceptions in the community that the police are "legitimate." **Legitimacy** in policing is reflected in three judgments:

1. Whether the public has trust and confidence in the police;

2. Whether residents are willing to defer to the law and to police authority; and

3. Whether residents believe that police actions are morally justified and appropriate to the circumstances of an encounter.[3]

So in policing, the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy are linked. They flow into, complement, and reinforce each other. And, together, they have profound implications far beyond improving police-community relations. *Increased community acceptance of the legitimacy of the police can lead to*

1. These four elements of procedural justice can be referenced in the work of Dr. Tom Tyler and others (Lind, E. A., & Tyler, T. R. (1988). The social psychology of procedural justice. New York: Plenum).

2. For more detailed definitions and explanations of these concepts, see *"Legitimacy and Procedural Justice: A New Element of Police Leadership."* Police Executive Research Forum. 2014. http://www.policeforum.org/assets/docs/Free_Online_Documents/Leadership/legitimacy%20and%20procedural%20justice%20-%20a%20new%20element%20of%20police%20leadership.pdf

3. Sargeant, E., Murphy, K., Davis, J., Mazerolle, L. "Legitimacy and Policing," in *Policing and Security in Practice: Challenges and Achievements*, edited by Tim Prenzler, 20-36. (Palgrave MacMillan: UK, 2012).

increases in both officer safety and the overall security of communities.[4]

Even as the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy have garnered interest and attention, there continues to be some misunderstanding and misinterpretation of what the concepts imply. Importantly, developing strategies or programs based on the principles of procedural justice or seeking to improve community perceptions of police legitimacy do not imply that police were somehow unjust or not legitimate in the past. **It simply means that the police are taking steps to proactively demonstrate and carry out these concepts in their daily interactions, with the ultimate goal of reducing crime and strengthening communities.**

The implementation of this project officially began after the appointment of Former Police Chief Janeé Harteau and aligned closely with her "MPD 2.0" vision for the department. Chief Harteau believed that police should be viewed as community leaders who are service-oriented and ethical. The Cedar-Riverside initiative was specifically focused on the "MPD 2.0" core values of **commitment, integrity, and transparency**, each of which is critical to the development and maintenance of perceptions of police legitimacy in the community. The project aimed to reduce crime through strategic, evidence-based policing initiatives and forging stronger bonds with the community.

On the national level, this initiative was intended to serve as a landmark study of these principles. The lessons learned from this initiative can be used to help police and other justice system partners to build community relationships while reducing crime.

PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

"This project is one of the most serious efforts to date to operationalize procedural justice in practice in the United States."

— PERF Executive Director Chuck Wexler

In early 2013, under the leadership of Chief Harteau, the Minneapolis Police Department began implementing this approach for building relationships with the community while focusing on reducing crime in the Cedar-Riverside community. Implementation in the community followed approximately 18 months of research, planning, and collaborative program design on the part of the police, justice system partners, and community members.

Based on initial discussions with community members and project partners, the initiative focused specifically on the crimes of: robbery, assault, aggravated assault, trespassing, and curfew violations.[5] These crimes were of most concern to the stakeholders. Local police officers indicated that focusing on trespass citations could actually prevent gang-related crimes. For example, police officers could work with property owners in areas where gang members were known to hang out to cite them for trespassing and prevent them from coming back into an area where they were likely to offend. Eventually, the project's focus was expanded to include two additional community concerns: youth crime and domestic violence.

In addressing the above crimes, the approach taken included five key, complementary components discussed below. Over a period of 24 months, this collaborative team focused on implementing these strategies and ensuring interactions and programs occurring within the Cedar-Riverside community were grounded in the principles of procedural justice.

1. **Ongoing Collaborative Information-Sharing and Discussion Sessions.** Facilitated sessions were used to bring the project team together with the police officers and others who directly

4. *"Legitimacy and Procedural Justice: A New Element of Police Leadership."* Police Executive Research Forum. 2014. http://www.policeforum.org/assets/docs/Free_Online_Documents/Leadership/legitimacy%20and%20procedural%20justice%20-%20a%20new%20element%20of%20police%20leadership.pdf

5. Officers looked for innovative ways to address the lesser violations of trespassing and curfew violations because increased arrests for these crimes would undermine the ultimate goal of building trust with the community and having officers seen as more than just an enforcement entity.

serve the Cedar-Riverside community to analyze issues and challenges specific to the area; to discuss the history and culture of the community, the concepts of procedural justice, and how to build community perceptions of police legitimacy; and to collaboratively design—and refine—the project's implementation strategy. These collaborative sessions were held approximately quarterly with all project partners.

2. **Bridging Language and Cultural Barriers.** MPD officials who participated in the project were given tools, such as iPhones, to help them bridge language and cultural gaps and improve overall communication between the police and some communities in Cedar-Riverside.

3. **Directed Patrol.** Partners (police, prosecutors, probation) focused on crime "hot spots" in the community and developed specific problem-oriented policing strategies for these areas.

4. **Focus on Chronic Offenders.** The Police Department, its partners, and community stakeholders devised strategies to enhance monitoring of high-risk, chronic offenders in the community, and especially in the community's crime hot spots. Specific protocols were developed with the Minneapolis Attorney's Office to increase convictions on so-called "Assault 5" crimes, which include the lower-level, misdemeanor offenses of assault, damage to property, violation of restraining orders, and disorderly conduct; and the Hennepin County Attorney's Office took the lead in building a Cedar-Riverside Neighborhood "Court Watch,"[6] to focus on prosecution of the most violent offenders in the community. The idea behind this approach was to identify and prosecute these offenders even for lower level offenses before they could commit additional violence in the community. Both of these programs have been used in Minneapolis in the past and were known to be effective, but only if police efforts were adequately supported by the community.

5. **Community Outreach.** Project partners (and MPD officers, in particular) sought to dramatically increase outreach efforts in Cedar-Riverside and to create more opportunities for both formal and informal interactions and collaborative initiatives. These included outreach at organized community events as well as informal interactions on the street.

PROJECT ASSESSMENT AND FINDINGS

Project partners discovered key aspects critical to the success of the project, including the flexibility of its framework, the ongoing discussion among partners to analyze and develop solutions to issues and challenges in the community, and the regular input from members of the Cedar-Riverside community.

However, determining whether specific policing strategies and behaviors actually impacted community perceptions of police and the justice system, and ultimately reduced crime in Cedar-Riverside, required many forms of process and impact data collection and analysis. Process assessments were used to monitor the fidelity of the implementation of the program. Process assessment tools allowed the project team to identify and address challenges that the practitioners faced early on. These tools included random on-site observations in both Cedar-Riverside and a separate control site, officer activity logs, reports from partner agencies, and monthly check-in calls.

The project team also used a series of impact assessment tools designed to capture quantitative evidence of any impact that the program had on the officers or the community. These tools included a pre/post survey of officers who participated in the project, a survey of community members' perceptions of the police and the justice system in Minneapolis, crime data analysis, and a review of charges and convictions for low-level offenses. Both the officer and community surveys were conducted in Cedar-Riverside and the control site, Horn Towers, as was the crime data analysis.

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6. The Hennepin County Attorney's website detailing the Court Watch programs can be found here: http://www.hennepinattorney.org/prevention/community-partnerships/court-watch

Assessment Findings

> "When this project started, it gave my job meaning, and it gave me a purpose. Rather than just answer calls, I'm going to focus on Cedar-Riverside, and I am going to make a connection. I found Somali culture to be such a refreshing culture. That gave my job meaning."
>
> *– MPD Officer Aaron Hanson*

Building police-community trust and reducing crime in minority communities are significant challenges that require an ongoing commitment from the police, community members, and justice officials who live and work there. Measuring the impacts of these efforts can often prove to be an even more challenging task.

Analysis of outcome data yielded few statistically significant impacts of the project on community perceptions of police or on crime rates. While the community surveys and other efforts used to gauge the community's perceptions of the police were for the most part positive, the number of responses received was not enough to yield conclusive results. Multiple methods of information collection were attempted to assess community perceptions, but various challenges in each of the approaches resulted in difficulty obtaining enough quality data suitable for analysis and drawing definitive conclusions.

Without sufficient quantitative support, the project's most compelling evidence of success was found in the testimony of the MPD officials, community members, and others who participated in the project. In particular, the patrol officers who participated in the project seemed to be most positively impacted by the experience. Officer perceptions of how actively community members protect themselves from crime, the importance of non-emergency crime reports in identifying neighborhood crime-related problems, the relationship between police and community members in the neighborhood, how well they understand the needs and concerns of the East African community, and how comfortable community members are in approaching police for assistance all increased significantly over the course of the intervention.

> "More young people are now interested in becoming community service officers with MPD, transit, or the fire department. Through this project, young people were able to see role models that made them realize this was a job opportunity for them."
>
> *– Crime Prevention Specialist Carla Nielson*

Further, the outcome evaluation of the "Assault 5" Collaborative Pilot Program between the police department and the city attorney's office suggests that this initiative was very successful. During the intervention period, 38.6% of all reported cases tracked under the Assault 5 program were charged, as compared with only 13.4% of reported cases being charged in the comparison period.

Lessons Learned

In addition to the assessment results, the Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study produced a number of important findings and lessons learned about the process of building and implementing a procedural justice model. Some of these are highlighted below. More detailed findings and lessons learned can be found in Chapter 5.

Even in a community with the unique challenges of Cedar-Riverside, **the principles of procedural justice can be operationalized into a coherent, community-based policing strategy.** And, as this work demonstrated, police officers and other justice system officers can be trained and supported in ways that operationalize procedural justice and, eventually, help to build community trust and enhance police legitimacy.

When seeking to implement procedural justice principles in a community, vision and leadership from the top are essential, but officers on the street must understand and "own" the operational details. Success will not come from officers being told what to do, but rather from officers exploring, developing, and refining their own approaches that they embrace and feel confident in implementing. At a critical juncture of the Cedar-Riverside project, it was project officers themselves who took the lead in developing the eight operational protocols (see page 25) that guided their legitimacy-building efforts in Cedar-Riverside.

Terms such as "procedural justice" and "police legitimacy" are still not widely understood, or even liked, especially among some rank-and-file officers who may feel the term makes a judgment about how they currently go about doing their jobs. In a project of this type, **it is important to take the time to explain and explore those concepts, and to encourage project participants to work through and come to their own understanding of what they mean and how they can best be applied.**

The issue of police legitimacy cannot be viewed or addressed in a vacuum. Enhancing police legitimacy often requires the involvement of other justice system agencies, which also benefit from increased trust and support from the community. As the Cedar-Riverside study demonstrated, this reality is especially true in immigrant communities where understanding of and trust in the justice system are low to begin with. A procedural justice model that recognizes and supports partnerships within the police department, as well as partnerships among the police, the community, prosecutors' offices, and probation officials, represents a strong foundation for enhancing trust and legitimacy.

To fully operationalize the principles of procedural justice in the community, police departments and other agencies must practice procedural justice internally, within their own agencies. That means being open and honest with employees, engaging in regular, two-way communication, and providing the resources and support needed for success. In this study, regular feedback sessions, conference calls, and interest and engagement from MPD and other agency supervisors and top leaders helped to ensure that the issues and concerns of project officers on the street were heard and addressed.

In a project of this magnitude and complexity, **participants need occasional refresher trainings–"booster shots"–to re-energize and adjust their approaches and serve to renew internal department focus on the initiative and support for their work**. Flexibility in design and

implementation—the ability to implement mid-course corrections based on changing conditions and unforeseen obstacles—were keys to progress in Cedar-Riverside.

It is essential to involve community leaders early in the process. This was especially critical in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood, because of the large East African population and the considerable language and cultural issues, and the negative past experiences with the police in their former home countries, that needed to be overcome.

If you want to see results, put the right people in place, and empower them to take ownership of the project. The progress achieved in Cedar-Riverside was due in large measure to the hard work and creativity of the police officers and other justice agency officials charged with making change on the ground. And for the people directly involved in the project, there were significant rewards in return. Not only did the Cedar-Riverside project officers report stronger police-community relations following the initiative, but also many of the officers were subsequently promoted to sergeant—an indication of the professional development benefits of being involved in a project of this nature. Recognizing and supporting this time of creativity is also a credit to their supervisors and to the project leaders within MPD and the other agencies.

Patience—projects of this type demand large doses of patience. Changing community perceptions of the police can take years, even decades. And seeing those changes translate into measurable reductions in crime and improvements in community safety can take even longer. This study demonstrated how important it is for police and justice system leaders, rank-and-file officers, and community leaders to be patient and committed to long–term change, and to embrace small victories along with a number of indicators of success, knowing that each of these interactions was building a foundation that would improve the future of community safety for everyone.

INTRODUCTION

SUPPORTING DATA-DRIVEN, COMPRE-hensive responses to crime in some of the country's most troubled communities is the focus of the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) Byrne Criminal Justice Innovations Grant Program.[7] Through this program, the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF), BJA, and the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD) collaborated on a three-and-a-half-year project in which police officers and other criminal justice partners worked to build community trust—and reduce crime—in a neighborhood where trust was severely lacking. Dr. George Kelling, nationally recognized criminologist and co-author of the "Broken Windows" model of policing, and Dr. Tom Tyler, Yale University law professor and one of the nation's leading authorities on procedural justice, assisted in the design and implementation of this work.

THE CEDAR-RIVERSIDE EXPLORATORY POLICING STUDY

> **"This is an important exploratory study. It stands in a lengthy tradition of the principles of policing in a democratic society."**
> *– Policing Expert Dr. George Kelling*

The goal of this project was to enhance community perceptions of police legitimacy through the use of procedural justice concepts, while also working with the community to address their crime concerns. This project tested the idea that crime prevention and law enforcement efforts of police departments are strengthened when police actively strive to improve their relationship with the community, by using *every interaction* as an opportunity to demonstrate civil, unbiased, fair, and respectful policing. The lessons learned from the implementation and outcomes of this exploratory study are being used to create guidelines for replicating this approach in other communities.

This study took place in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood of Minneapolis, in the MPD's First Precinct. Cedar-Riverside is home to the largest population of East African (primarily Somali) immigrants in the United States. This community posed a number of unique policing challenges, including language and cultural barriers, some geographic isolation, misunderstanding of the United States justice system, and significant mistrust of the police. Adding to these challenges were issues of gang affiliation and even the threat of Islamic radicalization, starting with a group of youth including several from the Cedar-Riverside community, who joined al-Shabaab in 2007 and 2008; and the more recent involvement of community members with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). Given these substantial challenges, the thinking was that if procedural justice concepts could be effectively implemented, and police legitimacy enhanced in Cedar-Riverside, this same approach could be successfully applied in other communities as well.

> **"There is a young kid and his family who I have gotten to know well through this project. His mom had called me because he had gone missing. As I'm taking the report, he came home. I talked to him, and I suspected he was getting into a radicalized group. I spent time connecting with this family and this kid. Once I got involved, I felt I was able to help bring him around. The family feels I had a big impact in keeping him from becoming radicalized.**

7. "What is BCJI?" Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC). Accessed 4/14/15 http://www.lisc.org/our-initiatives/safe-neighborhoods/bcji/what-bcji/

I have maintained my connection with him, and now I mentor him and talk to him about completely different issues. We didn't even realize these kids were getting radicalized before. It was because I had a relationship with his family that they brought it to my attention."

– Officer Abdiwahab Ali

The Partners

The Minneapolis Police Department, then-led by Police Chief Janeé Harteau, was the initial driver of this initiative. While police are most often the face of the criminal justice system in the community, it was clear very early in the project that the Police Department would not be effective without the involvement of other community and justice system partners. Therefore, MPD engaged a number of partners in this effort, including the following:

- Cedar-Riverside community (including community leaders, businesses and civic organizations, and religious leaders)
- Minneapolis City Attorney's Office
- Hennepin County Attorney's Office
- Hennepin County Department of Community Corrections and Rehabilitation.

Working together, these partners designed, implemented, and evaluated this approach. This project is referred to as "exploratory," because even though the work was supported with a firm project design and process assessment measures, the implementation process was fluid and flexible, allowing for changes, modifications, even expansions along the way. This project included a 16-month planning phase (during which there was a change in police chiefs) and a 24-month implementation period when the study was conducted. Under the project's collaborative design, partners came together on a regular basis to review progress to date, identify successes and obstacles, and make necessary adjustments. The project design was able to be refined and improved over the course of the two-year study period, as opposed to waiting until the end to identify steps that *could have* been taken earlier. Having a flexible, collaborative, and exploratory project design and implementation was especially important given the challenging and sensitive nature of the work in this community.

A detailed timeline of the project and major milestones can be found in Appendix A.

Challenges and Results

Consistent with the nature of field research, the project team encountered unanticipated challenges at just about every turn, including weather-related issues (which postponed meetings and implementation for certain activities), and staffing changes within the MPD that impacted the trajectory of the work. In addition, over the course of the study it became apparent that some of the data, such as information on calls for service, were not as reliable as expected at the beginning of the project. Also, gauging community feedback through data collection approaches such as community contact cards and surveys proved especially challenging in the control site, potentially because the efforts to build trust were not ongoing in this area, and did not yield definitive results.

In anticipation of these challenges, the project included a number of process and impact measures. For example, process measures included onsite observations by a field researcher. Officers also documented project activities for each shift. Impact measures included crime data, and officer and community surveys. Adjustments were made to the research approach throughout the project's implementation, and these adjustments are described in detail in Chapter 4 of this report. These implementation challenges and adjustments are especially relevant for other police and justice officials who may seek to implement and evaluate procedural justice approaches in their communities. This report identifies those challenges and provides examples of how a project approach can be modified to accommodate change. At the end of the day, this exploratory study yielded many specific strategies for incorporating the principles of procedural justice into evidence-based policing approaches. It also yielded many lessons learned, and promising and interesting findings, such as the overwhelmingly positive impact of the project on the job performance and satisfaction of officers who participated, as well as the significant impact it had on their ability to partner on specific cases to ensure successful prosecution of targeted offenders.

Why Is This Project Important?

On the national level, this initiative is one of the first studies of its kind on the impacts of the principles of procedural justice and police legitimacy. This project explores the theory that how the public feels about

the police is closely tied to the outcomes of policing efforts. **If the public trusts the police and is willing to work with them, the positive impacts of evidence-based crime reduction and prevention strategies will be enhanced. Alternatively, if trust and collaboration are not present, even the most tried-and-true policing strategies will ultimately be ineffective or less effective than they might otherwise be.**

These ideas are not new. Past research indicates that the process and content of individual interactions between the police and community are more important than the outcomes in establishing community trust in the police and perceptions of their legitimacy.[8] **What is new is the effort to apply the concepts of procedural justice to daily police-community interactions (traffic stops, business checks, response to calls for service, beat patrols, etc.) in a specific effort to build relationships and trust with the community. It is hoped that this trust, in turn, will promote better community assistance with law enforcement efforts. Ultimately, through the application of procedural justice, and the community trust and assistance that follow, agencies will gain greater cooperation in policing activities, which may be needed now more than ever before in many communities.**

This project sought to answer the following questions:

- Is it possible to operationalize policing strategies based on the principles of procedural justice?

- Can officers be trained to work in ways that build community trust using the concepts of procedural justice?

- Are there ways that officers can better use their discretion to support the big-picture goals of community policing and overall community safety?

- How can supervisors model and coach this type of policing?

- If confidence and trust in the police increase, will a measurable decrease in crime follow?

- How do you build acceptance of the police in a community that mistrusts and perhaps is fearful of the police or government in general, and whose culture, language, and customs are vastly different from the mainstream?

As a part of this work, PERF captured the findings and lessons learned in Minneapolis and used this information to inform the development of a procedural justice approach to policing. The purpose of developing such an approach was to assist other departments in replicating similar efforts by highlighting the most important implementation findings and lessons learned.

PURPOSE AND ORGANIZATION OF THIS REPORT

This report provides a detailed overview of the theory, methodology, implementation, and findings from the Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study. The report also discusses the challenges, lessons learned, and implications for a justice system-wide model that can be replicated in other areas of the city and in other communities around the country.

- **Chapter 1** provides the theoretical foundation for the study, explaining the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy, and why they are timely and relevant to the field of policing.

- **Chapter 2** provides a detailed description of the Cedar-Riverside community and its challenges, particularly as they relate to policing and the administration of justice.

- **Chapter 3** details the goals and objectives of the study, the project's planning phase, and implementation.

- **Chapter 4** presents the evaluation process, measures of effectiveness, and overall project findings.

- **Chapter 5** describes the implications of this study for a policing approach based on procedural justice, as well as a summary of the challenges and lessons learned.

- **Chapter 6** looks at the next steps in refining and expanding this approach to policing.

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8. Mazerolle, L., Antrobus, E., Bennet, S., Tyler, T. R. "Shaping Citizen Perceptions of Police Legitimacy: A Randomized Field Trial of Procedural Justice," *Criminology* 51(1)(2013): 33-64

Procedural Justice and Policing – An Overview

THE CONCEPTS OF PROCEDURAL justice and legitimacy have never been more relevant in policing and more central to police leadership than they are today.[9] Issues such as police use of force, officer misconduct, and perceptions of biased policing practices in high-crime areas have severely challenged police-community relations in communities across the nation.

Tensions between police and community are particularly acute in predominately minority or immigrant communities where fear and mistrust of the police have often prevented the successful implementation of many evidence-based approaches to reducing violence. These broken relationships ultimately keep the community and police from actively partnering to prevent crime and make it extremely difficult for police agencies to gain the legitimacy in the eyes of the community that is so crucial to the safety of both neighborhood residents and the police officers who protect them.

NATIONAL CONTEXT AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATION FOR THE STUDY

Despite the movement toward community policing in recent decades, there continue to be notable racial and ethnic disparities in community assessments of

satisfaction with the police, with minority groups exhibiting significantly more negative attitudes about police. In a Reuters poll conducted over the first seven months of 2016, 31% of white respondents agreed with the statement, "Police officers tend to unfairly target minorities," but 77% of black respondents and 59% of Hispanics agreed with that statement.[10]

Community policing has always stressed the importance of efforts by police to build partnerships with community organizations and individuals. But the concept of *legitimacy* in policing, which focuses on a particular aspect of police-community relations, has only recently gained momentum and interest at the national level over the last ten or so years. The foundation for this study is research findings showing the positive impact that procedural justice has on community perceptions of police legitimacy, which is an essential element to community-police relationships and support. This study attempted to translate these concepts into concrete approaches to improving relationships between police and the East African community in Minneapolis.

The concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy are defined below and a brief summary of the research is provided.

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9. For an analysis of how procedural justice and legitimacy intersect with police leadership, see *Legitimacy and Procedural Justice: A New Element in Police Leadership.* Police Executive Research Forum, Washington, DC, 2014. Available at http://www.policeforum.org/assets/docs/Free_Online_ Documents/Leadership/legitimacy%20and%20procedural%20 justice%20-%20a%20new%20element%20of%20police%20 leadership.pdf.

10. "Police Accountability: Police officers tend to unfairly target minorities." Reuters Polling, 2016. Available at http://polling. reuters.com/#poll/TM414Y14_3/dates/20160101-20160721/ type/overall

WHAT IS PROCEDURAL JUSTICE?

Procedural justice has both theoretical and practical dimensions. Theoretically, procedural justice is the idea that authority figures (police, courts, etc.) gain trust and deference from the public when they use a fair, unbiased process within their official capacity. In a practical setting, procedural justice refers to whether the actions and procedures used by a police officer are such that community members feel they are being treated fairly and with the proper respect.[11] Within this practical definition, procedural justice can be broken down into four separate elements: voice, neutrality, respect, and trustworthiness:[12]

Voice	The opportunity to state one's case, tell one's story; to provide input when policies are being created and implemented.
Neutrality	Consistent and rule-based decision-making. Transparency and accountability allow people to see that decision-making has been neutral.
Respect	Respect for people and their rights. Treating people with dignity and showing sensitivity to their status as members of the community.
Trust	Demonstrating that you are trying to do what is right.

It is important to note that in policing, procedural justice applies not only to each individual action or encounter involving a police officer and a member of the community. Procedural justice also gets to the broader issue of setting public safety priorities in a community and developing crime-reduction strategies. Under true procedural justice, community members feel they have a voice in these larger decisions as well.

WHAT IS LEGITIMACY?

As with procedural justice, understanding the complexities of the concept of legitimacy is essential. For this report we use the following definition: "Legitimacy is a psychological property of an authority, institution, or social arrangement that leads those connected to it to believe that it is appropriate, proper, and just."[13] To simplify, the term "legitimacy" describes the public's perception of police as a justified and fair authority, and one that has the community's interests at heart. Furthermore, "because of legitimacy, people feel that they ought to defer to decisions and rules, following them voluntarily out of obligation rather than out of fear of punishment or anticipation of reward."[14]

THE INTERSECTION OF PROCEDURAL JUSTICE AND LEGITIMACY IN POLICING

The underlying principles of procedural justice have long been important to policing. Treating community members with respect and demonstrating objectivity in decision-making are generally seen as fundamental aspects of successful policing dating back to the early 19th Century and Sir Robert Peel's Principles of Law Enforcement. For example, Peel's Principle #2 states, "The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon *public approval* of police existence, action, behavior and the ability of the police to secure and maintain *public respect*."[15] Peel also recognized that public cooperation with the police can diminish when police use physical force and compulsion unnecessarily or are viewed as less than impartial or just. Nearly 200 years later, even as society and its crime problems have evolved and become more complex, these concepts remain foundational to effective policing.

Legitimacy, which flows from procedural justice, is an essential element of policing because a police officer's work often hinges on the public's compliance with orders and the public's cooperation in

11. Tyler, Tom. "What are legitimacy and procedural justice in policing? And why are they becoming key elements of police leadership?" in *Legitimacy and Procedural Justice: A New Element of Police Leadership,* edited by Craig Fischer (Washington, D.C.: Police Executive Research Forum, 2014), 7.

12. Lind, E.A., Tyler, T.R. "The Social Psychology of Procedural Justice." (1988): New York, NY: Plenum Press.

13. Tyler, T. R. "Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy and Legitimation." *Annual Review of Psychology* 57(2006): 375-400.

14. Ibid.

15. "Sir Robert Peel's Principles of Law Enforcement." Available at https://www.durham.police.uk/About-Us/Documents/Peels_Principles_Of_Law_Enforcement.pdf. Emphasis added.

efforts to fight crime. Furthermore, being viewed as "legitimate" is essential to the ability of the police to build community trust, establish partnerships, conduct targeted enforcement efforts, and address community concerns of racial bias. All of these factors have an impact on the outcome and success of many of the evidence-based programs used to reduce violence.

Research suggests that community involvement and support are critical to the ability of the police to effectively reduce crime and prevent violence.[16] Public support has the potential to lead to "greater public deference to the police when the police have personal interactions with members of the community, increased compliance with the law, higher levels of cooperation with police efforts to manage crime, and stronger institutional support for police departments."[17] The community's cooperation and support have been key components of evidence-based crime

reduction strategies, such as problem solving and hot spot deployment efforts.[18] Conversely, the effectiveness of these strategies can be undermined by a lack of trust in the police or belief that the police act inappropriately.[19]

Finally, a number of police agencies have begun to consider the idea that being viewed as "legitimate" is essential to their ability to ultimately carry out strategies, such as targeted enforcement efforts, that the police believe are in the community's best interest. **If this is the case, linking strategies to increase police legitimacy with other evidenced-based approaches could have a tremendous impact on crime and crime reduction in these communities. The seemingly natural progression from procedural justice to legitimacy to public support for evidence-based crime reduction strategies to actual reductions in crime is explored in this study.**

16. Uchida, C. D., Swatt, M. L., Solomon, S. E., Varano, S. "Data-Driven Crime Prevention: New Tools for Community Involvement and Crime Control." Final report submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/245408.pdf; Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., Earls, F. "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy." Science 277 (1997): 918-924.

17. Tyler, Tom. "What are legitimacy and procedural justice in policing? And why are they becoming key elements of police leadership?" in *Legitimacy and Procedural Justice: A New Element of Police Leadership,* edited by Craig Fischer (Washington, D.C.: Police Executive Research Forum, 2014), 7-8.

18. McGarrell, E.F., Chermak, S. "Problem-Solving Approaches to Homicide: An Evaluation of the Indianapolis Violence Reduction Partnership." *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 15(2)(2004): 161-192.

19. Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., Earls, F. "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy." Science 277 (1997): 918-924.

The Cedar-Riverside Community

THE PURPOSE OF THIS EXPLORATORY study is to enhance community perceptions of police legitimacy through the use of procedural justice concepts, while also working with the community to address their crime concerns. **This project explores the idea that the crime reduction efforts of police departments are strengthened when police actively strive to improve their relationship with the community, by using *every interaction* as an opportunity to demonstrate civil, unbiased, fair, and respectful policing.**

As home to perhaps the largest population of East African (primarily Somali) immigrants in the United States, the Cedar-Riverside community of Minneapolis provided a unique and challenging laboratory for exploring these concepts.

CEDAR-RIVERSIDE AT A GLANCE

Cedar-Riverside is a small, compact community situated just east of downtown Minneapolis and near the main University of Minnesota campus (see Sidebar on page 15 for more on the history of the neighborhood). The neighborhood is only about one-half of a square mile in area and is somewhat isolated geographically, being flanked on two sides by major freeways (Interstates 94 and 35W) and on the other side by the Mississippi River. Cedar-Riverside is home to a number of University of Minnesota buildings, Augsburg College, and a large medical center. These institutions take up about half of the total land area, with the remainder being residential and small commercial properties.

BOUNDARIES OF THE CEDAR-RIVERSIDE NEIGHBORHOOD[20]

With a resident population hovering between 7,000 and 8,000 individuals since 2008, Cedar-Riverside's population density is far higher than Minneapolis as a whole and is more similar to major cities such as New York and Los Angeles.[21] The Riverside Plaza apartment complex, built in 1973 and subsequently expanded from three to six buildings, contributes significantly to this population density. The complex has 1,303 rental units, providing housing for approximately 4,000 individuals, or more than half of the neighborhood's population.[22]

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20. "University – Cedar Riverside." Lofts and Condos Realtors. Retrieved from http://www.minnesotaloftsandcondos.com/building-directory/twin-cities/minneapolis/universitycedar-riverside/

21. U.S. Census Bureau. "Selected Social Characteristics in the United States 2010-2014 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Census Tract 1048, Hennepin County, Minnesota."

22. Sherman Associates. "Riverside Plaza." Last modified November 23, 2013. http://www.sherman-associates.com/riversideplaza.

While the Riverside Plaza complex was originally intended to be a mix of low- and high-income rental and lease units, the complex was converted to subsidized housing soon after it opened. As a result, the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood became a center for immigrant and minority populations, in particular newly arrived populations.[23] By the 1990s, the population of East African immigrants had grown sharply, as civil unrest in Somalia prompted thousands of East African refugees to enter the United States.[24] The Riverside Plaza Tenants Association estimates that 80% of its residents are East African, approximately 20% are Asian, and a very small percentage are Latinos and African Americans.

Today, the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood is home to perhaps the largest population of East African immigrants in America; the majority are Somali, with a small minority of Oromo, an ethnic tribe also from East Africa. Table 1 demonstrates the diversity and East African influence of the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood.

The neighborhood draws its name from its two main thoroughfares, Cedar Avenue and Riverside Avenue. Cedar Avenue runs north-south through the heart of the community and is lined with small immigrant-owned shops and cafes that cater mainly to the East African population. Local businesses serve as hubs for community activity, news, and conversation. Cedar-Riverside also has a large number of long-standing shops, bars, restaurants, music venues, and theaters whose clientele are typically non-East Africans.

Just to the east of the Riverside Plaza complex, across Cedar Avenue, is Cedar East. This section of Cedar-Riverside is predominantly single-family homes and small apartment buildings.[25] The West Bank Community Development Corporation, which was formed in opposition to the construction of the Riverside Plaza complex in the early 1970s,

Table 1. Selected Demographics of Cedar-Riverside

	Estimate
Total Population	7,258
Naturalized U.S. Citizen	1,674
Foreign Born	3,113
Asian	766
Korea	221
African	2,151
East African	2,121
Foreign Born entered between 1990-2009	2,972
Language other than English Spoken at Home	3,229
Sub-Saharan African Ancestry	2,666
Income in the Past 12 months below Poverty Level	3,133 (out of 5,439 eligible, or 57.6%)

Source: *U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey, 5-Year Estimates, 2008-2013 for Census Tract 1048 in Hennepin County, Minnesota*

owns a large portion of this land, which it rents to commercial and residential tenants.

POLICING CHALLENGES IN THE CEDAR-RIVERSIDE COMMUNITY

The Cedar-Riverside community poses a number of unique policing challenges, not the least of which are significant language and cultural barriers. Many of the neighborhood's residents, in particular its elders, still speak their native language, and their customs and practices for responding to crime and resolving disputes do not always involve government. In fact, residents are often reluctant or even unwilling to report crime or share information with the police. Many East African immigrants are unclear about the law and do not understand the role of the police or the workings of the U.S. justice system. Operating under a strong, clan-based system of justice, many East African immigrants prefer to settle criminal

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23. Martin, Judith A. *Recycling The Central City: The Development of a New Town-In Town.* (Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota: Minneapolis, 1978).

24. Elston, Justin. "Riverside Plaza - History in the (Re)making." *TC Daily Planet,* October 21, 2010.

25. Stoecker, Randy. *Defending Community: The Struggle for Alternative Redevelopment in Cedar-Riverside.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010).

History and Background on Cedar-Riverside

The Cedar-Riverside neighborhood, named for the two main avenues that intersect it, has a dynamic history. From the late 1800s into the 1940s, Cedar-Riverside, like much of Minneapolis, was home to Scandinavian and Northern European immigrants. During the 1950s and 1960s, the neighborhood was largely cut off from the rest of the city by the construction of two major interstate highways through Minneapolis.[26] Also during this time period, due to the neighborhood's proximity to the University of Minnesota, the area transitioned into a hub of countercultural activity.[27] Referred to as the "The Haight-Ashbury of the Midwest," Cedar-Riverside attracted a diverse mix of residents, businesses, and organizations that remained active

McKnight Tower, Riverside Plaza Mural
PERF, MAY 2012

into the 1990s, with some still in existence today.[28]

In 1973, the Riverside Plaza apartment complex was built. Designed by architect Ralph Rapson, the original three high-rise apartment buildings, all of varying heights, have bright, multicolor panels placed randomly throughout their structure. The construction, which was fraught with political and community conflicts, is now the neighborhood's most visible feature, with a total of six buildings housing some 4,000 residents. A Minneapolis landmark, Riverside Plaza is on the National Register of Historic Places.[29, 30]

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matters internally, often with monetary payments or other forms of restitution.

Further complicating the challenges in Cedar-Riverside is the fact that many of these immigrants have had unfavorable, even abusive prior experiences with the police, either in their native countries or as refugees in countries such as Kenya (see Sidebar on the history of Somalia on page 18). As a result, there is a significant level of mistrust of the police in general and misinterpretation of police actions. Miscommunication and fear of interacting with law enforcement are issues faced in immigrant and minority communities nationwide, but they are particularly acute in Cedar-Riverside.

In addition to the traditional challenges of policing a largely immigrant community, Cedar-Riverside presents an additional concern: radicalization and terrorism. Cedar-Riverside has been the focus of federal terrorism investigations since a number of young Somali men left the community to fight for al-Shabaab, starting in late 2007. Al-Shabaab is the militant wing of the Somali Council of Islamic

Courts that has conducted a violent, anti-government insurgency in southern and central Somalia. In 2008, the U.S. government designated al-Shabaab a Foreign Terrorist Organization, and in 2012 offered rewards for the capture of several al-Shabaab leaders.[31]

In October 2008, five suicide bombers, all striking within half an hour, attacked government and United Nations buildings in northern Somalia resulting in an estimated 21 casualties.[32] One of the attackers, identified as Shirwa Ahmed of Minneapolis, became the first known American suicide bomber.[33] As a result, the Cedar-Riverside community has been

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26. Stoecker, Randy. *Defending Community: The Struggle for Alternative Redevelopment in Cedar-Riverside.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010).

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Sherman Associates. "Riverside Plaza." Last modified November 23, 2013. http://www.sherman-associates.com/riversideplaza.

31. National Counterterrorism Center, Counterterrorism Guide. Available at http://www.nctc.gov/site/groups/al_shabaab.html.

32. Ibrahim, M., Gettleman, J. "5 Suicide Bomb Attacks Hit Somalia." *The New York Times* (October 29, 2008, Accessed 4/14/15). http://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/30/world/africa/30somalia.html

33. Yuen, L. "FBI Confirms Man Allegedly Behind Somali Suicide Bombing as Minn. Man." *MPR News* (June 9, 2011, Accessed 4/14/15). http://www.mprnews.org/story/2011/06/09/somali-bomber

subject to intense scrutiny by federal, state, and local law enforcement, as well as by other residents. More recently, in April 2015, the FBI arrested six Somali-Americans from Minnesota and charged them with conspiracy to aid and support the ISIL (Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant) terrorist organization. In announcing the arrests, the FBI said that during the last two years, more than 20 Somali-Americans from the Minneapolis area have left the United States to fight under the banner of ISIL and that young Somali men continue to be targeted and influenced by sophisticated ISIL recruiting campaigns.[34] This scrutiny by law enforcement has served to further reinforce the tightly knit bonds and insulation of many community members in Cedar-Riverside.

At the same time that the community was shaken by the radicalization of some of its young men,[35] a more traditional crime problem began to increase in Cedar-Riverside: gangs and youth violence. East African youths began to rebel from their more traditional older family members as they tried to assimilate into U.S. culture. However, the gangs and violence still seemed to be aligned by clan and, thus, were often outside the understanding of local police. When crime or violence occurred, it was often not reported and the community would rarely speak about it to the police. Instead, residents preferred to rely on their traditional clan-based justice systems, in which the elders of each clan resolved crimes and disputes, usually with a monetary payout. When violence was brought to the attention of the local police, witness intimidation was common, and fear of retaliation, especially if gangs were involved, hindered criminal investigations and prosecutions.

From 2008-2010, MPD noted an increasing number of gang-related shootings and other violence, including aggravated assaults and robberies in Cedar-Riverside involving individuals thought to be of Somali or Ethiopian ethnicity. These homicides included

seven cases in which young Somali men were killed, and police believe that several of those cases involved gang activity and retaliatory violence. In addition, three major gun store burglaries, resulting in an estimated total loss of 100 guns, were believed to have been committed by young Somali gang members. Members of the Cedar-Riverside community feared for their safety, but for many of the reasons cited above and others, they did not want to participate in the U.S. justice system, nor did they trust that the police could ensure their safety if they did.

As one example, in 2008, a Somali college student was shot and killed outside a neighborhood community center in Cedar-Riverside. Witnesses were reluctant to come forward until another Somali youth was killed nearby about a week later. A teenage suspect was eventually arrested but was released when the witnesses recanted their statements and refused to testify. Residents report that the relationship between police and Somali youths has been particularly strained ever since these episodes. During a meeting with project partners one Somali leader advised that, from his perspective, the relationship between youth and the police had become one of "I'll stay away from you; you stay away from me."

Beyond these substantial challenges related to culture, language, and crime problems, the Cedar-Riverside community also posed two very significant logistical challenges for police officers. While Cedar-Riverside is part of the Minneapolis Police Department's First Precinct, it is very different and isolated from the rest of the precinct, which includes the central business district of downtown Minneapolis. The First Precinct is geographically the smallest of the MPD's five precincts. Still, because of the demands for police service, ensuring the staffing and resources to police both downtown and nearby neighborhoods such as Cedar-Riverside has traditionally been a challenge. Further, more than half of the residents of Cedar-Riverside live in Riverside Towers—tall, insular structures consisting of winding stairways and narrow halls, with no views into the buildings from the outside. Trying to effectively and safely police in this type of physical environment, and to proactively engage the community, are enormous challenges as well.

34. McEnroe, P. "Six More From Minnesota Arrested Charged with Planning to Join ISIL." *StarTribune* (April 21, 2015, Accessed 4/14/15). http://www.startribune.com/april-21-six-from-minn-charged-with-planning-to-join-isil/300659531/

35. Temple-Raston, D. "For Somalis in Minneapolis, Jihadi Recruiting is a Recurring Nightmare." *NPR* (February 18, 2015, Accessed 4/14/15). http://www.npr.org/2015/02/18/387302748/minneapolis-st-paul-remains-a-focus-of-jihadi-recruiting

MPD POLICE PRECINCTS AND
MINNEAPOLIS NEIGHBORHOODS[36]
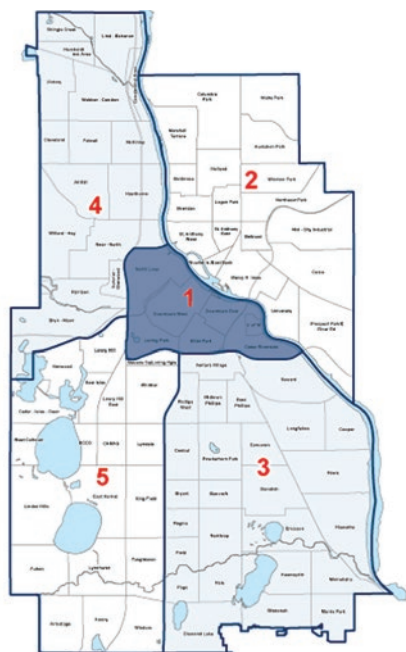
A UNIQUE COMMUNITY FOR
A UNIQUE STUDY

It is this combination of factors—historical, cultural, demographic, and criminological—that made Cedar-Riverside a unique learning laboratory for testing the concepts of procedural justice, police legitimacy, and evidence-based crime reduction. The fact that such a high percentage of the neighborhood's immigrant residents have a limited understanding of the U.S. criminal justice system, and many not only disregard but deeply distrust the police as an institution, presented a challenge for the designers of the study. For the police officers and other officials responsible for implementing these concepts, the challenges were often compounded by language and cultural differences. There are few other communities, in Minneapolis or in other major U.S. cities, that present the type and number of challenges faced by the people involved in this exploratory study.

But while Cedar-Riverside may be unique in many respects, the approaches tried and the lessons learned from this study are certainly applicable to communities throughout the country that are struggling with problems of crime and the erosion of trust between police and community. Throughout the course of the study, people expressed the belief that "if this can work in Cedar-Riverside, it can work anywhere." As noted later in this report, the lessons learned in this unique and vibrant community can help inform a national approach for procedural justice and legitimacy that can be replicated elsewhere.

36. "Police Precincts & Neighborhoods." City of Minneapolis, MN, http://www.ci.minneapolis.mn.us/police/precincts/index.htm

A Brief History of Somali Government, Civil War, and Refugees

In 1960, after decades of colonization, Somalia was united into a single independent nation with a civilian government.[37] By 1969, government corruption resulted in a military coup led by General Mohammed Siad Barre, who assassinated the president and took control of the government.[38] General Barre established a socialist military government and ruled for the next 22 years. Over that time period, his leadership became increasingly oppressive, autocratic, and led to the formation of numerous clan-based militias that opposed his leadership.[39] In 1990 a full-scale civil war broke out in Somalia, and by 1991 General Barre was overthrown and exiled.

The civil war led to the dispersing of Somali refugees to neighboring countries such as Djibouti, Kenya, Ethiopia, Burundi, and Yemen, as well to the United States.[40] According to the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement, between 1983-2004, 55,036 Somali were resettled in the United States, with 13,000 entering the country in 2004 alone. The vast majority of these refugees settled in Minnesota, California, Georgia, and Washington, D.C.[41]

The trauma associated with war, including torture, rape, mass violence, severe poverty, and famine, has led to high rates of mental illness among Somali refugees. In particular, many refugees have experienced post-traumatic stress, anxiety, and depression.[42] The exposure to torture is particularly prevalent among Somali and Oromo living in the United States. In a survey of East African refugees, 44% reported experiencing torture at one point or another, with men and women having experienced torture at equal rates.[43] Kenya has been the temporary home to hundreds of thousands of Somali refugees over the past two decades, many of whom eventually ended up in the United States. In 2010, Human Rights Watch published a 99-page report documenting the widespread human rights violations that Somali refugees in Kenya experienced at the hands of Kenyan law enforcement.[44]

Beyond abusive law enforcement practices in both Somalia and Kenya, the structure and practices of Somali culture and their criminal justice system are different from those in the United States. While a formal, Western-like, justice system does exist in Somalia, the civil war and years of autocratic governments have left it lacking independence, consistency, and rife with corruption.[45] More importantly, traditional Somali culture practices a combination of shari'a law and xeer law.[46] Xeer law is best described as an unwritten customary law that exists between Somali clans and is enforced by elders who solve disputes using precedents.[47] As a society that emphasizes the collective over the individual, punishments in Somali culture are given not only to the individual, but also to the clan that the individual comes from. The most common of these punishments is the diya or blood price.[48] A diya "is used for all types of crimes, including homicides. This system of paying the diya continued after Somali independence and is still used to this day."[49]

37. Lewis, Toby. "Somali Cultural Profile." Last modified March 16, 2015. https://ethnomed.org/culture/somali/somali-cultural-profile.

38. Putnam, Diana B., and Mohamood Cabdi Noor. *The Somalis: Their History and Culture*. Washington, DC: The Refugee Service Center, Center for Applied Linguistics: 1999.

39. Lewis, Toby. "Somali Cultural Profile." Last modified March 16, 2015. https://ethnomed.org/culture/somali/somali-cultural-profile.

40. Putnam, Diana B., and Mohamood Cabdi Noor. *The Somalis: Their History and Culture*. Washington, DC: The Refugee Service Center, Center for Applied Linguistics: 1999.

41. U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement. "Annual report to Congress 2004: Amerasian, Aslyee (From Northern Iraq), Entrant, and Refugee Arrivals by Country of Origin and State of Initial Resettlement for FY 2004". Washington, DC: U.S. Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families. 2004.

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The Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study

THIS CEDAR-RIVERSIDE EXPLORATORY Policing Study sought to apply research findings on the impact of procedural justice on community perceptions of police legitimacy (an essential element to strong community-police relationships) and to translate the key principles of procedural justice into concrete operational strategies to reduce crime and violence. This chapter details the study's design and implementation, with a particular focus on how implementation was altered and refined over the course of study, often in response to unexpected events or outcomes along the way. From an operational standpoint, flexibility and the willingness to adjust to changing conditions were hallmarks of the approach, and an important lesson for practitioners looking to replicate this type of initiative in other communities.

PROJECT GOALS AND PRELIMINARY STEPS

As noted in the previous chapter, the Cedar-Riverside community was a very complex community that presented multiple, significant policing challenges that would put the principles of procedural justice to the test. Implementing procedural justice in Cedar-Riverside would compel the team to address many of the issues that officers face on a daily basis when working in minority and immigrant communities, and to develop solutions to those issues, if the overall approach were to work.

The goals of this exploratory study were threefold:

1. To increase the community's perceptions that the Minneapolis Police Department, its police

officers, and the broader justice system are fair and responsive.

2. To increase perceptions that the police and the justice system are able to address persistent crime problems, including low-level crime and violent crime.

3. To prevent crime through evidence-based anti-crime strategies, primarily collaborative problem-solving, directed patrol, and a focus on chronic offenders.

Assessing Readiness and Preliminary Field Work

Funding for this study was officially awarded to PERF in October 2011, under a cooperative agreement with the Bureau of Justice Assistance. PERF initiated its field work by exploring the readiness of both the Cedar-Riverside community and the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD) to support this type of intensive intervention. At the outset of the project, PERF reached out to the current police chief, Timothy Dolan,[50] to assess his continued interest in the proposed study. Chief Dolan invited several East African community members and business leaders to discuss the prospect of the initiative and how MPD could use the project as an opportunity to improve relationships and to address the crime concerns in Cedar-Riverside.

Community involvement at the outset was possible because the MPD had made significant strides in

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50. Titles and roles mentioned in the report reflect individuals' positions at the time of the study, unless otherwise noted.

working with the Cedar-Riverside community since the project was initially proposed in 2009. Assistant Chief Kristine Arneson was the former commander of the MPD's First Precinct. Assistant Chief Arneson and First Precinct Sergeant Charlie Adams had made extensive outreach efforts to the community and identified a number of community leaders who were interested in partnering with the police department.

Of particular significance on the police side, Assistant Chief Arneson, when serving as First Precinct Inspector, had already assigned the department's two Somali-American officers—Abdiwahab Ali (known in the community as "Officer Ali") and Mohammed Abdullahi (known as "Officer Mo")[52]—to regular beat assignments in Cedar-Riverside. Prior to this placement, the officers assigned to that neighborhood changed often, and there was not a strong connection between beat officers and the community. Officer Abdullahi approached then-Inspector Arneson with the idea of a regular assignment to Cedar-Riverside, and within weeks, Officers Mo and Ali began working as beat officers in the neighborhood. Assistant Chief Arneson stated that these Somali-American officers who were familiar to community members helped to "put a face" on the police department and make a connection between the community and officers on the street.[53]

The Cedar-Riverside/West Bank Safety Center

In May 2012, the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD) partnered with the Cedar-Riverside community and local businesses to open a Safety Center in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood, aimed at providing education to the community on crime prevention and safety tips. It is staffed by a crime prevention specialist who is assisted by beat officers to provide resources to community members. Officers are working to build better relationships between the police and the immigrant community, and the center acts as a neutral space open for community use. There is room for meetings, and groups such as the elder councils, the Cedar Riverside Youth Council, and the West Bank Community Coalition safety committee have all utilized the meeting space. Youth events and educational programs are also held at the center.[51]

ABOVE LEFT: Several project team members at the Cedar-Riverside/West Bank Safety Center in October 2014; Left to Right, Standing: Andrea Morrozoff Luna, PERF Chief of Staff, Officer Mo, Assistant Chief Kris Arneson, Officer Jeanine Brudenell, Officer Ali, Sunny Schnitzer, PERF Research Associate. Seated: Crime Prevention Specialists Renee Allen and Carla Nielson.

ABOVE RIGHT: Initial collaborative session with officers and local justice partners, held at the Safety Center, January 31, 2013.

Located in the heart of the Cedar-Riverside community, the center was an ideal meet-up site for project members and partners to coordinate and collaborate. Throughout the project, PERF and MPD project staff held meetings at the center. It acted as a major hub for interactions between the community and MPD throughout the project, as youth and residents frequently stopped by to talk with officers and project staff. The crime prevention specialist was able to provide valuable information to project staff that allowed officers and project team members to gain insight into community attitudes, concerns, and needs.

51. Gosch, M. "New Cedar-Riverside/West Bank Safety Center bridges police-community gap in Minneapolis." *Twin Cities Daily Planet* (July 2, 2012, Accessed 10/27/15). http://www.tcdailyplanet.net/new-safety-center-bridges-police-community-gap/

52. Both officers have subsequently been promoted and are now Sergeant Ali and Sergeant Abdullahi.

53. Arneson, Kris. Interview with Andrea Luna and Sunny Schnitzer. Personal Interview. (December 2014).

Having two dedicated officers and several community leaders committed to the project represented a good start. However, it was clear that successfully launching and implementing the project would depend upon expanding this core group to include leaders throughout MPD, as well as a broader cross-section of the community.

PERF's Preliminary Site Assessment and Initial Observations

PERF's experience in working with police departments for 40 years has underscored the importance of having executive-level commitment and community support in place prior to undertaking an initiative as complicated as the proposed Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study. Securing these two elements would provide as much of a guarantee as possible for continuity in project resources, staffing, and leadership. Commitment to the project for the long term by the department and the community was absolutely essential to moving forward.

As the newly-appointed police chief in December 2012, Chief Janeé Harteau made improving police-community trust one of her top priorities and provided the executive-level commitment and support needed for the project. She referred to police legitimacy as the "what do you think when you see me coming" factor (see Sidebar on page 29).

As a part of the initial site work in Minneapolis to determine readiness to move forward with the study, PERF conducted interviews and focus groups with Chief Harteau and members of her command staff, rank-and-file officers assigned to the First Precinct, and Cedar-Riverside community members, including youth, elders, young professionals, and local business leaders. PERF toured the community, its local markets, malls, recreation centers, the Riverside Plaza Towers, and several local restaurants. PERF worked closely with Officers Mo and Ali to gain an understanding of their perspective of the community, its culture, common issues and concerns, as well as the challenges faced by non-East African officers when patrolling or responding to calls in the community. PERF also looked at crime and calls-for-service data for the First Precinct, and particularly incidents involving East African individuals or occurring in the Cedar-Riverside community.

All of this preliminary research yielded a number of important observations, which informed the eventual design and expansion of the project:

- **Somali-American beat officers helped make important inroads in building police-community relations, but much more work needed to be done.** In addition to other department strategies, placing the dedicated Somali-American beat officers in the Cedar-Riverside Community seemed to have a significant, immediate impact on reducing gang-related violence and shootings in the community. Part of the reason for the decline appeared to be that more community members were willing to talk to Officers Mo and Ali about criminal activity in the community. Community members also began to call them routinely to report problems and concerns in the neighborhood. Through these means, Officers Mo and Ali were provided significant information and leads by community members on crime and offenders in the area.

  However, community trust and confidence in Officers Mo and Ali did not automatically transfer to other MPD officers or to the justice system as a whole. Community members were still very leery of local government, and most would not call 911 to report crime. Officers Mo and Ali routinely received calls on their personal cell phones, during their on- and off-duty hours, regarding crimes in progress or tips about crimes that had been committed. It was clear from PERF's initial site visit that the community's relationship with, and trust in, the MPD had to be extended well beyond Officers Mo and Ali.

- **Community members misunderstood the U.S. justice system, and were frequently frustrated and disappointed with the pace and outcomes of the system.** It was clear that some Cedar-Riverside community members did not understand or trust the U.S. justice system, nor did they understand the distinct roles and responsibilities of the various justice system players: police, courts, probation, etc. For example, one of the issues PERF heard was that when known offenders were arrested, but

Table 2. Reported Violent Crime in Cedar-Riverside

Year	Total	Homicide	Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Percent Change from Previous Year, Total Violent Crime
2008	77	3	5	36	33	–
2009	55	0	9	20	26	-29%
2010	64	0	8	23	33	16%
2011	51	0	2	21	28	-20%
2012	61	2	8	23	28	20%

released on bail, it appeared to the community that "nothing happened." Releasing these offenders back onto the streets of Cedar-Riverside did not make community members, especially those who had been victimized, feel safe or that they had been effectively served by the police. Retaliation or stigma for contacting the police was common, and many residents did not realize that once an arrest was made, bail and pre-trial detention decisions were no longer within the purview of the police. To the community, cooperating with the police did not seem to be helpful or productive. However, without the community's cooperation as victims or witnesses, police officers were often unable to even make an arrest, and investigators and prosecutors were unable to build a solid case for prosecution. This was a central irony, and a significant obstacle to police legitimacy, that the study needed to address.

- **While violent crime had decreased in Cedar-Riverside, the community was still concerned about gang and gun-related violence and the involvement of youth in criminal activity.** Since 2008, overall violent crime in Cedar-Riverside declined steadily, with sustained reductions in homicides, robberies, and aggravated assaults. Officers Mo and Ali indicated that the MPD was making some inroads, and the level and type of violence, especially gang-related violence, in Cedar-Riverside had subsided in the few years prior to the start of the exploratory study. But while the numbers may have declined, the community's perceptions and concerns about crime remained. When asked by MPD officials what their biggest concerns were, residents and community leaders routinely said gang activity and crime involving guns and young people. Addressing these particular crime problems, and the community's perceptions of them, would be a critical element of building and reinforcing police legitimacy.

- **Communication challenges among the East African community and justice system partners compounded misunderstandings.** While many Somali and other East African immigrants did not understand the role of the police and the complexities of the U.S. justice system, language and cultural barriers only exacerbated the situation. In general, younger Somalis and community leaders spoke English; many of the community's elders, however, spoke mostly Somali, especially among themselves. Because elders hold such an important place in Somalia's clan-based society, especially on matters affecting crime and justice, it became clear that overcoming basic communications challenges would have to be a part of the program design.

PROGRAM DESIGN

PERF and BJA worked closely with the Minneapolis Police Department and Cedar-Riverside community leaders to identify a number of key focus areas for the exploratory study. These included crime issues, barriers to change, issues affecting community perceptions of the police, police department capabilities, current and ongoing efforts, and possible new solutions.

Through this process, one thing became very clear: the issues of crime, community perceptions, and, ultimately, legitimacy extended well beyond the

Chief Janeé Harteau and Assistant Chief Kristine Arneson Biographies

(Chiefs Harteau and Arneson retired from MPD in 2017.)

Chief Janeé Harteau

Chief Harteau joined the MPD in 1987 and worked her way through the ranks beginning as a patrol officer on the street. In 2012, Chief Harteau was nominated by the mayor and unanimously confirmed by the city council to become the 52nd and first female Chief of Police in the city's history. In February of 2016, she was again unanimously confirmed for a second term to serve as Police Chief.

Chief Harteau

Chief Harteau was vocal in issues both locally and nationally that impact law enforcement as an active board member for both the Major Cities Chief's Association (MCCA) and the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF). As the creator of MPD 2.0 implemented in 2013 Chief Harteau was at the forefront of leading organizational change, President Obama's 21st Century Policing guidelines and has often been a keynote speaker at various business, government, educational institutions and women's organizations.

Chief Harteau has been featured in many local and national publications, and news programs. Her achievements have earned her numerous community accolades including the MN Women's Press "2013 Changemaker" of the year award, the Twin Cities Business Journal "2013 Diversity in Business Award", the Distinguished Alumni Award from St. Mary's University of Minnesota and the Toastmaster International Communication & Leadership Award both in 2014, Team Women MN Leader of the Year 2015 and in 2017 Fortune Magazine named her #22 of the World's 50 Greatest Leaders.

Chief Harteau holds a Bachelor's Degree in Police Science and a Master of Arts in Public Safety Administration; both from St. Mary's University of Minnesota. She trains law enforcement leaders nationally for IACP Women's Leadership Institute (WLI), and is an Assistant Professor at St. Mary's University of Minnesota in the School of Police Science. She is a graduate of the Senior Management Institute of Police in Boston, MA and Northwestern University Center for Public Safety's Police Staff and Command School where she was the Franklin Kreml Leadership Award winner.

Assistant Chief Kristine Arneson

Assistant Chief Kris Arneson joined the Minneapolis Police Department in 1986, and served in all 5 Precincts, and in the Investigations Bureau. She was the First Precinct Inspector when this project started. Her service also included Homicide Investigator, as a Sector Lieutenant working with the American Indian Community, in the CodeFor Unit, with two Community Response Teams, and as Administrative Sergeant to the Chief. She commanded two precincts (1st and 5th) and was then promoted to Deputy Chief under Chief Harteau where she was the Deputy Chief of Patrol and later the Investigations Bureau. After this project ended she was promoted to Assistant Chief where she ran operations of the department until her retirement in 2017.

Assistant Chief Arneson

Assistant Chief Arneson has a Bachelor's Degree in Criminal Justice, and received her graduate degree from the University of St. Thomas in Police Leadership & Education. She is a graduate of the FBI National Academy and PERF's Senior Management Institute for Police.

Assistant Chief Arneson has been awarded the Minnesota Woman Police Officer of the Year, and the International association of Women Police Leadership and the Community Service award. She received a lifesaving award in 2004 and a Valor Award in 2008 for her role in saving victims in the 35W Bridge disaster. In 2006 she received a Top Cop Award from the community. Assistant Chief Arneson also served on the Minnesota Association of Women Police Executive Board, the Domestic Violence Project Board and Asian Women United Board for several years.

police. Other justice system agencies play a significant role in the perceived legitimacy of the police, and as mentioned, many individuals lacked an understanding not only of the roles and responsibilities of the police, but also where police responsibilities end and where the duties of other elements of the justice system begin. Further, officers did not always have updated information on a case's status after they had arrested someone, so often they could not definitively answer community questions about why an individual had been released. It became obvious early on that to test the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy in Cedar-Riverside, the study had to be broadened to include other justice system agencies that, in many cases, were already active in the community. These issues also underscored the need for better education of community members on the justice system and its processes. It also highlighted a need for better coordination among the police officers, investigators and other justice system partners who worked on cases related to crime and violence occurring in Cedar-Riverside. This coordination would be key to helping justice officials operate more effectively and demonstrate the legitimacy of the justice system to the community.

> "Through this project, I learned that there may be many different reasons why a community responds the way it does. As officers, maybe we need to take more time on calls and learn about the culture."
>
> *– Officer Yolanda Wilks*

In fall 2012, MPD approached the Minneapolis City Attorney's Office, the Hennepin County Attorney's Office, and the Hennepin County Department of Community Corrections and Rehabilitation, and secured their buy-in and participation in the initiative. Thus, the project's scope was formally expanded to include other justice system partners who work in the Cedar-Riverside community and contribute both to crime reduction efforts and the public's perception of "the police." Including these prosecutorial and probation agencies in the study represented an important breakthrough in both program design and implementation. (The specific roles and contributions of the justice system partners are covered later in this chapter.)

In collaboration, the project partners established a project design that included a five-pronged approach to building legitimacy between the justice system and the members of the Cedar-Riverside community. This approach was designed to provide the framework for MPD and justice system officials to build relationships with the Cedar-Riverside community while driving down crime.

Following are the five key components of the project design:

1. Collaborative Information-Sharing and Discussion Sessions

This component was designed to initially provide MPD officials and project partners with the foundational knowledge needed to effectively carry out the project, in particular by refining their daily approach to engaging the community and addressing crime problems in Cedar-Riverside. The ongoing refining sessions provided a dynamic platform for information-sharing, discussing what was working, and

January 31, 2013 – Project Kickoff Session

LEFT PHOTO:
LEFT TO RIGHT: Officer Aaron Hanson, Officer Darcy Horn, PERF Consultant George Kelling

RIGHT PHOTO:
STANDING: PERF Executive Director Chuck Wexler; LEFT TO RIGHT: Officer David Hansen, Officer Abdiwahab Ali, Officer Alice White

Procedural Justice "Operating Principles" For Officers

Early on in the project, team members recognized that procedural justice and legitimacy were "slippery concepts" for many project participants to understand. Many MPD members had difficulty figuring out how to operationalize the concepts in their daily work in Cedar-Riverside. Frustrated, some of the project officers asked the project organizers to simply "tell me what you want me to do and I'll do it." However, the entire thrust of the project was to educate and empower the officers themselves—those closest to the community and its issues—in how best to operationalize the concept of procedural justice.

"Let me summarize my beliefs about police discretion: you can tell the police what they shouldn't do, and with rare exceptions such orders should be followed; but, because problems are so idiosyncratic, you cannot tell the police what they should do. You can tell them how they should think about the problems they confront."

– Policing Expert Dr. George Kelling

So instead of "telling the officers what to do," the PERF and BJA facilitators challenged the officers to come up with their own ideas, based on their knowledge and experience. **The result was a set of eight procedural justice "operating principles" that the MPD project officers developed themselves and agreed to follow in their work in Cedar-Riverside.** These operating principles illustrated not only the value of the strategy refining sessions, but also the capacity for MPD officers to understand and operationalize new concepts such as procedural justice. Creating these operating principles empowered the officers to think critically about their daily interactions, and gave them the permission they thought was needed to be creative in their response to community challenges. This exercise ultimately led to a greater investment by the officers in the project's outcome.

The 8 Operating Principles

Developed by the MPD Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study Team

- Adapt to the culture/norms of the community; understand and respect how the community wants to be policed and what is important to them. <u>You have to know your audience</u>.

- <u>Use daily encounters as opportunities for positive interactions with youths;</u> leverage your relationships with youths to reach out to the parents and the older adults in the community.

- Try to understand the reasons underlying each interaction and identify opportunities to use the interaction with the individual (and those who may be observing) to build trust and instill positive perceptions of the police. <u>Each positive interaction can help counteract negative perceptions</u> or prior negative encounters.

- <u>Use the opportunities you have to expand your communications with youth</u> and to encourage their participation in local programs; ask for their ideas and help empower them to solve the problems in their community in a positive, respectful way.

- Understand that <u>"taking command" of a situation can include a variety of response options, including de-escalation</u>. Active listening or waiting for a situation to calm on its own is very often an important response, especially when there is a group of people gathered to watch the interaction.

- Police <u>follow-through with the community</u> (by officers, supervisors, investigators, and department leaders) on cases or issues is critical to maintaining community trust and to the perception that the police (and justice system) can be effective. Justice system and victim assistance follow-through is also important to help bring closure and encourage future willingness to partner and cooperate on preventing and solving crime and violence issues.

- Take steps to ensure that, regardless of the content of the interaction, the *process* of the interaction helps to improve community trust in the police. <u>Voice (listening), neutrality, respect, and trust can matter more than the outcome.</u> It isn't all about the crime numbers; it's also about the experience of the community.

- Try to <u>end every interaction on a positive note</u> or with a respectful statement.

refining engagement and enforcement approaches. These sessions were also intended to maintain project momentum and provide feedback to police officials and partners on the impacts of the project and strategies to date.

Over the course of two years, PERF facilitated a total of five onsite sessions that included all MPD project officers, supervisors, and civilian staff, along with representatives of the justice system agencies partnering on the project. These included an orientation and three collaborative sessions (all full days), plus a final recap meeting (half day). Specifically, the sessions served four primary purposes:

1. To educate officers and supervisors on the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy (both of which were new to most MPD members), as well on East African culture.

2. To emphasize to the officers the importance of data collection and their role as data collectors in the project.

3. To provide officers and supervisors a forum to discuss crime and safety challenges and project implementation problems with PERF and with one another.

4. To elicit qualitative information about the project—stories and case studies from individual officers about their work in Cedar-Riverside.

Other sessions were hosted by MPD and other partners via conference calls.

These collaborative sessions—and the open and frank discussions that occurred during them—turned out to be an essential ingredient to the overall program design and implementation. The sessions allowed participants to receive information about the project and the concepts behind it, in particular the notions of procedural justice and legitimacy. Perhaps more importantly, the sessions enabled MPD members at all levels, their justice system partners, and the subject matter experts brought in by PERF to exchange information, review progress, ask questions, give candid feedback, and make mid-course adjustments to enhance project implementation and outcomes.

2. Bridging Language and Cultural Barriers

MPD officials participating in the Cedar-Riverside project were provided with the knowledge and tools to assist in bridging the language and cultural gaps between the police and some communities in Cedar-Riverside. For example, project officers received training on East African culture, customs, and some basic phrases. Cedar-Riverside Beat Officers Mo and Ali hosted a discussion and "Q & A" session with their fellow officers on East African culture, the Cedar-Riverside Community, and taught the officers the meaning of common phrases and nicknames. During the first few weeks of the program, patrol officers each spent a shift with one of the beat officers who familiarized them with the overall community, local businesses, formal and informal community leaders, etiquette related to visiting Mosques and speaking with East African elders and women, and strategies for engaging youth. The officers also shared their insights on community crime, known offenders, and potential issues to look out for when in the community (such as trespassing by gang members who are under court supervision).

In addition, officers were provided with iPhones to facilitate communications with the community. Initially, it was hoped that the phones would support language translations in the field, but the translation technology did not prove to be sophisticated enough. Nevertheless, the phones proved invaluable for contacting a language line that provides interpretation services to police; accessing and sharing information, especially about services available to Cedar-Riverside community members; for documenting and sharing information with fellow officers; and for photographing evidence to accompany reports, especially in the case of assaults and in other criminal matters.

Improving communications helped to break down barriers between the community and police, and expanding positive interactions with the community was seen as vitally important to supporting the other, more enforcement-focused elements of the program design.

"At the beginning, community members just called Mo and me instead of calling 911. We developed the trust first because we understand their culture. Now, as a result of this project, other officers are also trusted. It used to be people only came to us. Now, people are approaching the white officers even when we are standing right there."

—Officer Abdiwahab Ali

3. Directed Patrol

Directed patrol initially included business checks and walking through Riverside Plaza, the local malls, and visiting the Community Safety Center. As the project progressed, MPD began coordinating with other criminal justice and community stakeholders to identify "hot spots" for crime in Cedar-Riverside, and working with the community to develop specific problem-oriented policing strategies for these areas. Officers made a concerted effort to increase field contacts in these areas and follow-up activities.

4. Focus on Chronic Offenders

With the community concerned about gang, gun, and youth crime, it was important for the project to address these concerns with a focus on chronic, repeat offenders. And, as noted above, it became clear that focusing on chronic offenders would require more resources than just the MPD; prosecution and probation agencies would all have to play a role. Therefore, a multi-disciplinary team of criminal justice and community stakeholders began meeting regularly to cross-reference lists of chronic offenders and discuss cross-cutting strategies. While many of these efforts were spearheaded by other justice agencies, MPD remained actively involved in helping carry out these strategies and in hosting monthly check-ins with project partners to make adjustments as needed. (See later in this chapter for more information on the justice partners and their initiatives.)

5. Community Outreach

Increasing outreach efforts in Cedar-Riverside and providing opportunities for more informal interactions and collaboration were critical parts of MPD's approach. This included more regular outreach at community events and on the street. MPD officials and partners were encouraged to use every

Officers Mike Kirchen and Yolanda Wilks making connections in the community
PHOTO: BIKE COPS FOR KIDS

interaction with the community as an opportunity to advance trust-building and to educate community members on the justice system and how and why decisions are being made. In fact, while officers were becoming more familiar with the new approach during the initial months of the project, First Precinct supervisors instructed them to focus on increasing positive, informal encounters with community members. In addition, one of the procedural justice "operating principles" developed by the MPD project team emphasized the importance of trying to "end every interaction on a positive note or with a respectful statement."

Officers also adopted proactive strategies to connect with the community and build relationships. For example, some officers focused on reaching out to neighborhood youth through the Police Athletic League and camps, interacting with youth on playgrounds in common areas, or just by pulling their squad cars into the plaza and letting young children check out the vehicles. Additionally, officers worked to develop closer relationships and increased communication with local business owners and workers in the area.

"Get involved with youth in any way you can! Talk to them, play ball with them. This is an inroad to understanding their culture and values and understanding them in general. It's no different than with any other culture."

— Sergeant Richard Jackson

Officers and supervisors actively participated in safety meetings and other community activities developed and hosted by MPD's crime prevention staff. These outreach efforts were also critical in getting the community acquainted and comfortable with both the sworn and non-sworn MPD staff who serve the neighborhood.

DATA COLLECTION IN CEDAR-RIVERSIDE AND THE CONTROL SITE: HORN TOWERS

The Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study included an extensive data collection and analysis plan. Under the plan, data on various indicators of crime and perceived legitimacy were to be collected in Cedar-Riverside and then compared with similar data from a control site. Among the data types that were planned were calls for police service, reported crime, activity logs, responses to community surveys, community contact information, and detailed site observations by a trained third-party observer. (Further details on the methodology, as well as obstacles encountered in collecting and analyzing some of the planned data, are discussed in the next chapter.)

Given the unique nature of the Cedar-Riverside community and the fact that such a large proportion of Minneapolis's East African immigrant community lives there, selecting a control site for the exploratory study proved challenging. However, project planners settled on Horn Towers as the most appropriately matched control site within the city of Minneapolis. Originally built in 1971 on land donated by Charles Horn, a World War II-era munitions manufacturer, Horn Towers consists of three 22-story apartment buildings containing approximately 500 units of mostly senior housing. As with the Riverside Plaza complex in Cedar-Riverside, Horn Towers's resident population is predominantly East African. Horn Towers is located about three miles southwest of Cedar-Riverside in the Lyndale neighborhood. Horn Towers are the southernmost high-rise structures in the city of Minneapolis.

Though considerably smaller than Cedar-Riverside as a whole, Horn Towers is located just two blocks from the Karmel Square Mall, a large shopping complex that houses about 150 mostly Somali businesses, as well as a mosque. For purposes of data collection and analysis, the Horn Towers control site included Karmel Square Mall. Separating these two focal points in the community is Lake Street, a large and busy east-west commercial corridor. In addition, the MPD's Fifth Precinct station is located just one-tenth of a mile from Horn Towers. As a result, police vehicles were often observed entering and exiting the complex, which did impact site observation data, making the amount of actual police presence for community policing purposes unclear.

ROUNDING OUT THE SYSTEM-WIDE APPROACH

The initial design of the Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study included only the Minneapolis Police Department and, within the MPD, patrol officers and supervisors. After all, the purpose of the study was to see how the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy could be operationalized within a community and combined with evidence-based strategies to reduce crime. As a result, MPD patrol officers were the focus of the study.

However, as the project team began laying out the details of the study during the initial site work, it became clear that other parts of the justice system, including other parts of the MPD, would need to be included to truly implement the principles of procedural justice. This was especially true in Cedar-Riverside, where a large percentage of the population—Somali and other East African immigrants—did not understand or trust the American system of criminal justice. Focusing solely on police patrol resources and strategies, while ignoring the roles and resources of police investigators, prosecutors, and probation officials, would not have met the community's expectations. At the beginning of the study, we learned that many in the East African immigrant community presumed that the "police" (meaning uniformed officers) had the authority and were responsible for most, if not all, of the decisions in the justice system—from arrest through investigations, prosecution, and punishment. Bringing others into the process, and having them engage with the community alongside MPD patrol officers, not only would enhance the community's understanding of the justice system, but also would provide a more realistic and robust setting in which to test the

Former Chief Janeé Harteau and MPD 2.0

For a project of this magnitude and intensity, commitment and continuity at the executive level are critical. However, circumstances sometimes conspire against a perfectly smooth implementation. Such was the case with the Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study.

In April 2012, Minneapolis Police Chief Tim Dolan announced that he would not seek a third term as chief of police and would retire at the end of the year after 29 years with the MPD.[54] Chief Dolan had been an early and strong supporter of the Cedar-Riverside project, and his departure could have seriously impacted the project. However, when Mayor R.T. Ryback announced that Assistant Chief Janeé Harteau would be his choice to succeed Chief Dolan, it became clear that the Cedar-Riverside project would continue—and thrive—under the new leadership. The Minneapolis City Council approved Chief Harteau's appointment in November 2012, and on December 4, 2012, she was sworn in as MPD's 52nd Police Chief, the first woman to hold that position.[55]

Chief Harteau and Chief Dolan worked closely with PERF in the months leading up to her swearing-in to ensure a smooth transition with the project and that the project plan aligned with the new chief's vision for the department. The formal project MOA was signed upon Chief Harteau's swearing-in, and project implementation began immediately.

The Cedar-Riverside project aligned with Chief Harteau's "MPD 2.0" vision for the department, and especially with her belief that police should be viewed as community leaders who are service-oriented and ethical. In fact, the project provided an early and challenging "proving ground" for testing the key elements of the chief's vision.

MPD 2.0 envisioned a values-driven department, grounded in professionalism and service, and centered on the three core values of **commitment, integrity, and transparency**, each of which is critical to the development and maintenance of

LEFT TO RIGHT: Minneapolis Mayor R.T. Rybak, Newly-appointed Chief Janeé Harteau, Outgoing Chief Timothy Dolan, PERF Project Director Andrea Morrozoff Luna (background)
PHOTO BY SERGEANT JEFF EGGE, MINNEAPOLIS POLICE DEPARTMENT, 12/4/12

police legitimacy in the community. Chief Harteau explained her vision this way:

> "I call it the 'what do you think when you see me coming' factor. What do members of the communities think when they see police officers coming down the street? Is it good? Do we need to change what they think? If so, what do you want to see officers do (or not do) to change what you think?"[56]

This plain-language assessment reflects the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy that are the heart of the Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study. MPD 2.0 also addresses the issues of "internal procedural justice" that are important to rank-and-file officers and field supervisors who are called upon to conduct themselves in the procedurally just way in the community. MPD 2.0 commits department leaders to provide leadership, consistency, and communication to all members of the department.

The bottom line is that an event—a change in leadership at the very top of the MPD—that could have disrupted the Cedar-Riverside project actually resulted not only in the initiative remaining on track but also picking up new strength and momentum.

54. Yuen, L. "Mpls. Police Chief Tim Dolan to Retire." *MPR News* (April 25, 2012, Accessed 4/14/15). http://www.mprnews.org/story/2012/04/25/minneapolis-police-chief-tim-dolan-to-retire

55. Roper, E. "New Minneapolis Police Chief Tackles 'Toughest Job in the City'." *StarTribune* (November 30, 2012, Accessed 4/14/15). http://www.startribune.com/local/minneapolis/181626131.html

56. Harteau, J. (2013, July 30). Personal Interview.

Summary Timeline of Project Milestones

(See Appendix A for a more detailed timeline that also includes local and international external events that impacted the Cedar-Riverside community and, potentially, project operations.)

Planning Phase:

May-June 2012
PERF conducts **in-person assessment visit** to Cedar-Riverside; meets with MPD leaders and Cedar-Riverside beat officers to discuss project plans.

September 5, 2012
PERF, BJA, and MPD leaders **meet with other justice system stakeholders** about expanding the project.

Fall 2012
PERF, BJA, and MPD develop **implementation and evaluation plan.**

December 2012
MPD and PERF **formalize agreement** to work together on Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study; PERF **conducts focus groups with project officers** to plan for implementation.

Implementation Phase:

January 31, 2013
PERF facilitates **day-long project orientation** to outline the project, introduce the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy, and provide a primer on Somali culture and perceptions of the police.

March 2013
Project officers **outfitted with iPhones** to enhance communications with the community and other project partners, to help address language barriers, and to support activity reporting, evidence collection, and improved customer service in the field.

March 2013
PERF begins **weekly site observations** in Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers (control site). These site observations continued until summer 2014.

April 2013
MPD First Precinct supervisors develop **timeline for implementing new approach** to policing in Cedar-Riverside.

June 12, 2013
PERF facilitates first **Collaborative Information Sharing and Facilitated Discussion Session**. MPD project officers, supervisors, and civilian staff review concepts, discuss progress, and identify obstacles. Out of this session, MPD project officers develop the eight procedural justice "operating principles" to guide their community interactions.

Summer 2013
Enhanced MPD engagement in Cedar-Riverside begins; MPD and Hennepin County Department of Community Corrections and Rehabilitation begin joint ride-alongs in Cedar-Riverside as part of the **Minneapolis Anti-Violence Initiative (MAVI).**

August 1, 2013
Community interviews start as a way of gauging community perceptions of the police in Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers.

November 8, 2013
PERF facilitates **second day-long Collaborative Session,** which focuses on information sharing, strategies for reducing gang violence, and creation of a dedicated East African Court Watch program in Cedar-Riverside.

November 9, 2013
Project officers begin disseminating community contact cards to gauge community perceptions of specific interactions.

January 1, 2014
Police respond to major explosion and fire in Cedar-Riverside. (See p. 31.)

January 23, 2014
First Precinct Sergeant Richard Jackson calls a **special training day for MPD project personnel,** which covers a number of technical and operational issues.

January 2014
Monthly **partner conference calls** are initiated to identify and correct issues in between formal collaboration sessions.

March 1, 2014
City Attorney's Office's pilot **Assault 5 initiative** formally kicks off; focus is on increasing convictions for five misdemeanor assault offenses that occur frequently in Cedar-Riverside.

The Cedar-Riverside Fire

On January 1, 2014, a building in Cedar-Riverside erupted in flames from an explosion. The explosion resulted in 3 fatalities and 14 people were reported injured, 5 of whom suffered critical injuries. The building was a grocery store, the largest in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood, on the first floor, with 10 apartment units on the upper two floors. Though initial reports speculated that the explosion may have been intentional, it has since been determined that the fire was most likely related to a gas leak.[57] Many First Precinct police officers, including then Inspector Medaria Arradondo, were on the scene right away. Officers, firefighters, and community members caught individuals jumping from the flaming building and called for medical aid for those who were injured. Due to the quick actions of officers and Inspector Arradondo, community trust in police responsiveness was strengthened and relationships with the officers were solidified.

May 2, 2014

PERF facilitates **third day-long Collaborative Session,** which focuses on gang violence, promising start to the Assault 5 initiative, need for a dedicated Court Watch program, and internal MPD issues affecting ability to engage in community policing.

June 6, 2014

Project officers partner with MPD Police Athletic League to host a **police-youth basketball game** at Cedar-Riverside community center, with 40 youth participating and another 100 in attendance.

October 2014

Planning for the Cedar-Riverside **Court Watch program** gets under way, with requests for translation equipment to address language issues.

October 14, 2014

PERF and BJA meet in Washington, DC, to **discuss project operations,** successes and obstacles, findings to date on evaluation, and officer feedback.

December 2, 2014

PERF conducts **final, half-day training and feedback session,** reflecting on the two-year project, including rewarding and challenging aspects and participants' thoughts on procedural justice and community policing. A post-project survey also completed.

December 31, 2014

Activity and crime data collection for the project ends.

February 28, 2015

Assault 5 pilot program completed.

Implementation Phase Ends/Evaluation Phase Begins

March 2015

Documentation of Minneapolis work complete; Data analysis, review of findings, and final report initiated.

LEFT PHOTO:
Participants at the police-youth basketball game, June 2014
PHOTO COURTESY OF MPD

BOTTOM PHOTO:
October 2014 Discussion of Program Impacts with BJA officials at PERF Headquarters in Washington, D.C.
FRONT TO BACK: Inspector (now Police Chief) Medaria Arradondo, Dr. Tom Tyler, Officer Mike Kirchen, Officer Mo.
PHOTO BY PERF

57. http://www.startribune.com/a-year-later-still-no-answers-on-cause-of-deadly-new-year-s-fire/287265381/?stfeature=S

Bike Cops for Kids

"I do very little 'law enforcement,' but I do very good police work."
— Officer Mike Kirchen, MPD and Bike Cops for Kids founder

Though the Cedar-Riverside beat had traditionally been viewed as a challenging assignment for First Precinct personnel, as relationships flourished under the project, the beat became increasingly appealing to other officers in the department. Two officers in particular, Officers Michael Kirchen and David O'Conner, felt that the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood would be a perfect place to continue a youth outreach program: Bike Cops for Kids.

Through leadership and support from local businesses and organizations, the Bike Cops for Kids program assigns bike officers to patrol a select neighborhood with a primary goal of building relationships and keeping young people safe. The program describes their main goal as "mak[ing] a special memory stick into the hard drive of a child as they grow up in challenging situations. Connect cops and kids in an unusual setting, their own yard, and use helmets, bike safety and bikes to do it."[58]

Bike Cops for Kids Facebook, 9/25/15

The officers give out stickers, bike helmets, bikes, the occasional trip to a Minneapolis Twins game, and more. The program started as an assignment for two School Resource Officers during the summer months. Through generous donations, sponsors, and grant funding, the program has expanded to a year-round initiative and gives out approximately 70 bikes and 14,000 helmets annually.[59] More officers are now involved, and officers from other areas of the department, including reserve officers, are encouraged to join the bike cops for patrols. Chief Harteau also joined the officers on bike patrol to lend a hand and meet kids.

Chief Harteau and Officer Kirchen meet kids while on bike patrol, August 20, 2014
PHOTO: BIKE COPS FOR KIDS FACEBOOK, 8/20/14

The two officers approached Assistant Chief Arneson about taking the program to Cedar-Riverside during the winter of 2014. By spring, the officers were biking through the neighborhood making new friends. Cedar-Riverside residents embraced these officers, stating the value that these officers bring to the area. They described the officers as "approachable" and said that neither parents nor children were intimidated by the officers' presence.[60] Having the officers patrol the neighborhood and interact with local youth helped to build the residents' trust in law enforcement. The officers helped transform the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood and the residents' interactions with police. They provided stickers, water bottles, and bike locks to kids, but they also offered advice on how to become an officer to interested youth, as well as unlimited smiles, waves, and "hellos" to everyone they pass.

58. https://www.facebook.com/Bike-Cops-for-Kids-112010872164984/info?tab=page_info
59. http://www.mndaily.com/news/metro-state/2015/05/07/mpls-police-build-relationships-kids
60. http://www.mndaily.com/news/metro-state/2015/05/07/mpls-police-build-relationships-kids

viability of procedural justice and legitimacy in the Cedar-Riverside community.

As a result, early in the design and implementation phase, PERF and the MPD reached out to city and county prosecutors, county probation officials, and their own MPD detectives to gauge their interest in the project and see how they could be included. What we discovered was that involving these agencies did not require a completely new or radically different project design. The initiatives these entities had already launched or were planning fit well within the existing project design with a few modifications. In fact, adding these programs to the exploratory study provided investigators, prosecutors, and probation officials with partnership opportunities with patrol officers and the community that they might not have otherwise enjoyed. To keep the overall project manageable and efficient, the project team started with MPD patrol officers and then strategically phased in the other programs and resources. Using a phased approach, the end result was a more comprehensive program, and was more realistic for the department and its partners to implement and ideally sustain.

Making these connections was also critically important to the officers who were involved in the project. Creating a forum for the officers to meet with other local justice partners who work with victims, witnesses, and offenders in Cedar-Riverside improved the officers' confidence in their ability to make a difference in the community. For example, through conversations with their counterparts, officers were able to see the value of taking a few additional steps to follow up on leads, and how this could improve criminal cases and the likelihood that the suspect would be charged by the prosecutor's office. Further, officers gained a better understanding of how respectful interactions and taking a few moments to explain the justice process as they are responding to calls for service could make a difference in whether the victim or witness would cooperate with the justice process. These partnerships also provided officers with the ability to speak knowledgeably about next steps after their initial contact, and directly link community members to other resources and services. **These connections empowered officers to make the effort to troubleshoot issues independently, and to reach out to other agency officials to address** concerns directly during their shifts. **Officers were able to provide a greater level of customer service to community members and adequately address questions and concerns, increasing their perceptions of their own competence and ability to direct community members to the right place for help.**

Following are the additional units and justice system agencies that took part in the project, along with a description of their roles and contributions. The outcomes and findings of their efforts are discussed in later chapters.

MPD BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONS GIVES OFFICERS INFO TO SHARE WITH COMMUNITY MEMBERS

During one of the project's collaborative discussion sessions, patrol officers expressed a desire to know more about what happened to cases after they were passed on to investigators and the officers were no longer directly involved. Officers said that they often respond to a crime, take an initial report, and never receive any additional information regarding the outcome of the case. To enhance their legitimacy in the community and build trust, officers argued that they need to be able to access information about what happened with a case, and answer questions from community members about the case. Officers said that they genuinely cared about the cases, and were interested to know what happened.

Assistant Chief Arneson, who had recently been reassigned from Patrol to the Investigations Division, saw the potential of linking officers and investigators and worked with the Bureau of Investigations to develop a process for increasing communication between the officers and the investigators working cases in Cedar-Riverside. **The department created a formal feedback loop among investigators, officers, and the community by assigning an investigative liaison for cases involving East African victims or offenders.** This helped the officers working in Cedar-Riverside to understand what happened with the cases and, in turn, provided a direct line for investigators looking for additional information and updates from neighborhood patrol officers. This system also made it easier for officers to follow up with community members on the status of active cases.

In preparation for the same Collaborative Discussion Session, the Crime Analysis Unit also identified a series of gang-related assaults involving East African community members occurring outside of the Cedar-Riverside community, but involving some of the community's residents. Based on findings related to the assaults, and the discussion and recommendations offered by policing experts George Kelling and Chuck Wexler at the November 2013 session, the Investigations Bureau assigned an officer to develop an extensive link analysis of gang networks, affiliations, and activities in the Cedar-Riverside community to follow up on the aggravated assaults and to prevent retaliation that could occur in Cedar-Riverside. The link analysis officer was issued an iPhone so that he could be more accessible to patrol officers with questions regarding gang members and could more easily share information. These efforts helped officers get real-time information on gang members they encountered on the street, which led to impactful arrests. Through this information, officers were able to link offenders to crimes in other areas of Minneapolis and to crimes occurring in other areas of the country. It also helped the link analysis officer to become aware of the program, and he took a great interest in it. Assistant Chief Arneson credited this partnership with yielding many key arrests that improved overall safety in Cedar Riverside.

As noted by BJA's project manager, Senior Policy Analyst Steve Edwards, procedural justice is also about a department taking a hard look at its internal policies and practices and making adjustments to improve its overall response to internal and external customers. The recommendation for bringing investigators into the project was made by MPD officials because they wanted to make the process and results better for all involved—officers, supervisors, and community members.

> **"The Investigations piece became crucial to carrying out this project. The officer who conducted the gang link analysis started joining us for our 1st Precinct Code Four [crime analysis] meetings, which kept everyone invested in the long-term goals. This helped me manage the precinct's resources better. We could assign our resources to those places where we were seeing trends and need intelligence."**
>
> *— Inspector (now Police Chief) Medaria Arradondo, Commander 1st Precinct, MPD*

MINNEAPOLIS CITY ATTORNEY'S OFFICE BRINGS FOCUS TO LOW-LEVEL ASSAULTS THAT COMMUNITY IS CONCERNED ABOUT

Data analysis and interviews revealed that among the crime concerns in the Cedar-Riverside community were lower-level, misdemeanor assault cases, including damage to property, violation of restraining orders, and disorderly conduct. These crimes, which came to be labeled as "Assault 5," were some of the most frequently reported in Cedar-Riverside, yet rarely did these cases result in convictions. The conviction rates for these offenses in Cedar-Riverside have historically been below 10%. By encouraging officers, investigators, and prosecutors to spend more time developing stronger cases in Cedar-Riverside, prosecutors and police could help demonstrate their commitment to addressing the crime concerns of community members. To do so, the City Attorney's Office, in conjunction with the MPD, developed specific protocols for responding officers and prosecuting attorneys to use in these cases in order to increase convictions.

> **"In many cases, these lower level assaults were being dealt with internally within the community. We have no idea how they were being handled. It makes you wonder, what more could have been done in some of these cases."**
>
> *— Supervising Attorney Christopher Dixon, Minneapolis City Attorney's Office*

The protocols developed for this initiative were based on a similar, highly successful, pilot project conducted by MPD and the City Attorney's Office to increase convictions in lower-level domestic assault cases in another area of the city. For Assault 5, project officers received training from MPD and City Attorney leaders beginning in January 2014, and formal implementation of the program started in March 2014. Two months later, in May 2014, the protocols were expanded to all First Precinct officers to use in Cedar-Riverside. The City Attorney's Office developed Assault 5 in the hopes that these efforts would help to increase community perceptions of justice system legitimacy by honing in on the cases that were most concerning to them and working on identifying more effective means of bringing offenders to justice.

Officers Wilks and Kirchen working alongside MAVI Probation Officers stop to talk with community members
PHOTO COURTESY OF MPD

HENNEPIN COUNTY PROSECUTOR BRINGS COURT WATCH TO CEDAR-RIVERSIDE

An initiative of the Hennepin County Attorney's Office, Court Watch is a program that partners community members with different justice system departments to monitor offenders through the court system. The goals of the Court Watch program are to "hold offenders accountable for their crimes with a proportionate response from the criminal justice system" and to "reduce and prevent new crimes in our community."[61]

Specifically, the program entails appointed community members and representatives from the Minneapolis Police Department, Hennepin County Department of Community Corrections and Rehabilitation (probation), Hennepin County Attorney's Office, and the Minneapolis City Attorney's Office creating a list of chronic offenders based on established criteria. Offenders who match the criteria are then monitored by the Court Watch program. When an offender is charged with a crime, the case is tracked through the court process.

Court Watch relies heavily on the use of Community Impact Statements. These are short statements written by community members that describe how a recent crime affected them and their community

physically, financially, and emotionally. These statements, which are given to judges upon a conviction and at sentencing, help to show how the crime harms both the direct victims and the broader community. A major responsibility of the community members appointed to Court Watch is gathering these Community Impact Statements when needed.

Why implement in Cedar-Riverside?

At the time of this study, Court Watch monitoring programs were active in each of Minneapolis's five police precincts. The Cedar-Riverside Court Watch was proposed as the first neighborhood-specific program within an already active precinct-level Court Watch. Establishing a program in Cedar-Riverside made sense for a number of reasons. First, the program could help bridge some of the language and cultural barriers that were likely preventing Cedar-Riverside residents from participating in the First Precinct Court Watch. (Acquiring and utilizing translation resources would be a major challenge, and an important success, of the program.) Second, the program could help educate community volunteers about the U.S. justice system, including investigations, prosecutions, and court proceedings; Court Watch volunteers, in turn, could help educate other members of the Cedar-Riverside community. Third, by giving residents a voice in the process, Court Watch could be an effective tool to help community members feel empowered and respected.

Finally, in conjunction with the West Bank Safety Center and a dedicated MPD Crime Prevention Specialist, Cedar-Riverside provided resources and an infrastructure for establishing a neighborhood-specific program. Project leaders recognized that Cedar-Riverside has a relatively low overall crime rate and that most of the crimes committed there are quality-of-life offenses, conditions that might argue against creation of a neighborhood-specific Court Watch program. Nevertheless, it was apparent that a Court Watch program in Cedar-Riverside fit with the overall project design and had great potential for supporting the goals of building community trust and enhancing legitimacy.

Getting the Court Watch off the ground proved challenging because of a number of unforeseen obstacles, including staff turnover, translation difficulties, and

61. "Court Watch." Hennepin County, MN Attorney, Accessed 4/14/15. http://www.hennepinattorney.org/prevention/community-partnerships/court-watch

community understanding and buy-in. However, if documented, its implementation and track record will provide another important piece of information related to community engagement and crime reduction in Cedar-Riverside.

HENNEPIN COUNTY PROBATION DEPT. INCREASES OFFENDER ACCOUNTABILITY

The Minneapolis Anti-Violence Initiative (MAVI) is a probation surveillance program that monitors probationers in community settings with the intent to prevent violent crimes and reduce recidivism. MAVI takes a collaborative and proactive approach to monitoring probationers' actions by partnering with other justice system entities, such as the Minneapolis Police Department and the Minneapolis Park Police. MAVI has a strong community engagement component designed to build trusted relationships with the probationers and the community at-large. An initiative of the Hennepin County Department of Community Corrections and Rehabilitation, MAVI comprises specially trained probation officers who, among other activities, conduct warrant sweeps, visit probationers in their homes, and track predatory offenders.[62] Probation officers work with both adult and juvenile offenders. Given MAVI's strong community focus, it seemed to be a natural complement to the larger efforts in Cedar-Riverside.

Between May 2013 and September 2014, MAVI probation officers were partnered with project police officers in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood. Together, the teams conducted four-hour patrols, typically between 4 p.m. and 8 p.m. The intent was to utilize the skills and knowledge of both the police officers and the probation officers to make inroads in the community by interacting with probationers and community members during their everyday activities. Only probation officers interested in participating in the project were assigned to MAVI patrols. More often than not, these were probation officers who worked with juvenile probationers.

As this chapter has demonstrated, by the time it was operational, the Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study had grown into a much more complex, multi-faceted, and integrated initiative than was originally conceived. The ability to logically and strategically expand the study, and MPD's ability to adjust to the community to create strong relationships, were some of the project's strengths. These expansions and adjustments allowed for a more robust and revealing assessment of how the principles of procedural justice could be implemented in Cedar-Riverside. The next chapter discusses those assessments and major findings.

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62. "2011 Annual Report." Hennepin County Department of Community Corrections and Rehabilitation, Hennepin County, MN, 2011.

CHAPTER FOUR

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Findings

"There is lots of research out there that points to the importance of how officers treat people and how that translates in building relationships, but this is one of the first projects that attempts to take those concepts and put them into operation."

— PERF Executive Director Chuck Wexler[63]

THE PROJECT DESIGN INCLUDED a detailed evaluation plan to track the implementation process and outcomes of the project, and included both qualitative and quantitative data collection. Unfortunately, as with many field experiments, the quantitative strategies selected to measure program impact proved difficult to implement, and generally did not yield reliable results that could be directly linked to procedural justice strategies. However, qualitative assessments and anecdotal evidence suggest the study's approach was overwhelmingly impactful, especially for the individuals directly involved in the project, offering promising initial results for project partners and the community.

The Minneapolis *Star Tribune* captured this sentiment by one community member in a July 2014 article regarding the program:

> Community activist Abdirizak Bihi said the PERF project has "changed the whole landscape," especially with young people.

"I was talking to 8-, 9- and 11-year-olds, and they are saying words like, 'They are the good guys,'" he said. "I think this should be a model. I live here. I have kids here. I've never seen a program have an impact in such a short time."[64]

However, as the first real test of these principles in this type of environment, formal evaluations of the various program elements were important to building the evidence base supporting this approach. This chapter reviews the process and outcome assessment measures that were maintained throughout the development of the approach, as well as some of the challenges to the project's formal assessment.

EVALUATION DESIGN

The Cedar-Riverside project design expanded and was refined as the project progressed. Project partners played active roles in defining priorities and developing strategies for each arm of the approach. Flexibility and routine refinement were imperative to the project's achievements, but impacted the ability to draw definitive conclusions from the evaluation. Knowing the challenges involved in evaluating this type of intervention in the field, the project team conducted both a process assessment and an outcome assessment of the approach.

Process evaluation strategies included:

1. Onsite observations (e.g., consultant observer who was an ongoing attendee at community

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63. Chanen, D. "Minneapolis police outreach to Somali community offers a national model." *StarTribune* (July 27, 2014, Accessed 3/30/2016). http://www.startribune.com/mpls-police-outreach-to-somalis-offers-national-model/268749491/

64. Ibid.

meetings and was embedded within the community)

2. Officer activity logs

3. Meetings/progress updates

Outcome evaluation strategies included:

4. Crime data impact assessment

5. Officer survey results assessment

6. Assault 5 Pilot Program assessment

7. Community impact assessment strategies attempted:

- Community surveys

- Contact survey cards

- Community phone survey pilot

PROCESS ASSESSMENT:

1. Onsite Observations

Observation Purpose

Though MPD patrol officers reported on their activities regularly through weekly "activity logs" (described below), other quantitative measures were not available to help the team assess the nuances of ongoing street-level activity, or were not sensitive enough to capture details that were important to this community project. To independently track the outreach and crime prevention strategies implemented by the project's police officers, PERF utilized a field researcher (based in Minneapolis) to observe both Cedar-Riverside and the control area on a regular basis over the project period.

Methods

Over the course of the implementation period, the field observer conducted 117 qualitative observations, including 59 observations in Cedar-Riverside and 58 in the control site (Horn Towers). The field observer conducted these observations during different hours of the day, days of the week, and months of the year, although the majority of the observations took place between 12 noon and 12 midnight. The

observations were categorized as either structured or unstructured.

Structured observations included attending community meetings as well as ride-alongs with officers on active patrol. These structured observations typically lasted 1-2 hours and were focused on gaining insight into either the community's perceptions of the police or observing how the officers engaged with the community. During the project period, community organizations in both the study and control areas held monthly meetings led by MPD crime prevention specialists. To help document the community's major concerns, PERF's field observer attended these meetings as frequently as possible. The field observer also conducted ride-alongs with Cedar-Riverside patrol officers between 5 p.m. and 9 p.m., when the activity level in the community was at a peak.

Unstructured observations typically lasted 1 hour, and included no formal agenda. Instead, these observations involved viewing the everyday activities of the community either on foot or in a vehicle. When the field observer saw a police officer in the community, the researcher gave special attention to how the officer interacted with community members or noted the lack of interaction. Typically the field observer maintained a reasonable distance from these interactions, so as to not influence the actions of the police officer or the community members. This type of observation required a reliance on interpreting non-verbal communication styles, such as body language and hand gestures. If possible, the field observer attempted to interview the community members after the interaction to gain more insight into the observed incident.

In the control site, observations of police officers interacting with the community were easier, because the officers were unaware of the evaluation process that was taking place. Over time, anonymous observations in Cedar-Riverside proved more difficult, because the field observer and the officers grew familiar with each other.

After each observation, the researcher completed a report that included general observations and comments on the session, a list of police vehicles or officer sightings, detailed notes on lengthy interactions

involving police officers, and other noteworthy pieces of information.

Control Site Observation Findings

Of the 58 total observations in Horn Towers, 52 were unstructured observations, and 6 were community meetings. The community meetings involved the Somali elders living in Horn Towers and were hosted by MPD's two crime prevention specialists (including one Somali-speaking liaison). Of the 52 unstructured observations, at least one police vehicle or officer was observed in all but one of the hour-long observations. In total, 183 police officers and/or vehicles were observed during the 52 unstructured observations.

Cedar Riverside Observation Findings

Of the 59 total observations conducted in Cedar Riverside, 38 were unstructured observations, 13 were community meetings, and 8 were ride-alongs. Two different community organizations hosted the meetings attended, and these meetings most often focused on issues related to the western part of the study area where the Riverside Plaza complex is located or the eastern section of the study where the majority of single family or small apartment buildings are located. Of the 38 unstructured observations, at least one police vehicle or officer was observed in 33 of the hour-long observations. In total, 83 police officers and/or vehicles were observed.

Comparison

A review of the 117 observations conducted by the field observer yielded a number of key differences between the control and study sites.

First, the regular presence of "beat officers" in Cedar-Riverside, whose entire responsibility was to engage in community policing, increased the community's interaction with the police on a regular basis. While in Cedar-Riverside, the field observer routinely witnessed casual interactions between beat officers and community members. These types of interactions were never observed in the control site. Instead, officers in the control site were observed only when responding to emergencies or non-emergency incidents, or when actively patrolling for illegal activity, such as traffic violations. Moreover, non-beat officers in the Cedar-Riverside

neighborhood routinely expressed the opinion that participating in this project gave them the "permission" to engage with the community that they previously did not feel they had. This explicit authorization created a more relaxed and familiar atmosphere that was never observed in the control site.

This familiarity was often best observed when officers interacted with children. The presence of the Brian Coyle Community Center and adjacent park in Cedar-Riverside ensured that finding and interacting with children of all ages, the majority of whom were East African, was never difficult.

Second, unlike the control site, Cedar-Riverside has a well-established history of neighborhood organizing and a number of dedicated community and business associations, along with a well-known MPD crime prevention specialist who is assigned specifically to the neighborhood Safety Center as opposed to the precinct as a whole. These factors meant that the Cedar-Riverside community was more actively involved in assessing the actions of the police as a whole, requesting attention from department supervisors, and engaging in community changes. Furthermore, these organizing efforts were not directed solely at the East African population, but instead encompassed the entire community.

For example, the Safety Center's monthly safety meeting was attended by a wide variety of business owners, residents, and other stakeholders on a regular basis. Nearly every meeting also included either a supervisor or a patrol officer from the First Precinct. It was not uncommon for individuals at these meetings to ask for answers from the police about particular crimes or previous incidents.

During the project period, a prominent community organization, the West Bank Community Development Corporation, worked with police to develop a large "no-trespass" zone. This was done in response to an increase in violent crimes in the neighborhood. Their hope was to geographically restrict a number of chronic offenders who were known to cause problems for the residents of their residential properties.

This well-organized community is in stark contrast to the control site, where the two main focal points, the large housing complex and the shopping mall, are separated by a commercial corridor with

significant vehicle traffic and different neighborhood associations. These two focal points are also heavily segregated from the community at large and are, for the most part, only utilized by the East African population that resides in or near the control site (including many residents of Cedar-Riverside). These and other factors put the control site at a disadvantage for requesting and making changes in the same way the Cedar-Riverside community did.

2. Officer Activity Logs

In addition to random site observations, officers in the test site were asked to fill out activity logs for each shift worked in Cedar-Riverside. Officers in the control site were **not** asked to fill out logs in an effort to not unduly influence them. Activity logs were used by PERF staff to track the progress of implementation in the test site and collect stories from officers.

The logs were designed as tools to ensure officers in Cedar-Riverside were engaging in community outreach activities as planned and to detect any "slippage" in the program's implementation. The logs were used to identify trends in officer activities and field contacts, to monitor overall activity levels among police serving Cedar-Riverside, to collect anecdotes and stories from officers in the field, and to regularly identify and address any challenges midcourse. The logs were used as field notes for where the project could improve.

The activity logs enabled PERF to track officer participation in the program and any changes in program activity, as well as important interactions between the officers and community members. The information was used by the team to identify and address program challenges and lessons learned. For example, after a lull in activity logs received and contacts reported in the late summer/early fall of 2013, project officers explained that they had been spending less time in Cedar-Riverside than usual because of increased bar activity in the downtown area. Officers were being asked by supervisors who were not on the project to assist with bar closings each night, an assignment which kept them away from Cedar-Riverside. With supervisors from all ranks in the room to hear this discussion at a Collaborative Strategy Refining Session, MPD leaders were able

to address this challenge and make sure that officers involved in the project had time available to spend in Cedar-Riverside.

"You can't plan to augment engagement when you have officers tied to a 911 function alone. We had to dedicate a team and supervisor to the area to make sure there were consistencies in commitment and focus to the goals."

— Inspector (now Police Chief) Medaria Arradondo

3. Meetings/Progress Updates

With the many moving parts, each facilitated by a different justice agency in the Minneapolis area, the project approach required careful monitoring. As the project grew, partners all expressed a desire to more regularly discuss their progress, successes, and/or challenges with the team. Although each of these agencies—police, prosecutors, and probation—interacts in some capacity with one another on a weekly or even daily basis, ensuring the continuity of the project was not always the topic of discussion. It was critical for PERF to help maintain the project's focus and to document these discussions and adjustments to the project as they happened. On the first Friday of each month, Assistant Chief Kris Arneson, First Precinct Inspector Medaria Arredondo, Sergeant Rich Jackson, Gail Baez from the county attorney's office, Chris Dixon and Lisa Godon from the city attorney's office, Jill Hermanutz from the probation department, other MPD personnel as appropriate, representatives from BJA, and the PERF project team would participate in a conference call to discuss the program. These calls offered the opportunity for partners to work through schedule differences or other challenges. They also served as a planning opportunity for the regular "Collaborative Information-Sharing and Discussion Sessions" with the entire team. Often these calls would identify big-picture themes or topics that the team wanted to discuss at an upcoming session or implementation issues that required the direct input of the officers or any necessary offline follow up among the partners. Details and action items from routine conference call meetings and the Collaborative Sessions were documented by the project team and used to monitor progress and refine the approach.

IMPACT ASSESSMENT:

4. Crime Data Impact Assessment

One of the goals of the Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study was to "prevent crime through evidence-based anti-crime strategies, primarily collaborative problem-solving, directed patrol, and a focus on chronic offenders."

The hypothesis was that as residents became more trusting of the police, they would be more likely to assist in evidence-based crime fighting approaches, and crime would go down as a result. In other words, the study sought to answer the question, "If confidence and trust in the police increase, will a measurable decrease in crime follow?"

To help answer this question, PERF researchers collected and analyzed the following data in both the Cedar-Riverside community and the Horn Towers control site:

- UCR Part I Violent Crime.

- UCR Part I Property Crime.

- Various Part II crimes, including such "quality-of-life" offenses as disorder crimes (disorderly conduct, excessive noise, etc.), trespassing, curfew violations, domestic assault (5th degree), and damage to property.

The Part I offenses were tracked to provide an overall sense of major crime and violence in the community. Because the project sought to increase trust and legitimacy of the justice system, it is reasonable to anticipate that the number of reported crimes may *increase* in Cedar-Riverside as the community becomes more comfortable reporting crime, and then *decrease* as evidence-based crime strategies begin to take hold and remove offenders from the streets.

The Part II or "quality-of-life" offenses were selected because Cedar-Riverside officers and community members identified them as being directly related to more serious acts of violence in their neighborhood. For example, many instances of "trespass" involved gang members who were violating protective or probation orders to stay away from places associated with their past gang-related activities.[65] Increases in violations and arrests for these kinds of Part II crimes early on in the project could help reduce more serious crime in the community and improve police-community relationships in the long term.

"Anecdotally, we've seen more store owners from Cedar-Riverside are willing to come forward on trespassing concerns."
— Supervising Attorney Christopher Dixon,
Minneapolis City Attorney's Office

But, as with the other measures, there are caveats to consider when looking at the Part II crime data. While focusing on the lesser crime of "trespass" could prevent further issues, it should be noted that these lesser crimes are reported to the police with far less frequency and consistency than are the Part I offenses, and the Part II data are generally less reliable. Even among Part I crime categories, significant percentages of victimizations nationwide are never reported to the police, including more than 40% of serious violent crimes and approximately 60% of property offenses.[66] And, as previously noted, underreporting of crimes is particularly problematic in immigrant communities.

Thus, one of the primary challenges in analyzing and understanding the overall crime data collected in the Cedar-Riverside study was determining the extent to which changes in recorded crime were the result of increased reporting by victims (which would be expected as community trust and confidence in the police grow), as opposed to changes in the actual number of victimizations. In the end, the project team was unable to reliably disaggregate MPD's data to show calls for service from other activities in the area to determine if there were any changes in the crime reporting levels by members of the Cedar-Riverside community. Examining the impact of procedural justice efforts on the

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65. It is essential to understand that strict enforcement is not always the best option in every instance. Officer discretion is always important to ensure the situation is handled appropriately.

66. Lynn Langston, et.al. 2012. Victimizations Not Reported to the Police, 2006-2010. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/vnrp0610.pdf.

community's willingness to report crime would be a valuable element of follow-up research.

For this study, PERF researchers conducted two separate analyses of crime data.

Threshold Analysis

A threshold analysis was conducted to determine whether the initiative made a detectable difference in crime in Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers. For this analysis, PERF researchers ran two tests:

- The first test used yearly crime data from 2008 through 2012 to "predict" 2013 crime levels, then compared actual 2013 data with the predicted numbers.

- The second test used yearly crime data from 2009 through 2013 to "predict" 2014 crime levels, then compared those projections to actual 2014 data.

Both tests revealed no overriding or consistent findings with respect to anticipated crime levels.

In Cedar-Riverside, the actual number of reported crimes was higher than the projections (statistically significant in 2013), with the exception of damage to property (both years) and aggravated assault and domestic assault (2014). For these offenses, the actual numbers were lower. There was no statistically significant difference between the predicted and the actual numbers for other types of crime.

Overall, the findings did not point to any clear trends or answers.

Time Series (Regression) Analysis

This analysis was conducted to determine the impact of the interventions in Cedar-Riverside, controlling for the absence of such interventions in Horn Towers. Put a different way, this analysis sought to answer two questions:

- Did the trend in crime significantly change for Cedar-Riverside after the program began?

- How do the trends in crime compare between Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers—are there significant differences between the two areas during the intervention?

In general, the analysis found very few significant changes to crime trends in Cedar-Riverside. In addition, the analysis uncovered no significant differences between Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers in their crime trends after the intervention began.[67] The most noteworthy differences between the two areas were the higher violent crime trends overall in Cedar-Riverside, but these could also reflect the fact that violent crime in Cedar-Riverside was higher to begin with, not that it increased. Or, perhaps reporting of these crimes increased. Again, this would be a potentially positive finding, but not one that can be empirically supported with available data.

As noted above, the findings may have been impacted by changes in the rates at which residents of Cedar-Riverside reported crime to the police during the course of the study (i.e., residents began reporting more crime, yet the actual amount of crime could have remained steady or decreased). Another consideration could be the length of time between when the project started and when the analyses were conducted, which was only 23 months. **Changing public perceptions of the police without a major event occurring can take some time. Detecting measurable changes in public perceptions and then having those changes result in real and measurable changes in crime levels in the community will likely require even more time.** Should the MPD choose to continue the interventions in Cedar-Riverside, it would be helpful to closely analyze crime trends and public perceptions of the police in the community to see how they may be impacted by these initiatives in the years ahead.

5. Officer Surveys Results Assessment

The Cedar-Riverside project officers were perhaps the most impacted by the project, and they certainly played the largest role in determining the daily success of its implementation.

To assess the impact of the project on these officers, PERF distributed anonymous pre- and post-project surveys to officers working in the test and control sites. The purpose of the surveys was to gauge any

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67. To refine the analysis, researchers used two different intervention points—February 2013 and June 2013—but this did not yield any significant differences in post-intervention trends.

2013	Crimes Higher than Predicted	Crimes Lower than Predicted
Cedar-Riverside	• **Part I Property Crimes** • **Robbery** • **Aggravated Assault** • **Theft** • **Disorder Crimes**	• **Damage to Property**
Horn Towers	• Disorder Crimes	• Part I Violent Crimes • Part I Property Crimes • Domestic Assault

2014	Crimes higher than predicted	Crimes lower than predicted
Cedar-Riverside	• **Robbery** • **Disorder Crimes**	• **Aggravated Assault** • **Damage to Property** • **Domestic Assault**
Horn Towers	• Disorder Crimes	• Part I Violent Crimes • Part I Property Crimes • Disorder Crimes • Trespassing • Curfew Violations

changes in officer perceptions of the community and the police department before and after the project. Officers were asked a series of questions using a Likert-type response scale.[68] Officers were asked to provide their perspectives on various topics, such as: whether community members are actively involved in community crime prevention; sources of information for crime-related problems in the community; overall perceptions of the community in their service area; and overall perceptions of the police department (see Appendix B for a sample survey).

Officer Survey Findings

While the sample sizes were small, the survey of officers who participated in the Cedar-Riverside project indicated that the project had important and perhaps career-changing impacts on some of the officer participants. In Cedar-Riverside, a statistically significant positive difference was revealed on five questions from the survey. **Officer perceptions *increased***

significantly **over the course of the intervention on the following measures:**

- **How actively community members protect themselves from crime.**

- **The importance of non-emergency crime reports in identifying neighborhood crime-related problems.**

- **The relationship between police and community members in the neighborhood.**

- **How well the officers understand the needs and concerns of the East African community.**

- **How comfortable community members are in approaching police for assistance.**

In the control site, officers' perception of the importance of community meetings in identifying neighborhood crime-related problems increased. This was the only question that yielded a statistically significant positive difference when comparing responses

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68. Likert is a scaling system that measures responses or attitudes to a statement on a continuum (ex. 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = neutral, 4 = disagree, 5 = strongly disagree).

from the surveys distributed before the intervention and those collected near the end.[69]

These survey results are in line with officers comments throughout the course of the project. **They reflect the professional growth that many officers experienced as a result of the project; 42% (5 out of 12) of the project officers were promoted to sergeant over the course of the project.**

6. Assault 5 Pilot Program Assessment

To demonstrate the benefits of police and prosecutors working together to address local problems, the Minneapolis City Attorney's Office developed the Assault 5 pilot program to increase charging and conviction rates for a series of lower-level crimes that were deemed to be among the most troublesome to the Cedar-Riverside community. These crimes, referred to by their coding category of "Assault 5" for this discussion, include simple assaults, property damage, violation of restraining orders, and disorderly conduct. Officers were instructed to follow a set of pre-determined protocols when responding to an "Assault 5" call in the Cedar-Riverside area. These protocols included:

- Obtaining a statement from the individuals involved,

- Obtaining a signed medical release and a completed arrest form and victim supplement from the victim,

- Photographing the scene,

- Collecting any physical evidence,

- Obtaining witness contact information,

- Interviewing witnesses, and

- Identifying and preserving video evidence.

After an officer took a report following the protocols, prosecutors would review the reports. The Minneapolis City Attorney's Office divided its teams on the precinct level so that prosecutors and MPD officers worked the same "beat." The city attorney's office would periodically follow up with officers on the progress or status of the case or on the quality of the report. MPD project supervisors and the First Precinct community attorney (and staff) were notified by MPD via email the next business day of any reports of the crimes associated with the Assault 5 pilot program. These reports would be "flagged" for careful review by the First Precinct community attorney. MPD assigned a Somali Liaison Officer to conduct additional investigation on any Assault 5 cases at the request of the community attorney. After careful review, and possible follow-up investigation,

69. The responses from the survey were analyzed using a one-tailed t-test (t= 1.70, p= .05).

the First Precinct Community Attorney would decide whether or not to charge the case.

> "Things are different in Cedar-Riverside now. The officers are spending more time there and helping to build stronger cases for prosecution."
> – *Supervising Attorney Christopher Dixon, Minneapolis City Attorney's Office*

Data Background

The Assault 5 intervention formally began in March 2014 and ended in February 2015. Data collection for the intervention focused on protocol compliance and case outcomes. PERF was provided with case data from calendar years 2012 and 2013 for comparison. For the purposes of comparison, PERF reviewed data from a period matching that of the intervention period, March 2012 through February 2013.

Pre-Intervention Analysis

From March 2012 through February 2013, there were approximately 97 Assault 5 cases in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood. Of these, 13 cases (or approximately 13.4%) were charged. Eight of the cases charged resulted in convictions.

Intervention Analysis

From March 2014 through February 2015, officers investigated approximately 126 Assault 5 cases in Cedar-Riverside. Of those, 36 cases (or 28.6%) resulted in charges, and 18 of those cases resulted in convictions.

Data Conclusions

Initial data observations indicated that the percent of cases included in the pilot program which resulted in charges in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood increased after the intervention began. As more case outcomes become known, it is likely that the percentage of cases charged and the number of cases resulting in a conviction will increase even further. Data regarding whether cases were actually "chargeable" were not available at the time of analysis, and, therefore, firm conclusions cannot be drawn as to whether the intervention increased the number of cases that actually resulted in charges. At the time of analysis, a number of charged cases from the intervention period had not yet been resolved; it is also expected that the number of convictions for this period will increase.

Overall, the initial results of the Assault 5 pilot program are very promising, indicating that charges and convictions increased during the period of intervention. However, it is impossible at this time to determine whether these are statistically significant conclusions or if the increase in charging and conviction rates can be directly linked to the emphasis placed on the pilot program. This would be another fertile area for continued research.

7. Community Impact Assessments

Community Surveys

The community survey was one important way to determine if the changes that were being implemented in Cedar-Riverside were having an effect on community trust and confidence in the police. All of the activities that were a part of the study, from officer use of procedural justice principles during daily interactions with individuals to increased police-prosecutor collaboration on assault cases, were designed to build the department's legitimacy in the East African community. It was hoped that these activities would have a ripple effect throughout the community, as residents and others who had contact with the police conveyed their experiences to family members, friends, and neighbors. **The survey was designed as a key measure of whether word of the initiative was taking hold in the community.**

Survey Methodology

The community survey was conducted in both Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers between August and December 2013 (approximately 8 to 12 months into the intervention period). In both locations, a convenience sample was used. Two male Somali-speaking interviewers went to locations with high pedestrian traffic in each neighborhood (malls, community centers, and parks) and attempted to start conversations with any individual they could.

The target number of completed surveys for each of the two neighborhoods was 100. The team actually

Table 3: Gender and Age Distributions for Cedar-Riverside (CR) and Horn Towers (HT) Community Survey Samples

	Gender			Age				
	Male	Female	Total	18-25	26-35	36-50	51+	Total
CR	49%	51%	100% (n=96)	33%	23%	30%	14%	100% (n=96)
HT	48%	52%	100% (n=94)	23%	34%	34%	7%	100% (n=94)
Overall	49%	51%		28%	28%	32%	11%	

completed 96 surveys in Cedar-Riverside and 94 in Horn Towers. PERF staff kept track of sample demographics and gave periodic instructions to the interviewers to include more people from underrepresented categories so that, by the end of the survey process, the samples included a diverse range of respondents (see Table 3). The samples were approximately evenly divided between women (51%) and men (49%), and between respondents age 35 and under (56%) and respondents over 35 (43%). The two samples were relatively similar on the demographics tracked.

The survey instrument consisted of 29 closed-ended questions that assessed respondents' trust and confidence in the police.[70] Response options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Because the items were worded in the positive (e.g., "Minneapolis police officers genuinely care about the well-being of the community"), higher scores indicate greater trust and confidence in the police.[71] In addition, the survey included three open-ended questions about how the police could better serve the community, plus questions on respondent demographics. The survey form is included in Appendix C.

Results

Responses were averaged over the two groups for each of the 29 opinion items. The mean item responses ranged from 4.70 out of 5.0 (most positive) to 2.75

(least positive). Table 4 shows the five items scored as most and least positive. The means of the most positive items fell between "agree" and "strongly agree," while the means of the least positive items fell close to the "neutral" (neither agree nor disagree) point on the scale. The table displays the means of each item for Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers.

For example, the statement that received the strongest levels of agreement from survey respondents was "If I witnessed or heard of a crime, I would call 911." On average, respondents in Cedar-Riverside gave that question a rating of 4.66, which is between "4 - agree" and "5 - strongly agree." Respondents in Horn Towers agreed almost as strongly, giving that question an average score of 4.49.

A "trust" measure

In an effort to try to quantify trust in both the Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers communities, a "trust" measure was created by combining the following survey items into an additive scale:[72]

- Officers act to benefit the welfare of residents

- Officers understand my culture

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70. Many of these questions were adapted from other similar policing studies from other cities.

71. Originally, the items were coded the opposite way (1 for strongly agree to 5 for strongly disagree). We reversed the coding to make presentation of the results easier to follow.

72. All 29 survey items were factor analyzed, combining results from both Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers samples. The factor analysis results indicated that our set of 29 scaled items represented a single construct: The first factor extracted in the analysis accounted for 36% of the overall variance; subsequent factors extracted each accounted for less than 10% of the variance. The seven items below are among those that correlated most strongly (i.e., had factor loadings of 0.6 or better) with the primary factor. These items suggest that the factor represents the degree to which community members feel the MPD cares about the community, which is an important indication of trust.

Table 4: Most Positively and Least Positively Scored Survey Items

Survey Questions that Received <u>Most Positive</u> Scores	Survey Questions that Received <u>Least Positive</u> Scores
(Cedar Riverside mean score) (Horn Towers mean score) (5 = Strongly Agree)	**(Cedar Riverside mean score)** (Horn Towers mean score) (5 = Strongly Agree)
If I witnessed or heard of a crime, I would call 911 **(4.66)** (4.49)	Minneapolis police officers serving my community understand my culture **(2.94)** (3.17)
Obeying the law keeps my community safe **(4.51)** (4.18)	The Minneapolis Police Department cares about the residents of my community **(3.11)** (3.40)
Community members know more about what goes on in their neighborhood than police officers do **(4.25)** (4.05)	Offenders in my area are given fair sentences when found guilty **(3.01)** (3.29)
The prevention of crime is the joint responsibility of the community and the police **(4.35)** (4.25)	Offenders in my neighborhood are given a fair trial **(3.14)** (3.35)
I feel safe in my community **(4.07)** (3.77)	Minneapolis police officers genuinely care about the well-being of the community **(3.25)** (3.33)

- The community and the police work well together

- The police understand the concerns of the community

- Officers generally trust community members

- Officers treat community members fairly and consistently

- Officers genuinely care about the well-being of the community[73]

Differences in trust scores were first analyzed by sample demographics (see Figure 1 below) for both the control and test sites. We found virtually no differences in trust between men and women: both were in the "somewhat positive" range of the trust scale.

The figure does indicate a statistically significant effect of age, however. **Younger respondents were neutral about whether they trusted the police, but trust increased with age, and respondents over 50 years of age tended to be fairly optimistic in their views of the police.**
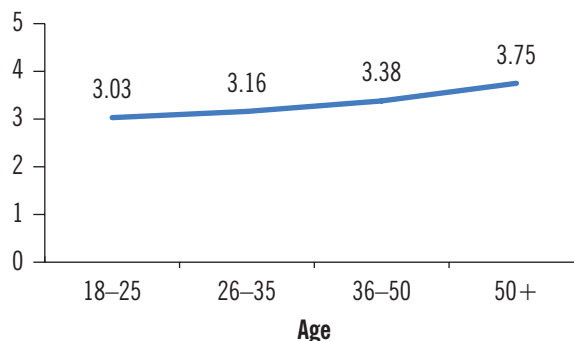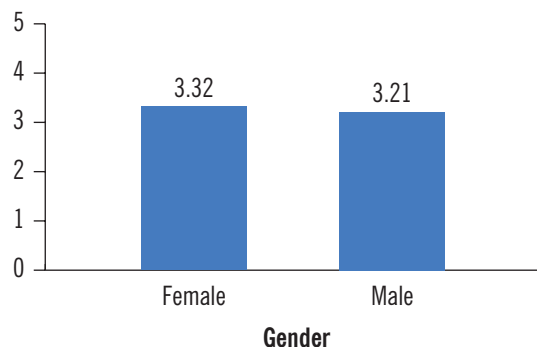
The means on the trust scale were compared between Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers. The two means were very similar: 19.29 for Cedar-Riverside (standard deviation 6.10) and 18.99 for Horn Towers.[74] Although demographic differences between the Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers samples were minimal, we conducted a test of statistical significance controlling for the minor differences in gender and age between the two neighborhoods.

The multivariate analysis confirmed a significant effect of age, again with older residents exhibiting greater trust in the police than younger residents. However, neither the coefficients for neighborhood nor gender approached statistical significance.

Two of the survey items were worded differently from the others, asking respondents to compare their current feelings of safety and comfort with the police to how they felt six months ago. Means were compared for these two individual items between Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers. There was no difference between the neighborhoods on these measures of change in comfort with the police. But, on the measure of perceived safety, residents of Horn Towers were significantly more likely to say that their feelings of safety had improved over the past six months.

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73. The internal consistency of the created scale was 0.88, considered quite respectable (The internal consistency, or alpha, coefficient ranges from 0 to 1; scores of 0.70 or higher indicate that the scale is measuring a single construct.)

74. Standard deviation 5.59.

Figure 1: Trust Scores Broken Down by Survey Respondent Demographics

CONCLUSION

"In addition to crime reduction, more trust in police was one of the changes I saw in the Cedar-Riverside community during this project. Officers now request to work there because things were getting done and there was more respect from community members. People were outside enjoying themselves, which gave us an opportunity to talk to them and to gang members and work some issues out. They respected us."

– *Sergeant Charlie Adams*

The analysis of the community survey did not yield any significant differences in trust and confidence in the police between residents of Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers. This is not a surprising finding for project researchers, as the difficulty of effecting a measurable change on community perceptions is widely recognized by the research community. For a detectable impact on community perceptions to be expected, there would need to be a very large number of routine, positive encounters between police and residents, and then *eventually* we would expect to see a change in overall community opinion of the police as people recounted their positive experiences to family, friends, and neighbors.

Recognizing the potential for this outcome and the fact that the first community survey did not demonstrate a significant difference between the control and test sites, a subsequent community survey was not conducted.

Instead, the project team worked with MPD and union leaders to design a "contact card" for officers to use to gauge community feedback on direct interactions with officers in the test and control sites.

Community Contact Cards

This project encouraged a wide range of changes to policing in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood, and the most significant change that was hoped for was more respectful interactions between police officers and residents.

While the community survey was designed to gauge overall community perceptions of police and justice agencies, the project team also worked to develop some measure of satisfaction from individual interactions with police in Cedar-Riverside.

The immediate impacts of changes in officer behavior and resident perceptions are best measured by *contact surveys* – feedback from persons who had recent encounters with the officer. PERF worked with MPD leaders, officers, and union officials to design a short survey card produced in English, Somali, and Oromo. Officers in the test and control sites were asked to hand the cards to community members after all interactions. These cards can be found in Appendix D.

The questions are:

- During my recent interaction with the Minneapolis Police Department, the officer(s) gave me an opportunity to express my thoughts and opinions.

- During my recent interaction with the Minneapolis Police Department, the officer(s) treated me fairly.

- The Minneapolis Police Department upholds the law fairly and consistently.

- I trust the Minneapolis Police Department.

- The justice system in Minneapolis works for the good and/or safety of the community.

Completed contact cards could be turned in to locked metal "drop boxes" placed in convenient locations throughout Cedar-Riverside and control site neighborhoods or dropped in a U.S. Postal Service mailbox (cards included paid postage addressed to PERF). These anonymous cards would be sent directly to the project team in Washington, D.C., for review. The drop boxes in the community were checked a minimum of once a week; however, no responses were turned in this way.

A total of 75 cards were returned to PERF via mail from the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood; only 1 card was returned from the control site, the Horn Towers neighborhood. The responses from Cedar-Riverside in the aggregate were overwhelmingly positive. The overall lack of contact cards returned from the control site was also a telling finding (keeping in mind the usual limitations involved with this type of evaluation strategy). A summary of the responses from the Cedar-Riverside contact cards is included below. Unfortunately, the contact cards did not yield enough data to analyze or make comparisons between the sites.

Community Phone Survey Pilot

In another attempt to gather data related to individual satisfaction with police interactions, PERF conducted a small pilot test to determine whether phone interviews with individuals who had recently interacted with police in Cedar-Riverside would yield a large enough response for meaningful analysis. PERF's field observer contacted complainants from 25 minor, non-sensitive incidents to survey them on their interaction with the police. Only 6 complainants completed their interviews. With a response rate of only 24%, it was determined that conducting a full-scale phone survey would not produce enough data for a valid analysis to be conducted.

ASSESSMENT CONCLUSIONS

Although many of the planned outcome evaluations did not produce meaningful results, a handful of measures showed that the Cedar-Riverside program has promise. Specifically, the officer surveys demonstrated a significant increase in officers' positive perceptions of the community. These survey findings aligned with conversations at regular project meetings where officers often reported higher levels of job satisfaction and more comfort in serving the East African residents in the Cedar-Riverside community. The increase in charges and convictions for low-level offenses in Cedar-Riverside during the project also suggests that the Assault 5 collaborative pilot program had positive impacts.

Figure 2: Summary of Community Contact Card Responses, Cedar-Riverside

Legend:
5 - Strongly Disagree
4 - Disagree
3 - Neutral
2 - Agree
1 - Strongly Agree
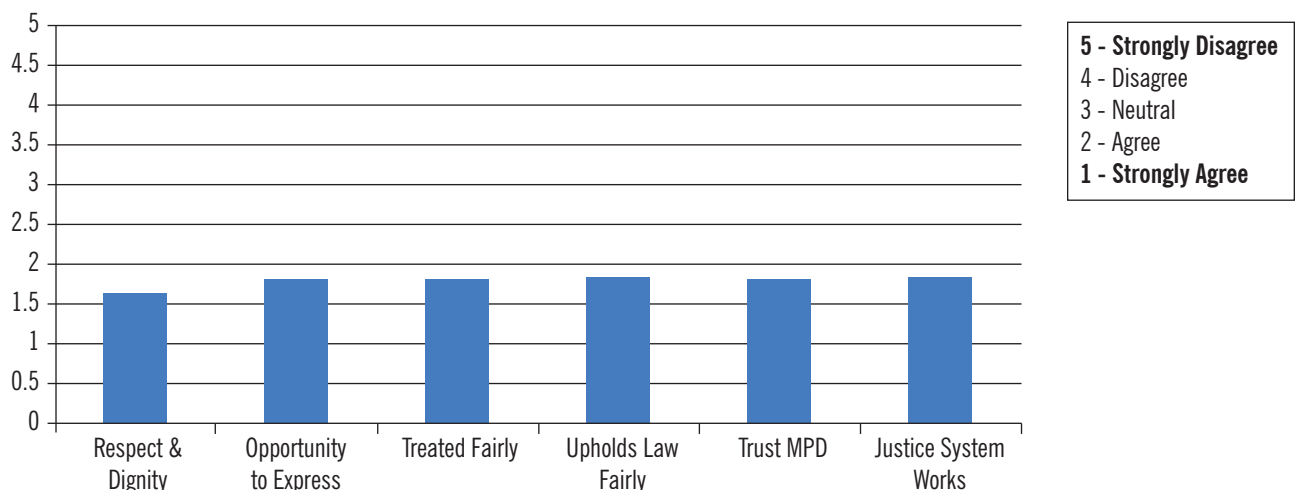
Assessment Limitations and Challenges

Continually Evolving and Expanding Process: At the outset of this initiative the project team developed a rigorous assessment plan. As the project approach expanded and Chief Harteau's "MPD 2.0" philosophy began to take hold, it became clear that most of the planned assessment efforts would not yield a definitive answer as to impact of many of the Cedar-Riverside interventions. Many of the intended impact measures of the program were eliminated mid-course because their design would no longer yield meaningful results.

Data Challenges: In an effort to increase trust and confidence in the police, one important source of data is community-initiated calls for service. The initial evaluation plan called for tracking calls for service data over the life of the project and monitoring it for trend changes. An increase in formal calls for service by community members may have been an indicator of increased trust and confidence in the police. Unfortunately, over the course of the project, the team was unable to determine a way to reliably and consistently differentiate calls for service from self-initiated activity in the MPD-provided Computer Assisted Dispatch (CAD) data. Even if disaggregating the data were possible, changes in the numbers of these contacts may be an unreliable determinant of program impact, because the underreporting of crime can already be problematic in immigrant communities.[75]

In addition to the challenges posed by the official crime data and calls for service data, many of the process and impact assessment data sources required self-reported information. Self-report measures have issues with reliability, but were able to offer insight into implementation of the approach. However, this information cannot be used for a statistically meaningful impact assessment.

Barriers to Community Impact Data Collection: Cedar-Riverside is a melting pot of different ethnicities and generations. While the project team was able to conduct a small Community Survey during the project period, assessing the overall impact of the project on community trust and confidence via survey or other outcome data was particularly difficult. All surveys need to be available in multiple languages. The survey process also required voluntary participation, and many East African community members or their families have had bad experiences with police agencies in the past in their home countries and in the United States and were unwilling to participate. Some community members were also wary of participating in any surveys related to federal projects for fear of being under surveillance.

Intervention vs. Control Site Characteristics: For many of the process and impact assessment efforts, PERF used a control site (the Horn Towers/Karmel Square Mall area) for comparison purposes. Though the control site is reportedly the most similar in demographics, the two sites have substantial differences. The control site focused on the two main East African hubs in the neighborhood, Horn Towers, a three building complex of 22 story apartments, and Karmel Square Mall, a large shopping complex and mosque that houses about 150 Somali businesses. The control site itself is larger and substantially more diverse than the whole of the Cedar-Riverside study area. The Fifth Precinct headquarters is also located within the control site. This may mean additional visibility and informal guardianship of the control site. At the most basic level, Cedar-Riverside and the control site have different defining characteristics. Cedar-Riverside is a geographically small, tight knit neighborhood with a slower pace of activity and a national reputation for being a home to numerous East African immigrants. Cedar-Riverside is easy to walk, with high levels of pedestrian activity regardless of the time of day. The control site lacks the pedestrian-friendly streets, is a more diverse neighborhood with a more prominent commercial corridor, with an overall higher pace of activity.

Further, as the only other community in Minneapolis with a highly-concentrated East African community, Horn Towers was the only logical control site, but also potentially subject to a "spillover" effect, because many of the residents of Horn Towers spent time in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood, and vice versa.

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75. Matthew Lysakowski, Albert Antony Pearsall III, and Jill Pope. 2009. Policing in New Immigrant Communities. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, http://ric-zai-inc.com/ric.php?page=detail&id=COPS-W0764.

The assessment measures for both crime reports and community opinions of police did not yield significant, positive results. Both crime and community opinions are particularly difficult to impact substantially in a short period of time. Ensuring that calls for service data and self-initiated activity data are available and easily discernible may provide a more accurate gauge of community trust and confidence in the police in future studies. Additionally, community attitudes after contact with police may be a more meaningful impact measure than community surveys.

Throughout the project, the team initiated many process fidelity measures. Each of the process assessments described above developed a roadmap for agencies looking to implement a similar program. Documenting each of the many processes of the project illuminates the challenges of measuring the impact of this type of program in a racial minority, immigrant community and hopefully helps to refine evaluation strategies in future adaptations of this initiative.

Cedar-Riverside officers at a project information-sharing meeting, June 2013.

CHAPTER FIVE:

Lessons Learned and Implications for Replication

"If you take a community that doesn't trust the police, put time and effort into it, it will make a difference—both for the officers and for the community."

– Officer (now Sergeant) Abdiwahab Ali

THE CEDAR-RIVERSIDE EXPLORATORY Policing Study was an ambitious, multi-faceted initiative that sought to answer some rather straightforward questions:

- Is it possible to operationalize policing strategies based on the principles of procedural justice?

- Can officers be trained to work in ways, using the concepts of procedural justice, that build community trust and confidence?

- And, if confidence in the police increases, will a measurable decrease in crime follow?

The answers to these and others questions in the Cedar-Riverside community—and the lessons learned from the exploratory study there—have significant implications for efforts to develop a national model centered on procedural justice and legitimacy. This chapter outlines some of the key lessons learned from the Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study and what those lessons mean for other communities.

Perhaps the most significant take-away from the study is that, even in a community with the many unique challenges of Cedar-Riverside, procedural justice principles can be operationalized into a coherent, community-based policing strategy. Officers can be trained and supported in ways that reportedly build community trust and enhance police legitimacy. And while the direct

impact on crime and community perceptions of the police were difficult to measure for a number of reasons, it seems reasonable that, over time, crime levels would decrease as public trust and confidence in the police increase.

Specific lessons learned are described in greater detail below. Three key factors for success stand out from the experience in Cedar-Riverside.

1. **Vision and leadership from the command staff of a police department are essential, and officers on the street must understand and "own" the operational details.** Former Police Chiefs Tim Dolan and Janeé Harteau enthusiastically supported the Cedar-Riverside initiative, and when Chief Harteau was sworn in, her MPD 2.0 vision (emphasizing commitment, integrity, and transparency) aligned extremely well with the Cedar-Riverside project. MPD 2.0 in general, and the Chief's support for the Cedar-Riverside study specifically, sent a clear and strong message to the officers and supervisors in the First Precinct that this project was important and its results were being scrutinized.

Further, Chief Harteau and Assistant Chief Kris Arneson participated in each step of the project and every project meeting, including the facilitated discussions among the project officers. The importance of their commitment and willingness to listen and take action on the recommendations from the officers who were involved with the program cannot be understated.

The vision and support from these chief executives were imperative to the ownership of the

Repairing Community Trust

In summer 2014, Officer (now Sergeant) Abdiwahab Ali was informed of a situation in which a family had requested police assistance for a domestic dispute and was upset with the police response. The disturbance had resulted in the arrest of a Somali youth by an officer who was not familiar with the community or the project. Because the youth's family was unhappy with the events surrounding the arrest, there was a breakdown in trust between the family and the police department. Understanding the ramifications of one such incident, Officer Ali reached out to the family to try to repair the relationship and to prevent the youth from further involvement with the justice system. In speaking with the youth and his mother, Officer Ali discovered that his bike had been stolen several months earlier. Officer Ali reached out to Officer Kirchen regarding the "Bike Cops for Kids" program, and the officers found the resources to replace the bicycle.

Officer Ali went above and beyond to repair relationships with the family and the Somali community. Officer Ali facilitated a respectful dialogue between the youth and the original

Officers (LEFT TO RIGHT) Gregory Kosch, Abdiwahab Ali, and Mukhtar Abdulkadir with community members.
PHOTO: MPD

arresting officer. He even invited the officer to assist in delivering the new bicycle. Officer Ali continued to mentor this young man.

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initiative at the operational levels. This ownership proved to be a turning point in the project's implementation. Initially, some of the officers expressed confusion and frustration over the concept of procedural justice and what that meant for them on the streets. Early on, some of them even asked department leaders and facilitators to "just tell me what you want me to do." To their credit, department leaders turned that question back on the officers: "tell us what you think you need to do." From this process, the officers assigned to the project developed an eight-point set of procedural justice "operating principles" that would guide their actions on the street (see page 25). The principles were creative, thoughtful, and realistic, and they contributed both to officer buy-in and more effective implementation.

> **"You have to find cops who really want to do this type of policing and then empower them to do it. You then have to teach the cops what the neighborhood is about, and they have to be willing to learn about the community, the culture, and the religion."**
> — *Sergeant Charlie Adams*

2. **The issue of police legitimacy cannot be viewed or addressed in a vacuum. Enhancing police legitimacy often requires the involvement of other justice system agencies, which also benefit from increased trust and support from the community.** The Cedar-Riverside project initially involved the Minneapolis Police Department only—and even there, primarily patrol officers and supervisors. But because so many community members misunderstood or mistrusted the entire justice system, not merely the police, the project was quickly expanded to include MPD investigators, city and county prosecutors, and probation officials who also worked in the community. The expansion of the project to other justice system actors underscored the need for a multi-dimensional approach that would fully conceptualize, leverage, and operationalize the principles of procedural justice. It is to be expected that these principles apply to other justice system agencies as well (for example, courts and correctional agencies), but more exploratory work in these areas is needed. For now, a procedural justice model that recognizes and supports partnerships within the police

department, as well as partnerships among the police, the community, prosecutors' offices, and probation represents a strong foundation for enhancing legitimacy and trust.

3. **To fully operationalize the principles of procedural justice in the community, police departments and other agencies must practice procedural justice internally, within their own agencies.** In this type of initiative, "internal" procedural justice must be practiced on many levels within and among the partner agencies. For police departments, prosecutors' offices, probation departments, and others, the principles of procedural justice within their operations must be considered from the following perspectives:

   a. <u>Intra-agency.</u> To be effective, street-level officers and supervisors must view their departments and leaders as being "legitimate" and having the best interests of the rank-and-file at heart. This means leaders must be open, honest, caring, and trustworthy with their teams, and information must be shared quickly and seamlessly within organizations.

   b. <u>Inter-agency.</u> All agencies in the partnership must be prepared to be open and transparent with one another, especially when it comes to sharing information and resources. Each agency must trust that their other partners have their backs—not just operationally on the street, but also organizationally and politically.

   c. <u>Agency-community.</u> Under procedural justice, every interaction between a police officer or other justice system official and a member of the community is an opportunity to demonstrate fairness, caring, and respect. Each agency in the partnership must be committed to this ideal, in every community encounter they have.

The reality is that even with the strongest partnerships, their stability and effectiveness will always be tenuous, especially at first. The operations of other actors who may or may not be actively partnering on the initiative—or even the actions of individuals within the partner agencies—can quickly and seriously impact the community's perceptions of police and justice system legitimacy. Indeed, highly publicized actions by police or other justice officials in

communities hundreds of miles away can serve to undermine trust and legitimacy "back home." While many of these factors cannot be tightly controlled, it is important that they be recognized. Systems and interactions having the most impact on police-community trust and partnerships, including police use of force, the police response to protests and demonstrations, and violent crime, should be identified and addressed.

CHALLENGES AND LESSONS LEARNED

In addition to the broader themes outlined above, following are some of the key challenges presented by the Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study and the important lessons learned.

- **Lesson Learned: Leadership Is Key**
  This initiative demonstrated clearly the importance of leadership and commitment at all levels of the police department and within partner agencies. All aspects of the Cedar-Riverside study were driven by the dedication and care of the leaders of the MPD. Chief Janeé Harteau and Assistant Chief Kristine Arneson understood the initiative and were extremely engaged in every aspect of the work. They were dedicated to ensuring that all players were at the table and contributing to the effort. They set the example for the department, and their active involvement communicated to MPD personnel the importance of this work.

  However, this was not just a top-driven project. For example, Chief Harteau and Assistant Chief Arneson tapped capable leaders at all levels to play important roles in designing, implementing, and refining the approach. When First Precinct Sergeant Richard Jackson sensed that some aspects of the initiative were not being executed as effectively as possible, he called a special training day for MPD personnel involved in the project. They ironed out some technical details and discussed upcoming partnerships and next steps. As importantly, the sergeant demonstrated his commitment to his officers' success. Additionally, then-Inspector Medaria Arradondo worked closely with MAVI on an ongoing basis to troubleshoot issues and ensure that probation officers were working with patrol officers who

could establish a target focus on the community's most chronic offenders who were on supervision. Throughout the course of the project, Inspector Arradondo made numerous strategic charges to ensure that this communication occurred. The excitement and passion of Chief Harteau, Assistant Chief Arneson, and the precinct leaders inspired the officers involved in this initiative. Without the strong leadership of the Chief and her team, the strategies and efforts of this project would not have come to fruition or been implemented as effectively.

- **Lesson Learned: Communication, communication, communication!**

The effort to build community trust and drive down crime in Cedar-Riverside was an extremely complex and intricate process. The entire initiative involved numerous moving pieces from various agencies working collaboratively. This type of work required frequent, clear, open, and honest communication among _all_ stakeholders. Without the strong working relationships and frequent conversations between the justice system players, new initiatives such as the Cedar-Riverside Neighborhood Court Watch and the Assault 5 Pilot Project might not have been developed and implemented with such strong support and commitment. In addition, the Collaborative Information-Sharing Sessions that PERF facilitated provided a forum for project personnel to assess progress, revisit underlying concepts, discuss next steps, and make important adjustments. These regular sessions supported the type of internal procedural justice that became such an important part of the entire initiative.

Additionally, it was critical to the success of this project that MPD involved community leaders in conversations about the work, early in the process. This was especially critical in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood, because of the large East African population and the considerable language and cultural issues, and the negative past experiences with the police, that needed to be overcome. Involving East African community leaders in the project design and focus gave a voice to community members and helped to focus trust-building efforts on the areas of greatest concern and importance.

For example, it was from these early discussions that the project team came to appreciate the source and level of distrust that many residents had for the police and other justice agencies. This dialogue also helped to guide the priorities of the project, with its focus on gangs, youth crime, and lower-level assaults. Members of the project team have continued to attend community safety meetings. Their active participation in these and other events has kept community members updated on progress and alerted the project players to any concerns or questions that community members have had. Communication, internally within the justice system and externally with the community, is crucial to building relationships and trust at all levels.

> "At first, I saw a community that didn't talk to the police and kept everything within their community. But as a result of this project, they are open to talk with officers and allow the police to help."
> – _Officer Yolanda Wilks_

For example, the project revealed an overall lack of communication between patrol officers in Cedar-Riverside and the detectives who investigated crimes there. This hindered the investigators from getting follow-up tips and leads that could be helpful, and it prevented patrol officers from being able to pass along case status information to members of the community who asked (this lack of information undermined the officers' legitimacy in the community). Ten months into the program's implementation, the more frequent information-sharing that developed among investigators, beat officers, crime analysts, prosecutors, and probation officials paid off: officials uncovered a series of retaliatory assaults and homicides involving Somali gang members. Though most of these crimes occurred outside of the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood, the impact of these crimes in surrounding areas and throughout the City was felt within Cedar-Riverside, where many of the victims and their friends and families lived. It was only a matter of time before the violence spilled into the community itself. The project partners increased coordination of their efforts and developed new strategies to investigate and interrupt retaliatory violence.

For example, officers and investigators developed a feedback loop to ensure that all parties (investigators, officers, and community members) have the most relevant and accurate information about recent crimes and ongoing investigations.

- **Lesson Learned: Put the right people in place, and empower them to take ownership.**

In addition to the leadership shown by the MPD command staff and supervisors involved in the initiative, it was also crucial to empower the right officers as the chief ambassadors to the Cedar-Riverside community. In general, the officers involved in this project continually went above and beyond to serve the community. Officers were encouraged to harness their creativity and compassion to find innovative ways to build relationships.

For example, after a hostage situation in the neighborhood, a few officers took the initiative to purchase some new household items to replace those that were damaged in a nearby apartment used by the police during the event. Another officer connected the diverse communities of Minneapolis youths for a fitness and safety camp during Spring Break, after a racially-fueled fight broke out at a local school.

> "For this to work, you really need to assign officers who will be committed fully to the effort and who will make sure it resonates with the entire precinct."
>
> *– Inspector (now Police Chief) Medaria Arradondo*

From the start, the Cedar-Riverside initiative benefited from having two Somali-American officers—Officers Mo and Ali—already working in the neighborhood. These officers had grown up and lived in the community; they understood its culture, customs, rhythms and challenges; and they had gained the trust of many community leaders and residents. They provided an invaluable foundation upon which to build the initiative. At the same time, it was clear that the exploratory study would never have gotten off the ground if it had remained just the "Officer Mo and Ali project." It was critical that the MPD leverage the knowledge, experience, and good will of these two officers, and then expand to other officers on the project. As part of their orientation, each officer had the opportunity to partner with either Officer Mo or Officer Ali as a way of being introduced to the community and begin building trust. At some point, however, project team officers had to—and did—step out on their own and develop their own relationships with the community.

Officers weren't just empowered to engage with the community; they were also encouraged to think creatively to share information, document evidence, and solve crimes. For example, one officer collected digital evidence from a local retailer on her project-issued iPhone to identify two men who stole a credit card. Other officers used their iPhones to take pictures of damage to property and other similar crimes. These photographs provided better documentation and increased the likelihood of the cases moving forward in the justice system. Chief Harteau said of the officers on the project, "I am incredibly proud of the work that they've done. They are models for the entire department."

> "When other officers started making community contacts, there was more interaction with people in the community. Officers were not just doing 911 calls. They started talking to people, getting to know the kids and the parents, going to community centers. Before the project, officers didn't like to work in this neighborhood. Now the relationships are better. We (Officers Mo and Ali) showed other officers what worked well for us. By talking to people in community centers, mosques, coffee shops, other officers evolved. For example, a white officer was sitting in a parked car in Cedar Riverside. A young Somali male went to this white officer to talk to him instead of coming up to us. This shows he felt comfortable with this officer. The fact that he approached this officer to share information was a positive. There is more appreciation of the police from this community and they feel free to approach officers now."
>
> *– Officer (now Sergeant) Mohamed "Mo" Abdullahi*

Finally, officers themselves took the lead in developing operational protocols for carrying out the legitimacy-building efforts in Cedar-Riverside; these protocols, shown on page 25, are now part of the operational model. The theories of procedural justice and legitimacy can be tricky to translate into concrete plans that guide police actions and practices on the street. Ultimately, the officers involved in the project were responsible for both determining how it could be done and then taking action.

- **Lesson Learned: Project participants need occasional refresher trainings and "booster shots" to re-energize and adjust the approach.**

In order for the work in Cedar-Riverside to become not just a short-term, stand-alone "project" but rather a regular way of doing business, the team had to be brought together many times, both formally and informally, throughout the course of the initiative. In formal refresher sessions (called Collaborative Information Sharing and Discussion Sessions), the team reviewed current crime trends, personal experiences, and data, and then made adjustments to the project plan where appropriate. These sessions, as well as occasional informal gatherings, calls, and emails, served as reminders or "booster shots" of the concepts and operating principles for the project. In addition, these sessions served to reenergize team members by allowing them to air concerns and frustrations and to work through solutions. Changing public opinion and building community trust in the police can take years. Some of the Cedar-Riverside officers often felt disheartened by not seeing a quick or wholesale change in community attitudes. PERF, as the outside observer, was able to identify specific examples and provide information to demonstrate that the team's efforts were actually making a difference in the community. This feedback encouraged continued efforts to ensure that the outcome would be changes in everyday practice, not merely the completion of a "project."

"You need to have regular conversations and make the process collaborative for it to work."

— Assistant Chief Kris Arneson

"This type of work requires a commitment to long-term solutions for achieving long-term results."

— BJA Project Manager, Senior Policy Analyst Steven Edwards

- **Lesson Learned: "What is procedural justice anyway?" You must confront resistance to the terminology and underlying concepts at the outset.**

"Looking back on it, maybe I should have just called it 'building trust.'"

— Tom Tyler, in response to officer pushback on the terminology at the November 2013 Collaborative Session.

In recent years, much attention has been paid to the terms "procedural justice" and "legitimacy" as they relate to policing. These principles have been largely promoted by legal and other scholars. There has been resistance from both police practitioners and researchers alike because of concerns over how these terms may be misunderstood or misinterpreted in the field.

Developing operational strategies and incorporating the principles into everyday practice based on the principles of *procedural justice* or seeking to improve community perceptions of *police legitimacy* does not mean that police were unjust or illegitimate before. Procedural justice and legitimacy are not absolute, "yes or no" qualities; they are about community members' perceptions of the police. Thus, they are relative terms, because perceptions vary from one individual to the next and often from one demographic group to another. In addition, perceptions change over time. Legitimacy and procedural justice are goals that all police departments should continually aspire to achieve through their daily interactions with the community.

"So, what do I make of procedural justice? First, it is nothing new. Second, it is an important concept that is often neglected in policing. Third, civility, restraint, lack of bias, etc., are ends in themselves. They should be emphasized even if they do not yield other positive results."

— Policing Expert Dr. George Kelling

The Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study demonstrated the importance of regularly reminding project officers and other team members just what procedural justice and legitimacy mean—and, as importantly, what they don't mean. And, as noted below, it was critical for the project team to "own" the concepts and their implementation.

- **Lesson Learned: Procedural Justice can be a "slippery concept" that takes some time to stick.**

  Though the theoretical concept of procedural justice has been paid much lip service over the past few years, it has largely remained just that--a concept. During the project's orientation session with officers, the team spent much of the day reviewing the terms and principles of procedural justice. While the officers understood the theory, they were less clear on what it meant for their daily interactions in Cedar-Riverside. At one point, some officers became frustrated over their inability to instantly operationalize the principles, prompting them to say, "just tell us what you want us to do." PERF and MPD leaders pushed the question back on the officers: based on what you know and your wealth of policing experiences, "you tell us what you need to do" to embrace procedural justice and legitimacy and make them real in Cedar-Riverside.

  It wasn't until the first refresher session in May 2013 that the concepts began to resonate in a way that could be translated into practice. At this session, the group reviewed the concepts again, and then a discussion opened up to the officers about what they currently do to connect with the community. Officers were able to connect their practices and experiences with procedural justice, which provided more concrete examples on which to build a strategy. It was out of this process that the project team developed its eight Procedural Justice principles that became the guideposts for its work to build trust and confidence in the police in Cedar-Riverside.

> **"Procedural justice is not a tactic; it is a way of doing business. This approach is counterintuitive to many who expect to address problems immediately and move on to the next issue."**
>
> *– BJA Project Manager, Senior Policy Analyst Steven Edwards*

- **Lesson Learned: Balancing officer discretion and the structured nature of the job is an art form.**

  Policing is highly discretionary at the officer level, but it is also very structured by the "chain of command" and volumes of laws, policies, procedures, and directives on just about all aspects of police work—from how fast response time should be, to how reports are to be filled out, to how uniforms are to be worn. These strictures often result in a police environment where stepping outside of the status quo and taking risks are avoided. Work is done by culture and routine, which can limit creativity and individuality in approach.

  The idea of operationalizing procedural justice is abstract, so one of the challenges of this project was to find ways of prompting the officers to use their own judgment in how to translate the goals into actions, and to personalize them to fit their individual styles, approaches, and experiences. One of the lessons learned from Cedar-Riverside is that, given the opportunity and encouragement, officers can make the concept of procedural justice real and implement it effectively in a challenging community environment.

- **Lesson Learned: First-line supervisors play a significant role in implementation and sustainability.**

  First-line supervisors play a critical role in any policing effort. Many scholars and practitioners agree that sergeants are often the linchpin of a successful police department.[76] Sergeants develop

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76. James J. Willis, "First-Line Supervision and Strategic Decision Making Under Compstat and Community Policing," *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 24 no. 2 (2011): 235-256. Also, Engel, R.S. (2003, June). "How Police Supervisory Styles Influence Patrol Officer Behavior." In *Research for Practice*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

close relationships with officers. They know and understand individual officers' skills, abilities, weaknesses, and professional aspirations.

The sergeants involved in the Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study were key in communicating priorities and goals. Additionally, these first-line supervisors took the lead in developing a framework for officers on how to successfully implement the "slippery concept" of procedural justice. Sergeants were able to make accommodations for project officers seeking to spend more time in the community or looking to start a creative engagement activity. One sergeant facilitated a neighborhood basketball game with local youth and project officers. Over 40 young people participated in the game and another 100 attended. This sergeant was able to pool resources and connections throughout the department, and with the probation department he leveraged cross-agency participation.

Sergeants were also critical in identifying and addressing challenges throughout the project. Sergeants took personal responsibility for ensuring that officers completed their activity logs. One sergeant developed and executed a special training and development day for the project team to gather feedback, address issues, and prepare the officers for a special enforcement initiative.

- **Lesson Learned: Mid-level supervisors must be involved and on-board early on, and assist in developing the program.**
  While first-line supervisors were key in helping officers both define and implement various aspects of the project, mid-level managers must understand and appreciate the importance of these efforts early in the process. Mid-level managers are often responsible for allocating resources and determining officer schedules and patrols on a daily basis. Understanding the concepts is important to mid-level supervisors, especially if the approach being implemented is new to the department or to a particular community, as it was in Cedar-Riverside. These supervisors may be tempted to fall back on old decision-making practices if the concepts are not reinforced.

"At times, I felt caught in the middle of upper administration, my supervisors, and the officers. Some supported the project and others didn't, which made my job challenging. Only half of my immediate supervisors were on board. This made me feel caught in the middle in trying to carry out the project activities and goals."
– Sergeant Richard Jackson

The exploratory study in Cedar-Riverside did not involve all officers in the First Precinct during the study period, and often times, conflicting priorities of supervisors in the precinct caused confusion and frustration. The First Precinct, for example, includes downtown Minneapolis, which is often the busiest area in the city. Throughout the course of the project, officers expressed concern over conflicting priorities of answering calls for service downtown and community engagement efforts in Cedar-Riverside. If a sergeant who was involved in the Cedar-Riverside project was off on a particular day, the officers who were supposed to patrol that neighborhood were sometimes reassigned by another supervisor to patrol downtown. MPD leaders were able to address some of these challenges midway through the project by looping more of the mid-level supervisors into the efforts, and by having the precinct Inspector repeatedly emphasize the project's importance in department-wide and precinct meetings. Ideally, mid-level supervisors precinct-wide should have been included in project strategies, events, and activities from the beginning. This might have prevented some officers, particularly "dog watch" (midnight shift) officers, from being pulled from the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood during peak hours.

"We had a lot of supervisor and staff changes during this project. It was sometimes counterproductive and hurt the project. When implementing this type of project in other cities, try to minimize this if possible."
– Officer (now Sergeant) Mohamed "Mo" Abdullahi

- **Lesson Learned: Offer time, space, and consistency for officers working in a community to strategize and build camaraderie.**

In many police departments, officers work the same beat on the same shift. This continuity of assignment helps to build familiarity and, ultimately, trust with the community. However, other than in passing during shift changes, officers working one consistent shift may rarely see or engage with officers working the same beat but on different shifts.

In Cedar-Riverside, the need for consistent relationship-building at all hours of the day was critical. While different shifts may have different availability for walking the beat, business checks, or visiting local youth at parks, the overall approach was designed to link all of the officers with one another and with the community. Members of the Cedar-Riverside community should expect to encounter the same level of service and approachability at any hour of the day from any officer. During each of the refresher sessions, project officers were encouraged to interact with one another, to brainstorm together on addressing challenges, and to collaborate on plans for moving forward. During both formal and informal sessions, officers shared phone numbers and stressed the importance of sharing information among themselves. During meeting breaks, officers could be heard trading stories and advice. Officers would informally mentor one another and seek guidance from the two Somali-American officers (Officers Mo and Ali) on how to approach specific situations.

"This project increased my dedication to the work. It connected me with my co-workers and supervisors because we were talking to each other and encouraging each other. We met often and talked about what was working and what wasn't. This interaction made a big difference. It also impacted other officers who weren't even involved in the project. It increased our awareness of one another and the impacts we were having on the community."

— *Officer (now Sergeant) Abdiwahab Ali*

The department's top leaders quickly recognized the importance of this camaraderie and made sure to present formal and informal opportunities in between refresher sessions for the officers to coordinate. For example, when one officer was planning a Safety Camp for youth from the neighborhood during Spring Break, officers from "dog watch" and "middle shift" were permitted to participate in the camp for the week. Such efforts brought not only more ideas and resources to the project; they also served to build an *esprit de corps* that might not otherwise have existed.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE OFFICERS' PERSPECTIVE:

During the final project refresher session, all of the officers (and newly promoted sergeants) who participated in the project were asked to share their thoughts, lessons learned, and reactions to being involved with this project. Following are some of their comments:

- "Being involved with this project increased my job satisfaction."

- "This wasn't a 'band aid' approach. We had to actually get involved in a long-term way. The nice thing was, we were given 'permission' to change our approach to make this work."

- "We couldn't have done this without the support and input of the Chief."

- "Those of us on dogwatch [midnight shift] didn't have the same opportunities as daywatch and midwatch shifts. Our supervisors were really concerned about the downtown bar close."

- "It was really good to get us together as a group. We were able to talk about what was working and what wasn't working. When we'd identify an obstacle, we had to come up with ways to address it."

- "I feel like I really made connections and built new relationships. It forced us to take responsibility for the area we served."

- **"This project gave us permission to be creative in our jobs."**

- "It could be really difficult to balance priorities during the busy times. We had to find a way to respond to 911 calls and still take time and be engaged. That wasn't easy and it wasn't always feasible."

- "It was so helpful for us to have the Safety Center and Carla Nielson [Crime Prevention Specialist] available in the neighborhood. It gave us a natural meeting place and Carla really connected with the community. That was really important."

- "This whole process really developed me as a leader. I felt like it made the Sergeant's test much easier."

- "It was really important to have Mo and Ali in the neighborhood, but at times that was a challenge too. Sometimes, especially at first, we'd try to respond to a call or talk with some community members, but they'd just want to talk to Mo and Ali. It was a challenge because the easy answer was always to call them. Having them there was always an overall benefit to all of us though."

- "We felt really lost at first. We had no direction. We're cops; just tell us what you want us to do! It wasn't until a few months in that we realized

you couldn't tell us, we had to be creative and find genuine ways to connect with people in our own way."

- "It's police culture to run from call to call. I learned to take advantage of my role as a Field Training Officer (FTO). Not only was I taking some time to train the recruit, but I was also able to reasonably spend more time with the community without feeling like I was overloading my fellow officers."

- "All of us became much closer with the kids in the community, but it was great by the end of it to see some of the teenagers and adult women become more engaged with us too."

Selected Profiles of Cedar-Riverside Project Officers

Sergeant Charlie Adams

Years with MPD: 30

Assignment: Patrol Sergeant in Cedar-Riverside, First Precinct; reassigned to Homicide Investigations but remained active on the project

How did your transition from supervisory sergeant in Cedar-Riverside to Homicide Investigations impact the project? I transferred to the Investigations Division, but I stayed on the project. What I wanted to do was bring the investigations component to this project. I pulled officers from this project over to work with our homicide detectives who were investigating murders that were committed in the neighborhood. This project helped to create a lasting relationship between the street officers and the investigators, and they have a better working relationship today because of that effort.

PHOTO: MPD 2016

interact with people and watch how they connect with the community. I hear good things back from the community, like, "The officers didn't judge us, they listened to us, they gave us time, they were fair to us."

If you were offering advice to an officer in another city looking to build relationships with an immigrant community, what would your advice be? This works. You must be open-minded. I listened and it seemed too good to be true at first. You work on yourself first. You have to be conscious about doing this. It will work. Now I see the benefits coming out of it. If you take a community that doesn't trust the police, put time and effort into it, it will make a difference both for the officers and for the community.

Sergeant Abdiwahab Ali

Years with MPD: 8

Assignment: Officer in First Precinct, assigned to Cedar-Riverside (promoted to Sergeant at the end of the project)

What changed in the Cedar-Riverside community during the course of the project? A lot changed, especially with relationships between the police and community, and how the community views the police. I use this same approach now with the field training officers (FTOs). I show them how I

Sergeant Ali (ON LEFT).
PHOTO: BIKE COPS FOR KIDS FACEBOOK, 6/25/14

Sergeant Richard Jackson

Years with MPD: 21

Assignment: Patrol Officer and then Patrol Sergeant in First Precinct, assigned to Cedar-Riverside during the project (now assigned to Investigations to follow up on cases involving the Cedar-Riverside community)

PHOTO: BIKE COPS FOR KIDS FACEBOOK, 6/24/14

What did you take with you from this program to your new assignment? I now have a better understanding of the Somali community and better insight into their culture and values. This understanding has made me a better investigator.

If you were offering advice to an officer in another city looking to build relationships with an immigrant community, what would your advice be? Get involved with youth any way you can. Talk to them, play ball with them. This is an inroad to understanding their culture and values and understanding them in general. It's no different with any culture. You have to get away from the stereotypes.

Sergeant Marjane "Khaz" Khazraeinazmpour

Years with MPD: 14

Assignment: Officer in the First Precinct assigned to Cedar-Riverside and then to the Police Athletic League (PAL) program (subsequently promoted to Sergeant)

Do you think this project had an impact on police-community interactions in Cedar-Riverside?
Relationships between the police and community improved during this project. You could see a difference in the level of trust between the police and community. The community got to know us. Community members used to think something was wrong in their neighborhood when they saw a police officer, but now they no longer feel as if we have an ulterior motive or that the police are only there to make an arrest.

Sergeant Mohammed "Mo" Abdullahi

Years with MPD: 10

Assignment: Officer in First Precinct, assigned to Cedar-Riverside (subsequently promoted to Sergeant)

PHOTO MPD, HTTP://INSIDEMPD.COM/TESTIMONIALS/SERGEANT-MOHAMMED-ABDULLAHI/

Please describe one meaningful community contact that you experienced during your work in Cedar-Riverside. There was a woman whose child was always out late breaking curfew laws. She would call me, and I would look for her child during my shift and follow up with her; not just take a report and leave. These efforts were very meaningful to her. One day she approached me about a more serious incident in the community. Although she did not want to report the crime officially, she eventually agreed to meet with investigators if I was present. When you show that you take community concerns seriously and are dependable, people tend to confide in you more than if you haven't developed that kind of trust.

Crime Prevention Specialist Carla Nielson

Years with MPD: 20

Assignment: Crime Prevention Specialist, First Precinct (assigned to MPD's Cedar-Riverside Community Policing Center)

Nielson (ON LEFT).
PHOTO: BIKE COPS FOR KIDS FACEBOOK, 9/20/2014

What advice do you give officers who want to build relationships with individuals in the East African community? I can't stress enough the value of learning about other cultures and religions. Understanding and respecting the religious tenets of the Muslim faith is especially important. For example, an officer extending an arm to shake hands may not always be an accepted form of greeting. In Cedar-Riverside, we have seen a growing preference and acceptance of the fist bump (bumping knuckles) as a respected form of greeting. It is important to greet people in a way that brings down barriers by recognizing their customs.

Officer Yolanda Wilks

Years with MPD: 5

Assignment During Project: Officer First Precinct

How did this project impact your day-to-day work? The relationships that we built with the community during this project increased community engagement and

PHOTO BY MPD

their willingness to work with the police. We had to invest time, but ultimately, this made our jobs much easier.

CHAPTER SIX:
· · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

Conclusion

"It was nice to be a part of a group trying to make a difference in the East African community. Because of this project, we helped create a view of the police that was different than the one they had when they came to this country. It's good to feel like you made a difference."

– Officer (now Sergeant) Marjane "Khaz" Khazraeinazmpour

COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS ARE essential for effective policing. The police must have the support and collaboration of the community to prevent and solve crime.

For many, this project was considered a landmark study on how to implement the principles of procedural justice in real-world policing—and to do so in a unique community that posed special challenges and opportunities for project participants. The process for teaching and implementing these practices, and for creating new definitions of success that both the community and police department leaders and officers were comfortable with, were major undertakings. It became clear early on that such a project was not about prescribing exactly how interactions should occur or how police officers should spend every moment of their shifts. Implementing these principles will not be reflected the same way by every officer. All of this requires a paradigm shift and may require a significant investment of time and resources to maintain a continued focus on this new paradigm until it becomes ingrained in agency culture. It is about learning how to teach, facilitate, and

supervise this new understanding at all levels, from the first-line supervisor up the ranks to the agency's chief executive, and to promote this change across department divisions, and among agency policy makers, managers, and other staff members.

As this report details, the Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study was not by any means perfect. Some elements of the project were slow to get off the ground, and a number of hurdles had to be identified and overcome throughout. In addition, some measures of progress were either inconclusive or yielded insufficient data to analyze. Still, the project demonstrated that the sometimes lofty theory of procedural justice could indeed be made operational and could make a difference in the policing process and outcomes. This project demonstrates that operationalizing procedural justice can have real and substantial benefits for front-line police officers and supervisors, their partners in the justice system, and the community members they serve and partner with.

It is our hope that the operational model and lessons learned from this exploratory study will assist other communities in furthering their own efforts to ensure civil, unbiased, fair, and respectful policing in all communities.

"I believe in my heart we were successful and we made a difference. I'm proud in my career of what we did in Cedar-Riverside."

– Officer Aaron Hanson

Timeline of Project Milestones and Key Events

FOLLOWING IS A DETAILED TIMELINE of project milestones and key events that occurred during the formal implementation of the Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study. This timeline includes both internal events directly related to project implementation, as well as external (local and even international) events that impacted the Cedar-Riverside community and, potentially, project operations.

September 2011

BJA awards PERF a **cooperative agreement** to design, implement, and document a demonstration project to improve community perceptions of police legitimacy.

November 2011

PERF and BJA discuss project site selection and outreach to potential sites.

February 2012

PERF and BJA tentatively select Minneapolis, MN as the project site and begin exploratory discussions with MPD.

April 2012

Police Chief Tim Dolan announces his intention to retire; Mayor R.T. Ryback announces Assistant Chief **Janeé Harteau as his choice for the next chief.**

May 2012

Minneapolis Police Department begins **expanded outreach in Cedar-Riverside community with the opening of a Safety Center.** MPD opens new Cedar-Riverside/West Bank Safety Center in Riverside Plaza as a resource to educate the community on crime prevention and safety, and to strengthen the relationship between the police and the community.

BJA/PERF Project Planning Phase Begins

May-June 2012

PERF conducts first **in-person assessment visit** to Cedar-Riverside; meets with MPD leaders and Cedar-Riverside beat officers to discuss project plans.

September 5, 2012

PERF, BJA, and MPD leaders **meet with other justice system stakeholders** about expanding the project.

Fall 2012

PERF, BJA, and MPD develop **implementation and evaluation plan.**

December 4, 2012

Janeé Harteau sworn in as Minneapolis Chief of Police.

December 2012

MPD and PERF **formalize agreement** to work together on Cedar-Riverside Exploratory Policing Study; PERF **conducts focus groups with project officers** to plan for implementation.

Implementation Phase Begins

January 31, 2013

PERF facilitates **day-long project orientation** to outline the project, introduce the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy, and provide a primer on Somali culture and perceptions of the police. Officers instructed to partner with Officers Mo and Ali for at least one shift to informally introduce them to the community; also instructed to start keeping logs of the community contacts and other project activities.

February 1, 2013

MPD holds **first department training on MPD 2.0**, explaining Chief Harteau's overall vision for the department focusing on commitment, integrity, and transparency.

March 2013

Project officers **outfitted with iPhones** to enhance communications with the community and other project partners, to help address language barriers, and to support activity reporting and evidence collection (for example, photo evidence in assault cases) and to enable officers to provide better customer service in the field (i.e., providing direct referrals to services and resources, look up contact information, provide directions, etc.).

March 2013

PERF begins **weekly site observations** in Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers (control site). These site observations continued until summer 2014.

April 2013

After some initial confusion about how to apply the concept to daily policing activities, MPD First Precinct supervisors develop a timeline for officers to use to **implement the new approach** to policing in Cedar-Riverside. This timeline, focusing on specific engagement and enforcement activities, is used initially to provide guidance to officers and other program partners.

June 12, 2013

PERF facilitates first **Collaborative Information Sharing and Discussion Session**, with MPD project officers, supervisors, and civilian staff to review concepts, discuss progress, and identify obstacles. The latter included a perceived lack of procedural justice internally and difficulty with balancing community engagement with answering 9-1-1 calls. Also introduced and discussed community contact cards, community surveys, and on-site observations. MPD project officers developed the eight procedural justice "operating principles" to guide their community interactions.

Summer 2013

Enhanced MPD engagement in Cedar-Riverside begins; MPD and Hennepin County Department of Community Corrections and Rehabilitation begin joint ride-alongs in Cedar-Riverside as part of the **Minneapolis Anti-Violence Initiative (MAVI).**

August 1, 2013

Community interviews start as a way of gauging community perceptions of the police in Cedar-Riverside and Horn Towers.

September 21, 2013

Islamic militants reportedly linked with al-Shabaab conduct a three-day **armed siege of a shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya,** killing more than 60 people and wounding 175. Following unsubstantiated reports that two of the four attackers were from Minnesota, Cedar-Riverside residents host a rally to condemn the attackers and support the victims; MPD members are invited to participate and attend the rally.

November 8, 2013

PERF facilitates **second day-long Collaborative Session,** which focuses on information sharing (within the MPD, between MPD and other justice agencies, and between MPD and the community), strategies for reducing gang violence, and creation of a dedicated East African Court Watch program in Cedar-Riverside.

November 9, 2013

Project officers begin disseminating community contact cards to gauge community perceptions of specific interactions.

January 1, 2014

Police respond to major explosion and fire in Cedar-Riverside.

January 23, 2014

First Precinct Sergeant Richard Jackson calls a **special training day for MPD project personnel,** which covers a number of technical issues such as activity logs, partnership with the City Attorney's Office on new Assault 5 protocol, and using iPhones to submit photos as part of police reports.

January 2014

Monthly partner conference calls are initiated to identify and correct issues in between formal collaboration sessions.

March 1, 2014

City Attorney's Office's pilot **Assault 5 initiative** formally kicks off; focus is on increasing convictions for five misdemeanor assault offenses that occur frequently in Cedar-Riverside.

May 2, 2014

PERF facilitates **third day-long Collaborative Session,** which focuses on gang violence, promising start to the Assault 5 initiative, need for a dedicated Court Watch program, and internal MPD issues affecting ability to engage in community policing.

Summer 2014

Bike Cops for Kids initiated in Cedar-Riverside.

June 6, 2014

Project officers partner with MPD Police Athletic League to host a **police-youth basketball game** at Cedar-Riverside community center, with 40 youth participating and another 100 in attendance. Competition, raffles, information booths, and positive informal interactions serve to foster familiarity and trust.

October 2014

Planning for the Cedar-Riverside **Court Watch program** gets under way, with requests for translation

Basketball game with police and youth at Brian Coyle Center in Cedar-Riverside.
PHOTO BY MPD, 2014

equipment to address language issues. Program is designed to give the community a greater voice in court matter and builds greater understanding of the justice system.

October 14, 2014

PERF and BJA meet in Washington, DC, to **discuss project operations,** successes and obstacles, findings to date on evaluation, and officer feedback.

December 2, 2014

PERF conducts **final, half-day training and feedback session,** reflecting on the two-year project, including rewarding and challenging aspects and participants' thoughts on procedural justice and community policing. A post-project survey also completed.

December 31, 2014

Activity and crime data collection for the project ends.

February 28, 2015

Assault 5 pilot program completed.

Implementation Phase Ends/ Evaluation Phase Begins

March 2015

Documentation of Minneapolis work complete; Data analysis, review of findings, and final report initiated.

Police Personnel Survey

Minneapolis Police Personnel Survey Instrument

The Minneapolis Police Department (MPD) and the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) are conducting a policing study for the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA). MPD is piloting a combination of community trust building techniques with evidence-based crime prevention practices in an effort to drive down violent crime in selected areas of the city. In order to test the effectiveness of this initiative, PERF is conducting an evaluation of MPD's efforts. Chief Harteau has granted PERF permission to administer this survey to personnel at MPD. **The purpose of this survey is to establish a baseline understanding of police perceptions of the communities that they serve, as well as their views on the internal and external work of the police department.**

This survey is confidential and the content will be submitted directly to PERF. We are not asking for your identity on the survey, and individual responses will not be reported to your agency or anyone else. The survey should take approximately 10 minutes to complete. Your candid and honest responses to the questions below are critical in thoroughly evaluating and improving MPD's efforts. Thank you for your participation.

*Please note: The following questions were adapted from prior police perception studies, primarily the Vera Institute's 2006 study "Assessing Police-Community Relations in Pasadena, California" and the collected work of Dr. Tom Tyler.

1. **What precinct are you in? (Select 1)**

   O First Precinct

   O Second Precinct

   O Third Precinct

   O Fourth Precinct

   O Fifth Precinct

Instructions: Listed below are a number of statements specifically related to your job, yourself and the Minneapolis Police Department. Please indicate the level to which you agree with each statement.

| **Neighborhood Related Questions** |

2. **In your service area, how <u>active</u> are the community members in:**

	Not At All	Somewhat Active	Very Active
Reporting crime to the police?	O	O	O
Working with the police to solve problems?	O	O	O
Working with other community members to prevent crime?	O	O	O

(*2 Continued:* In your service area, how active are the community members in...)

	Not At All	Somewhat Active	Very Active
Reporting suspicious activity to the police?	O	O	O
Protecting themselves from crime?	O	O	O

3. Consider the crime-related problems in your service area. How important are the following sources of information in <u>identifying neighborhood problems?</u>

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important
911 communication/Calls for service	O	O	O
Non-emergency crime reports	O	O	O
In-person communications with community	O	O	O
Obtaining information from other police officers	O	O	O
Community meetings	O	O	O
Community surveys	O	O	O
Crime analysis data	O	O	O
Personal observations	O	O	O
Supervisors/Roll call briefings	O	O	O
Councilpersons/Elected leaders	O	O	O
Other city departments/Agencies	O	O	O
Other, please list:	O	O	O

Instructions: *Listed below are a number of general statements specifically related to your service area and the Minneapolis Police Department. Please indicate the level to which you agree with each statement.*

Employee Perceptions of their Service Area

4. In my opinion...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The police know better than community members which police services are required in a service area.	O	O	O	O
In general, community members in my service area do not respect the police.	O	O	O	O
The relationship between the police and the community members in your service area is very good.	O	O	O	O
Police officers should make frequent informal contacts with the people in their service area.	O	O	O	O
Community members do not understand all of the types of problems that the Minneapolis Police Department must address.	O	O	O	O
The East African community members in my service area do not understand the role of law enforcement.	O	O	O	O
The East African community members in my service area do not understand how the justice system works.	O	O	O	O
Police officers should try to help with other social issues (e.g., liaising with other city agencies, helping at-risk youth, providing referrals, etc.).	O	O	O	O
I understand the needs and concerns of the East African community in my service area.	O	O	O	O
Police officers should make an effort to reach out to non-English speaking community members in their service area.	O	O	O	O
Community members know more about what goes on in their area than the officers who patrol there.	O	O	O	O

(*4 Continued:* In my opinion...)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The prevention of crime is the joint responsibility of the community and the police.	O	O	O	O
Lowering community members' fear of crime should be just as high a priority for this department as cutting the crime rate.	O	O	O	O
The East African community members in my service area are comfortable approaching police for assistance.	O	O	O	O
In general, community members have no idea how difficult it is to be a police officer.	O	O	O	O
Police officers should avoid too much "informal" contact with community members.	O	O	O	O
Police officers have reasons to be distrustful of most community members in my service area.	O	O	O	O
Police officers have reason to be distrustful of most of the East African community members in my service area.	O	O	O	O
Currently, it is too easy for a community member to file a complaint against a police officer.	O	O	O	O

Instructions: Listed below are a number of general statements specifically related to your job, yourself and the Minneapolis Police Department. Please indicate the level to which you agree with each statement.

Employee Perceptions of the Minneapolis Police

5. In my opinion...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The Minneapolis Police Department is a good organization to work for.	O	O	O	O
There is quite a bit of friction among co-workers in my work unit/shift.	O	O	O	O
Supervisors appropriately discipline police officers who abuse their authority.	O	O	O	O
The examples set by my fellow employees encourage me to work hard.	O	O	O	O
Management is likely to publicly recognize a police officer who is exceptional in his/her job.	O	O	O	O
My supervisors often let me know how well I am performing.	O	O	O	O
The Minneapolis Police Department protects its officers from unreasonable lawsuits and accusations.	O	O	O	O
My supervisors encourage my input and consider my suggestions.	O	O	O	O
My job is one of the major satisfactions in my life.	O	O	O	O
The amount of work I am expected to do makes it difficult for me to do my job well.	O	O	O	O

(5 *Continued:* In my opinion...)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
If I had a suggestion for improving my job in some way, it would be easy for me to communicate my ideas to management.	O	O	O	O
The Minneapolis Police Department provides clear guidance on what is expected of officers for evaluations and promotions.	O	O	O	O
General Comments:	O	O	O	O

Thank you for participating in this important survey!

Sample Community Survey

SCALE: 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly Disagree

Listed below are a number of statements specifically related to the Minneapolis Police Department. Please indicate the level to which you agree with each statement.

	1 = Strongly Agree	2 = Agree	3 = Neutral	4 = Disagree	5= Strongly Disagree
The Minneapolis Police Department works hard to keep the city safe.					
The Minneapolis Police Department cares about the residents of my community.					
Obeying the law keeps my community safe.					
The Minneapolis Police Department upholds the law fairly and consistently.					
I am confident in the actions of the Minneapolis Police Department.					
If I witnessed or heard of a crime, I would call 911.					
If I had a suggestion for improvement, I believe the Minneapolis Police Department would listen and carefully consider my ideas.					

Listed below are a number of statements specifically related to this community. Please indicate the level to which you agree with each statement.

___**Cedar-Riverside**   ___**Horn Towers**

	1 = Strongly Agree	2 = Agree	3 = Neutral	4 = Disagree	5 = Strongly Disagree
I feel safe in my community.					
I believe all of the Minneapolis police officers serving my community act in a way that benefits the welfare of the residents.					
Minneapolis police officers serving my community understand my culture.					
The community and the Minneapolis police serving my neighborhood work well together to solve problems.					
The prevention of crime is the joint responsibility of the community and the police.					
The Minneapolis police understand the concerns of the community.					
Community members know more about what goes on in their neighborhood than Minneapolis police officers do.					
Minneapolis officers serving my neighborhood generally trust community members.					

	1 = Strongly Agree	2 = Agree	3 = Neutral	4 = Disagree	5 = Strongly Disagree
Community members in my neighborhood generally trust Minneapolis police officers.					
If I approached a Minneapolis police officer on the street for assistance, the officer would help me.					
Most of the Minneapolis officers who serve my neighborhood treat the members of the community fairly and consistently.					
Minneapolis police officers serving my community make an effort to understand my community.					

	1 = Strongly Agree	2 = Agree	3 = Neutral	4 = Disagree	5 = Strongly Disagree
Minneapolis police officers serving my community genuinely care about the well-being of the community.					
I would feel comfortable approaching a Minneapolis police officer in person if I felt threatened or wanted to report a crime.					
I feel safer in my neighborhood now than I did six months ago.					
I feel more comfortable with police officers who serve my neighborhood now than I did 6 months ago.					

Instructions: Listed below are a number of statements specifically related to the Minneapolis Justice System (including law enforcement, courts, prosecutors, probation and parole). Please indicate the level to which you agree with each statement.

	1 = Strongly Agree	2 = Agree	3 = Neutral	4 = Disagree	5= Strongly Disagree
The justice system in Minneapolis works for the good and/or safety of the community.					
The justice system in Minneapolis is effective in addressing those who commit crime in my community.					
Offenders in my neighborhood are given a fair trial.					
Offenders in my neighborhood are given fair sentences when found guilty.					
The concerns and needs of victims or witnesses of crime are taken into consideration through each part of the justice system.					
The various justice agencies (e.g., courts, prosecutor's offices, and community corrections) in Minneapolis work well together.					

AREAS FOR IMPROVEMENT

And, finally, I will ask you three opinion questions on how the Minneapolis Police Department can improve their current practices.

How can the Minneapolis police serving your neighborhood better engage with the community?	
What could the Minneapolis police do in your neighborhood to make them more effective at preventing crime?	
If you could change one thing about the Minneapolis police and/or justice system in Minneapolis, what would it be?	

Sample Community Contact Card

Cedar-Riverside Community Survey

Please deliver your completed survey to one of the survey drop boxes in either the Cedar Riverside/West Bank Safety Center or the Brian Coyle Center. If you would like to send additional comments about your recent interaction with the Minneapolis Police Department please e-mail MNPoliceSurvey@policeforum.org.

Instructions: Please indicate the level to which you agree with each of the following statements by circling a number between 1 and 5.

1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree , 3 = neutral , 4 = disagree , and **5 = strongly disagree** .

- During my recent interaction with the Minneapolis Police Department, the officer(s) treated me with respect and dignity.
  (1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

- During my recent interaction with the Minneapolis Police Department, the officer(s) gave me an opportunity to express my thoughts and opinions.
  (1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

- During my recent interaction with the Minneapolis Police Department, the officer(s) treated me fairly.
  (1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

- The Minneapolis Police Department upholds the law fairly and consistently.
  (1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

- I trust the Minneapolis Police Department.
  (1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

- The justice system in Minneapolis works for the good and/or safety of the community.
  (1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

Project Team

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About the Police Executive Research Forum

THE POLICE EXECUTIVE RESEARCH Forum (PERF) is an independent research organization that focuses on the most critical issues in policing. Since its founding in 1976, PERF has identified best practices on fundamental issues such as reducing police use of force, developing community policing and problem-oriented policing, using technologies to deliver police services to the community, and evaluating crime reduction strategies.

PERF strives to advance professionalism in policing and to improve the delivery of police services through the exercise of strong national leadership, public debate of police and criminal justice issues, and research and policy development. The nature of PERF's work can be seen in the titles of a sample of PERF's reports over the last decade. Most PERF reports are available without charge online at http://www.policeforum.org/free-online-documents.

In addition to conducting research and publishing reports on our findings, PERF conducts management studies of individual law enforcement agencies, educates hundreds of police officials each year in a three-week executive development program, and provides executive search services to governments that wish to conduct national searches for their next police chief.

All of PERF's work benefits from PERF's status as an organization of police officials, academics, federal government leaders, and others with an interest in policing and criminal justice.

All PERF members must have a four-year college degree and must subscribe to a set of founding principles, emphasizing the importance of research and public debate in policing, adherence to the Constitution and the highest standards of ethics and integrity, and accountability to the communities that police agencies serve.

PERF is governed by a member-elected president and board of directors and a board-appointed executive director. A staff of approximately 30 full-time professionals is based in Washington, D.C.

To learn more, visit PERF online at www.police forum.org.

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