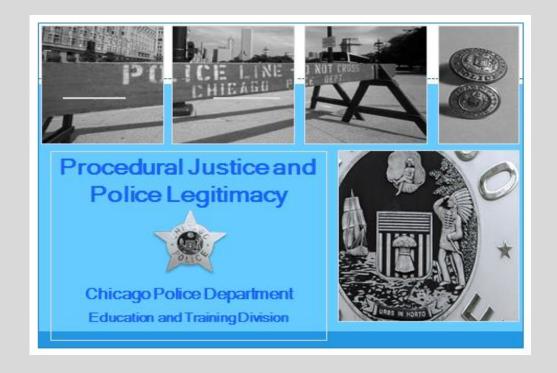
Procedural Justice: How Do You Get It?

Wesley G. Skogan
Institute for Policy Research
Northwestern University



- 1. Research on the importance of police delivering 'procedural justice' to the public (Tyler, Tankebe, Jackson et al)
- 2. Very (very) little research on how to get the police to actually do this.
- 3. The mechanisms could be:
 - send a memo ordering them to be nicer ("It is our policy ...")
 - threaten to punish them for not being nice
 - mentoring and supervision (sergeants tell them to be nice)
 - train them in the principles and why they should deliver them

Chicago adopted a training strategy, beginning in 2012

This Talk

An evaluation of Chicago's "Workshop on Procedural Justice and Legitimacy"

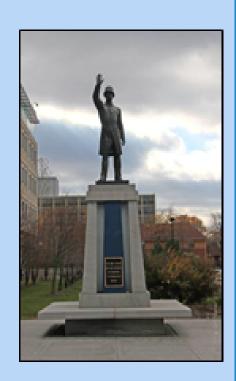
Trained 8,700 officers September 2012-September 2013

Study 1: a modest randomized experiment testing the short-term effects of PJ training

Study 2: observational survey data testing the long-term effects of PJ training

Slide 1 Why are we here?

- When utilizing Procedural Justice and gaining legitimacy, police officers benefit.
 - √ Safety increases
 - √ Stress levels lower
 - √ Fewer complainants
 - √ Greater cooperation from citizens
 - √ Voluntary compliance gained
 - √ Crime is reduced.



Some Discussion Topics

What are our goals in policing?
What does the public expect from us?
What percentage actually distrust us?
Why are we cynical? Are we too cynical?
What do we expect from the public
No snitching? Low clearance rates?

Could we learn more about how to deal with <u>each other</u>?

Slide 5 Procedural Justice



Procedural Justice -

- Quality of decision making
 - Voice
 - Neutrality (Fair process)
- Quality of treatment
 - Respect for people and their rights
 - Trustworthiness (Transparent process)

Chicago Police Dept. Education and Training

Study 1: Modest Randomized Experiment Setting

Conducted at the Training Academy

Multiple classes conducted two shifts per day (7am and 3:30pm)

Classrooms of 25 trainees, sitting in small groups around tables

Three trainers rotate delivering a series of training topics modules

PowerPoint presentations with lots of embedded video

Lecture, discussions and group exercises

Design Constraints

Implementation had to be passed to managers and trainers

Data collection could not take much time – very brief questionnaire

Randomization had to be simple, intuitive and reliable

Officers are very, very careful about revealing their identity

Before

Our project is studying the Department's new initiatives. It is funded independently by private foundations. We want to get realistic feedback on what you are thinking. The results might bring about improvements in the program. We do not ask your name or anything that could identify you, so the information you provide is anonymous. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you can stop at any time. If you want further information about the project, please contact the project director Prof. Wesley Skogan at 847-491-3395. These questions are about your job and the CPD. Please circle the number that best corresponds to your 13138 When dealing with citizens, officers need to explain what will happen next, when they are done at the scene. 2 It is important that we remind people they have rights and that we appear to follow them. 3 Officers should treat citizens as if they can be trusted to do 4 Listening and talking to people is a good way to take charge of situations. 5 In certain areas of the city, it is more useful for an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous. 6 It is important to give everyone a good reason why we are stopping them, even if there is no need. 7 Officers shouldn't take time to listen to citizens complain (3) 4 about their problems 8 Officers should at all times treat people they encounter with dignity and respect. 9 Police have enough trust in the public for them to work together effectively. 10 Officers need to show an honest interest in what people have to say, even if it is not going to change anything. 11 People should be treated with respect regardless of their attitude. 12 Letting people talk back only encourages them to get angrier. 13 Officers have reason to be distrustful of many citizens. 14 It is very important that officers appear neutral in their application of legal rules. 15 If people ask why we are treating them like we are, we should stop and explain. 16 Citizens will never trust the police enough to work together 17. I received this survey: before the class began at the end of the class 18. How old are you? 54 (years) 19. My Bureau: Patrol Detective Traffic Administration/Development Other Field - Organized Crime, Narcotics, Special Events or Ops

After

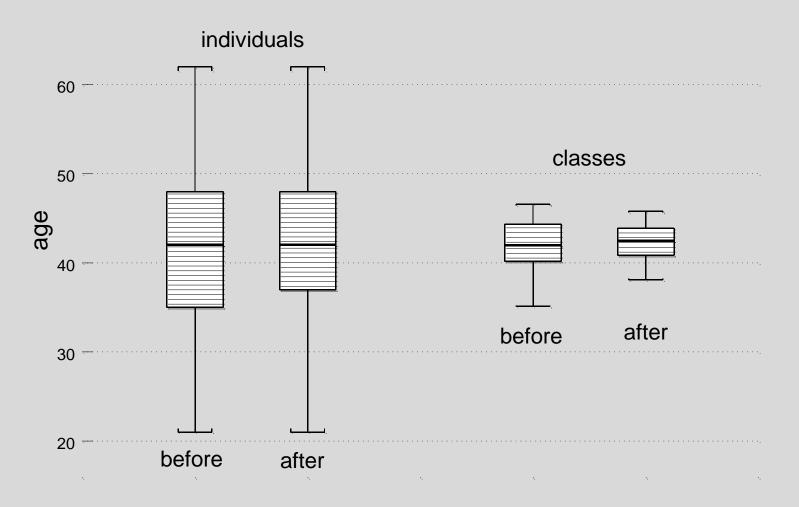
a	hese questions are about your job and the CPD. Please circle greement with the following statements.	the number t	hat best o	orresponds	to your
	13137	agree strongly	agree	disagree	disagree strongly
	When dealing with citizens, officers need to explain what will happen next, when they are done at the scene.	(1)	2	3	4
	It is important that we remind people they have rights and that we appear to follow them.	1	2	3	4
	Officers should treat citizens as if they can be trusted to do the right thing.	(1)	2	3	4
	Listening and talking to people is a good way to take charge of situations.		2	3	4
	In certain areas of the city, it is more useful for an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous.	i	2	3	4
	It is important to give everyone a good reason why we are stopping them, even if there is no need.	0	2	3	
	Officers shouldn't take time to listen to citizens complain about their problems.	1	2	(3)	4
	Officers should at all times treat people they encounter with dignity and respect.	0	2	3	
	Police have enough trust in the public for them to work together effectively.	1	2	(3)	4
)	Officers need to show an honest interest in what people have to say, even if it is not going to change anything.		2	3	4
	People should be treated with respect regardless of their attitude.	0	2	3	4
2	Letting people talk back only encourages them to get angrier.	1	2	(3)	
3	Officers have reason to be distrustful of many citizens.	0	2	3	4
4	It is very important that officers appear neutral in their application of legal rules.	0	2	3	4
5	If people ask why we are treating them like we are, we should stop and explain.	0	2	3	
6	Citizens will never trust the police enough to work together effectively.		2	3	4
	7. I received this survey:before the class began	at the end	of the clas	s	

Completed in class
Stuffed in envelope
assignment check item
(Intention to treat)

odd days
1289 respondents
67 classroom units

even days 1392 respondents 66 classroom units

Treatment and Control Age Distribution



Trust

Police have enough trust in the public for them to work together effectively Officers should treat citizens as if they can be trusted to do the right thing

Voice/Participation

Listening and talking to people is a good way to take charge of situations Officers need to show an honest interest in what people have to say, even if is not going to change anything

Neutrality

It is important to give everyone a good reason why we are stopping them, even if there is no need.

If people ask why we are treating them as we are, we should stop and explain When dealing with citizens' concerns, officers need to explain what will happen next, when they are done at the scene.

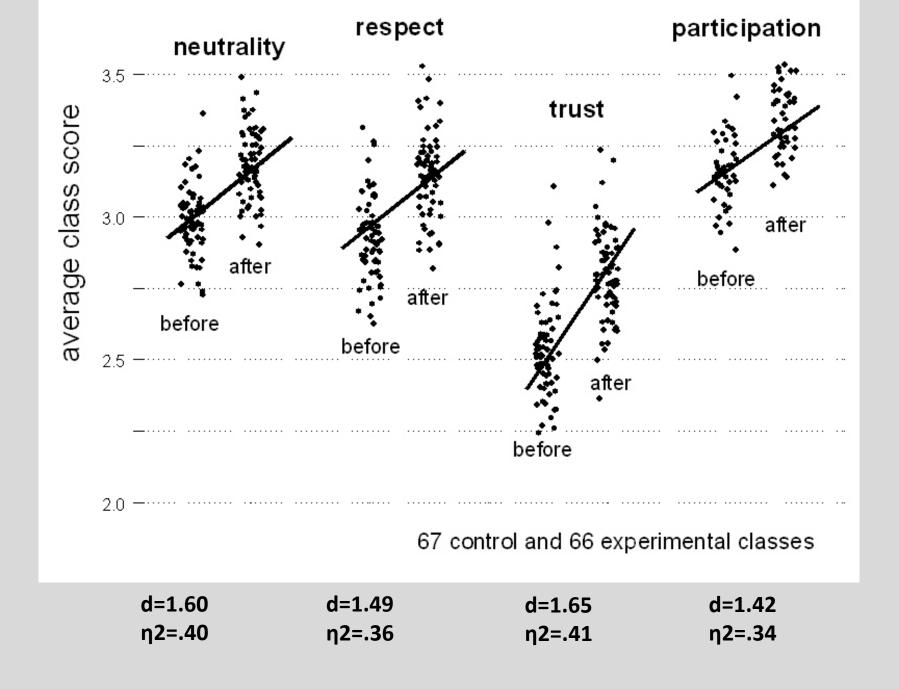
It is very important that officers appear neutral in their application of legal rules

Respect

People should be treated with respect regardless of their attitude

Officers should at all times treat people they encounter with dignity and respect

It is important that we remind people they have rights and that we appear to follow them



Study 2: Survey of Police Officers and Sergeants

Setting

Randomly selected POs and Sergeants from the duty roster in all 25 districts Survey introduced at roll calls; promotional materials and posters CASI interviews in set-aside rooms

Coffee and donuts on hand

Design Constraints

Rs work 24 X 7 interviewed 24 hrs; multiple station visits Could not be too long 120 closed-end questions

Features of Data

N = 714
120 questions
Response rate about 30%
Low item nonresponse; Imputed all missing values
Can weight to correct proportions by district

QforU Quality in Chicago Policing

nat is QforU?

U is a research study of line officers working in the icts. It is a chance to speak directly to quality issues in cing, reporting how it is working where you are.

nat topics does the survey cover?

notions, assignments, morale, discipline, your ervisors, CompStat, public support, risks of the ..and more!

n anyone participate?

ers and sergeants will be selected at lom to represent each district. Only those are sampled are eligible, so that we get a fair ure of opinion. If you are selected, you will be fied by your district liaison. You are not required to icipate if you are sampled; it is your choice.

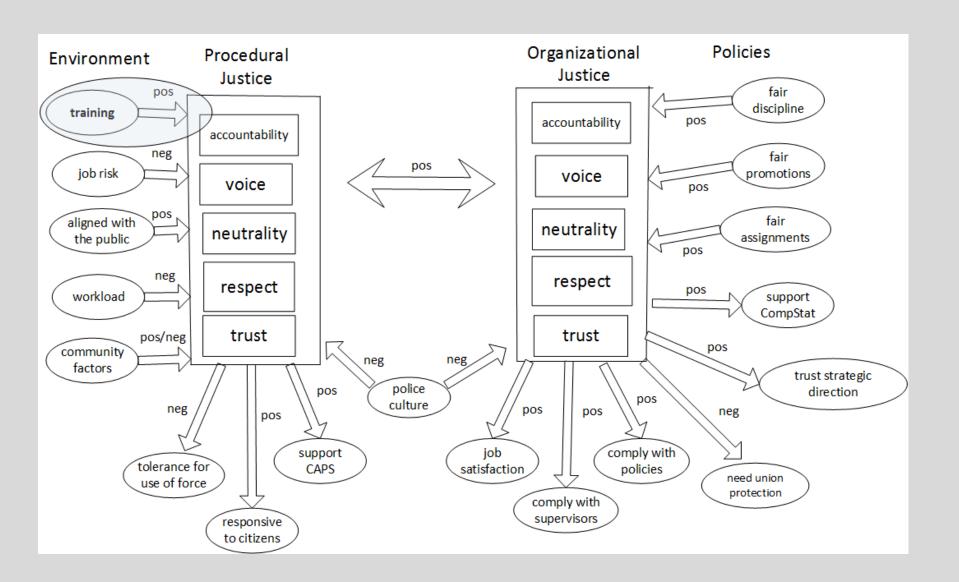
n I be identified?

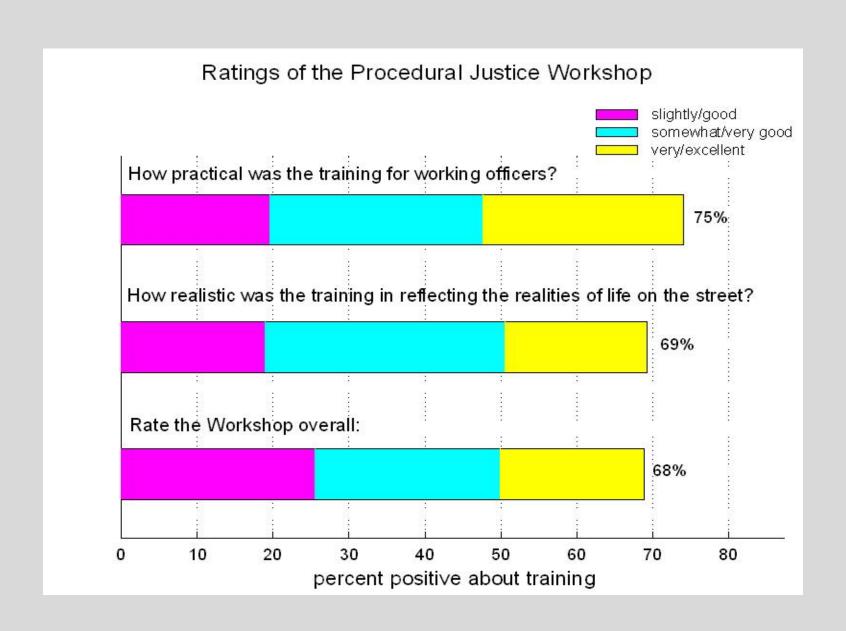
Your answers will be completely anonymous and idential! The selection of officers is being done using nymous, random numbers. Officers will be invited to icipate with an unidentified postcard that proposes an rview day when project staff are scheduled to be in your ict. There is no link whatsoever between you, the lom number, the postcard, or the results of the survey.

y should I participate?

is an opportunity for you to give your views on topics are important to Chicago police officers today. Coffee donuts will be served, tool







Analysis

Empirics

63% recalled being trained control group = not <u>yet</u> sent to training <u>very</u> small measured differences between trained and not-yet trained

Control for covariates including a propensity score summarizing the influence of (measured) potential selection factors

Propensity Score Measures Individual factors

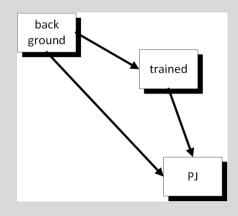
rank watch tactical military age35+ female college white black other

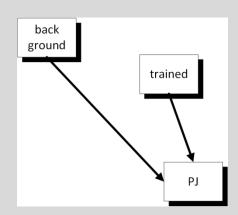
work context factor

pct black poverty arrest rate district dummies

+ Interactions

Wald test=good fit





	trust		voice		respect		neutrality	
	b	sigf	b	sigf	b	sigf	b	sigf
training	0.200	(.06)	0.216	(.00) **	0.418	(.00) **	0.212	(.04) *
selection	-0.255	(.33)	-0.193	(.29)	-0.576	(.06)	-0.253	(.29)
white	0.166	(.26)	-0.019	(.86)	-0.326	(.06)	-0.120	(.39)
black	0.532	(.00) **	0.171	(.14)	0.526	(.01) **	0.582	(.00) **
latino	0.118	(.50)	0.144	(.24)	0.289	(.16)	0.276	(.08)
age35	0.223	(.01) **	0.125	(.15)	0.283	(.04) *	0.136	(.21)
college	-0.042	(.67)	-0.043	(.53)	-0.168	(.15)	-0.173	(.05) *
female	-0.104	(.34)	0.166	(.03) *	0.163	(.21)	-0.073	(.46)
intercept	2.396	(.00) **	3.946	(.00) **	3.180	(.00) **	3.631	(.00) **
R-squared	.04		.03		.08		.07	

^{*} p<.05 ** p<.01

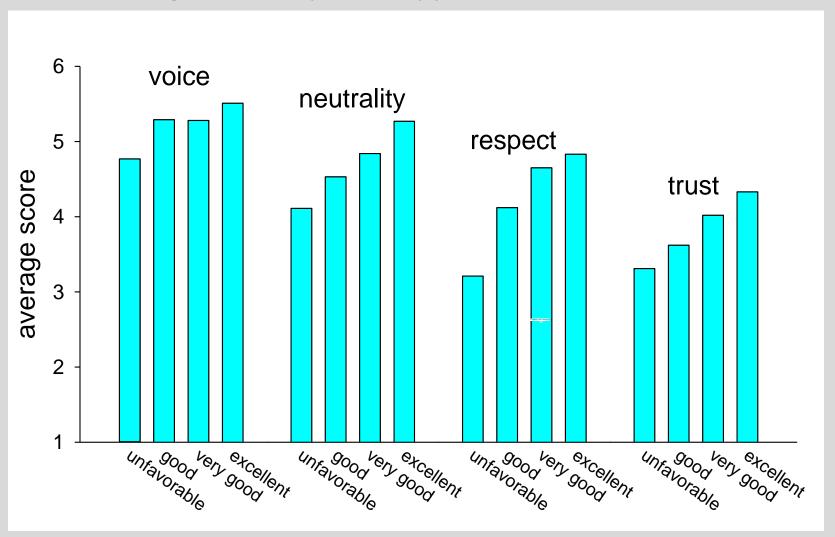
The Limits of Training as a Reform Strategy

- 1. Many barriers to communication of policy from the top
- 2. No way to monitor officer behavior on the street supervisors cannot watch over them we don't know what they do unless they choose to fill out a form formal complaints in only a very tiny percentage of contacts → difficult to incorporate them into CompStat
- 3. Hard to effectively discipline problem officers who do surface discipline system is in need of repair
- 4. Eight hours of training: is this enough? how much is enough?
- 5. We don't know the effectiveness of <u>other</u> kinds of police training maybe the effects of other forms of training are small too



And thanks to the MacArthur Foundation for their support

Training Credibility and Support for Procedural Justice



Among officers who had been trained Credibility = practical and realistic

Table 2: Summary of Experimental Findings

	mean	standard. deviation	signifi- cance	Cohen's d	eta squared	classroom level R-sq
neutrality						
treatment	3.1846	.12277	.00	1.60	.40	9%
control	2.9908	.1177				
respect						
treatment	3.1492	.14700	.00	1.49	.36	8%
control	2.9331	.14338				
trust						
treatment	2.7995	.17898	.00	1.65	.41	10%
control	2.5217	.15634				
voice						
treatment	3.3325	.11764	.00	1.42	.34	6%
control	3.1635	.12032				

Note: 66 treatment and 67 control classrooms in every comparison

Table 1: Participation in the Classroom Experiment

	number of officers	number of classrooms	mean age	median age	pct in patrol
treatment	1392	66	42.3	42.5	89.8
control	1289	67	42.1	41.8	89.7