

It is less clear, however, if the training impacts officer behavior. In a systematic review by Taheri (2016), CITs in action were not associated with expected outcomes. Taheri (2016) found null overall effects of CITs on arrests of persons with mental illness and officer use of force. A recent quasi-experimental study by Compton, Bakeman, Broussard, et al. (2014b) suggested CIT-trained officers were more likely to refer mentally ill individuals to services or transport them to treatment. All of these studies are quasi-experimental, typically using a volunteer group of officers at the treatment group, suggesting the need for additional more rigorous research (see Davidson, 2016). A Campbell Collaboration review on CIT training is in progress (Marotta, Barnum, Watson, & Caplan, 2014). Relatedly, de-escalation training (discussed in Pillar 2) has not been the subject of any rigorous research studies. Indeed, there is little research in general on the impact of training related to police use of force (Lee, Yang, Yun, et al., 2010).

In terms of training in other areas, limited research suggests training related to drug overdoses and HIV prevention through needle exchanges improves officer knowledge and attitudes. Beletsky, Agrawal, Moreau, et al. (2011), for example, found evidence that officer attitudes about syringe access programs improved after a brief training from public health officials (see Davis & Beletsky, 2009). Saucier, Zaller, Macmadu, and Green (2016) found that officer self-efficacy in identifying and responding to drug overdoses improved as a result of a one-hour training program. Evidence of success in training on addiction, however, has frequently been anecdotal.²⁶

In terms of training for police to work with diverse communities, research in policing is very limited. No known research on police training for working with immigrants or Muslims exists. While training officers on policing in a democratic society is intuitively appealing, no studies have evaluated particular programs, and support is largely anecdotal (Ramsey, 2014).

Israel, Harkness, Delucio, et al. (2014) found that a five-hour training on preparing officers to work effectively with the LGBTQ communities led to improvements in knowledge and using affirming tactics on duty. There was no improvement in respondents' level of comfort in working with LGBTQ individuals.

While research on police training is limited, we can glean lessons from training evaluations in other fields. For example, while implicit bias, or the “automatic associations individuals make between groups of people and stereotypes about those groups” has become a prominent topic in recent discussions about biased policing (National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice, 2015), there has not been an evaluation conducted of police training to reduce implicit bias, such as the six-hour Fair and Impartial Policing curriculum designed by Lorie Fridell (2017).²⁷ The curriculum aims to expose officers to the existence of unconscious bias and help them reduce and manage implicit biases. Fridell (2013) notes that programs focused entirely on reducing *explicit* prejudice are unlikely to be effective because explicit discrimination and prejudice are much less common than unconscious biases.

Research from social psychology suggests these biases are malleable and can change based on situation and context (Dasgupta, 2013; Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, et al., 2009). A small randomized trial with college students found long-term reductions in implicit race bias following a training program (Devine, Forscher, Austin, & Cox, 2012). The intervention focused on making individuals concerned about their level of bias and then providing strategies (e.g., stereotype replacement, counter-stereotypic imaging, individualizing, perspective taking and increasing out-group contact) to reduce bias in everyday life.

26 See <https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2011/11/14/why-police-officers-need-understand-addiction>

27 See <http://www.fairimpartialpolicing.com/training-programs/>

Similarly, training on cultural diversity has not been well-evaluated in policing. The impact of using existing materials designed for policing, such as the “How to Increase Cultural Understanding” series developed by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services and the Vera Institute of Justice²⁸ has not been examined. Evidence from a systematic review of 65 non-policing studies by Kalinoski, Steele-Johnson, Peyton, et al. (2013) suggests diversity training programs overall had positive impacts on affective-based (i.e., attitudes), cognitive-based (i.e., knowledge), and skill-based (i.e., behavior) outcomes. These effects were generally small to moderate and were somewhat larger for skills and knowledge than for attitudes.

More recently, however, Dobbin and Kalev (2016) argued that the effects of diversity training on knowledge tend to be short-lived. They also point to some studies suggesting that these programs can have backfire effects, and argue this may be a result of programs focusing entirely on negative messages (i.e., the consequences of discrimination) and being mandatory. Miles-Johnson, Mazerolle, Pickering, and Smith (in press), for example, find a training program on prejudice-motivated crime (similar to hate crimes) had negative impacts on Australian officers’ recognition of whether an incident was prejudice motivated. They note this could be explained by officer backlash that is often part of police training focused on minority groups.

INCENTIVIZING HIGHER EDUCATION

Research on the effects of higher education on policing attitudes and behavior shows mixed results. The push for a more highly educated police force has been part of suggested reform efforts since the time of August Vollmer, who advocated for all officers to have a bachelor’s degree (Carte & Carte, 1973). Research examining the relationship between higher education and officer attitudes has shown varied results, with some studies suggesting a beneficial impact of college, for example, on officer beliefs about abuse of authority (e.g., Telep, 2011; Worden, 1990) and others showing little or no impact, for instance, on occupational attitudes (Johnson, 2012; Paoline, Terrill, & Rosler, 2015). Examinations of receptivity to research suggest that more highly educated officers have a better understanding of research and are more open to using it in practice, although these effects largely emerged only for officers with a master’s degree (Telep, in press).

Research on officer behavior suggests college-educated officers might be less likely to use force (Paoline & Terrill, 2007; Rydberg & Terrill, 2010) and receive complaints (e.g., Kappeler, Sapp, & Carter, 1992; Lersch & Kunzman, 2001), but other behaviors have not been well studied.

No research to date has specifically examined the impact of incentive programs for higher education on officer educational attainment or performance. Prior attempts to incentivize higher education in the 1960s and 1970s through the Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP) did lead to major increases in the number of educational programs for police officers (Cordner, in press).

PRIORITIZING ACTION BASED ON THE RESEARCH ASSESSMENT

Because of a lack of research on a number of these recommendations, it is difficult to make strong conclusions about what actions law enforcement agencies should prioritize in this pillar. In general, the training recommendations provided by the Task Force related to training and education are intuitively

28 See <https://trustandjustice.org/resources/guide/cops-how-to-increase-cultural-understanding>

appealing if not necessarily evidence based. While recognizing that evidence is still limited, there are three areas where agencies should prioritize action related to training and education:

- Agencies are encouraged to incorporate CIT training into basic recruit and in-service training. While more rigorous studies are needed (see below), there is evidence suggesting such training can, at the very least, improve officer knowledge and attitudes toward interactions with the mentally ill. The CIT framework also emphasizes de-escalation, and thus reinforces recommendations from Pillar 2.
- Police should implement diversity training that addresses implicit or unconscious bias rather than focusing on explicit bias. While research on police training specifically is needed (see below), studies from other fields suggest that interventions can help individuals manage and minimize their implicit biases. As Fridell (2013: 11) argues, this is likely to be more effective than training that reflects “outdated understandings about prejudice” and a singular focus on a message of “stop being prejudiced.”
- While the research is not conclusive on the impact of higher education on police performance, agencies should consider encouraging higher education, and when resources allow it, incentivize higher education.

RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

Additional research is needed in every area of training discussed in the Task Force recommendations. In most cases, we know little about the impact of these training programs on officer knowledge, attitudes, and behavior. Particularly important is understanding the extent to which improvement or changes in attitudes and knowledge as a result of training corresponds to behavioral change in interactions with the public. Research is particularly needed in the following areas:

- More research is needed about the delivery of police training, and the extent to which agencies have the resources, time, and ability to add new training modules. There should be a careful examination of the processes by which new training is added and mandated at the local and state level, with the involvement of Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST) commissions and the International Association of Directors of Law Enforcement Standards and Training (IADLEST).
- Even for CIT, which has amassed a larger number of studies than other training types, higher-quality research that examines the impact that training has on officer behavior—in particular use of force—is still limited.
- Rigorous evaluations of implicit bias training are needed. These studies ideally would use randomized designs and follow-up assessments to examine the long-term impacts of training on officers’ knowledge, attitudes, and behavior.
- More understanding is needed on addiction programs and the effective integration of police agencies within these programs. Existing research is largely anecdotal or focused on certain components of the problem (e.g., needle exchange and overdoses).
- Research is needed on the effectiveness of police training for working with diverse communities, especially immigrant communities, Muslims, and the LGBTQ community.
- Much research on the impact of higher education in policing is limited by a focus on attitudes not behavior, limited information on the content of education, and a lack of controls for background characteristics and other potential influences on behavior or attitudes other than a college degree.
- The possibility that higher education can reduce use-of-force behavior is especially important to explore further in future research

PILLAR 6: OFFICER WELLNESS AND SAFETY

SUMMARY OF PILLAR 6 RECOMMENDATIONS

The inclusion of Pillar 6 on officer safety and wellness signals that the Task Force and law enforcement leaders perceive there is an important link between the way in which police departments ensure officer safety and wellness and a police department's capacity to protect and serve.²⁹ Officer physical and psychological health and well-being could be impacted by the strategic decisions, policies, and practices of law enforcement organizations. In turn, the physical and mental health, well-being, and safety of officers might impact the way officers interact with citizens, increasing their risk of disrespectful or unprofessional behavior, affecting decisions to use force, or impacting their daily decisions on how to best address crime or community problems. Conditions of the profession might also affect the types of people who choose to become police officers, which also can shape outcomes in policing.

The recommendations to local law enforcement agencies in Pillar 6 are both general and specific in nature, focusing on three themes:

- Law enforcement agencies should promote wellness and safety at all levels of the organization, as well as regularly collect and analyze data on officer deaths, injuries, "near misses," and other measures of health and wellness that supports this goal.
- Shift lengths should be scientifically supported to reduce fatigue and stress that can negatively impact performance.
- Law enforcement agencies should promote well-established safety measures such as wearing ballistic vests and seat belts, having easy access to tactical first aid kits and first aid training, and using vehicle collision prevention measures.

RESEARCH ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

What is the research supporting these recommendations, and if supported, how can we effectively implement them? While the evidence is clear that law enforcement professionals have higher levels of stress and acute stress, greater risk of health problems, and heightened chances of exposure to dangerous situations and injury than people in other professions (see Violanti, 2014) the causal link between safety, wellness, and outputs such as fair and effective policing has yet to be clearly understood. However, three research areas do inform this area, and provide clues as to effective implementation. These include research on stress management and wellness generally, the treatment of posttraumatic stress disorder, and fatigue.

STRESS MANAGEMENT AND WELLNESS PROGRAMS

A major wellness concern in law enforcement organizations is stress, including acute and posttraumatic stress, addressed in the next section. While research has found officers are prone to higher levels of stress (Violanti, 2014), scant research has examined the impact of organizational strategies to mitigate

29 See, for example, the May 2016 issue on Officer Safety and Wellness of *The Police Chief* <http://www.policechiefmagazine.org/magazine-issues/may-2016/>.

stress. This is important because research indicates stress can have adverse effects on officers (see a recent review by Karaffa & Thrasher, 2016), and policies, practices, and aspects of police organizational aspects can produce stress, including shift work, job satisfaction, and the organizational environment. In his testimony to the Task Force, George Patterson described various interventions to reduce stress. These might include reducing environmental conditions that cause stress, increasing participation in decision making (see discussions of internal procedural justice in Pillar 1), changing employees responses to stress, or providing services for those employees who are feeling stress (see also Hurrell & Murphy, 1996). Organizations tend to provide “tertiary prevention” most frequently, which includes linking services to employees who are experiencing stress symptoms. Agencies focus much less on organizational causes of stress or adjusting employee responses to stress.³⁰

Patterson, Chung, and Swan (2013) in their systematic review and meta-analysis examined the impact of police-focused stress management interventions on stress outcomes (although not on outcomes such as citizen interactions or effective policing). Twelve studies of various interventions were found, including programs for stress management and stress reduction, stress inoculation therapy,³¹ brief interventions, counseling, nutrition and physical conditioning, circuit weight training, eye movement desensitization and reprocessing (EMDR), visual-motor behavior rehearsal (VMBR), and writing interventions. Outcomes studied were physiological (e.g., blood pressure, heart rates); psychological (e.g., anxiety, depression, anger standard tests); and behavioral (e.g., drinking, sick leave, complaints and disciplinary actions, accidents, injuries, tardiness). Psychological outcomes were most often evaluated.

Patterson et al. (2013) found that stress management interventions did not seem to reduce stress outcomes. While it was unclear which types of stress were targeted by what types of interventions, their findings question whether organizational approaches can improve either levels of stress or outcomes of interest to the Task Force—that is, the quality of officer-citizen interactions and crime prevention activities. Much more research is needed on what types of organizational changes can mitigate stress and on how stress impacts specific law enforcement behavioral outcomes.

Patterson et al. offer one important hint for agencies who are experimenting with organizational efforts to mitigate stress and promote wellness. A qualitative analysis of the studies within their review indicated that while officers were positive about their organizations’ care for their health, they were suspicious of why their organization was interested in their health. Patterson found that officers might be more receptive to programs labeled as “wellness” rather than those labeled as “stress management.” They also found that officers might use unhealthy behaviors, such as drinking alcohol, to try and alleviate stress.

A systematic review of studies on wellness programs more generally was conducted by Parks and Steelman (2008). They found that participation in wellness programs could reduce absenteeism and increase job satisfaction, although they could not conclude which type of program (e.g., education or fitness-focused programs) performed better or worse in these measures.³² A randomized controlled trial by Tanigoshi, Kontos, and Remley (2008) on law enforcement officers specifically shows that individual wellness counseling could improve officer scores on wellness surveys, and Anshel and Kang (2008) found that motivation interviewing could also improve health measures in officers.

30 Listening session on Officer Safety and Wellness: Officer Safety (oral testimony from Dr. George Patterson, Associate Professor, City University of New York, for the President’s Task force on 21st Century Policing, Washington, DC, February 24, 2015).

31 A technique to help a person anticipate and prepare to handle stressful situations in advance

32 They also found that lower quality studies may (although this was not conclusive) moderate this finding, with lower-quality studies more likely showing a positive effect of wellness programs on outcomes

However, *how* wellness programs are implemented may matter to their success. Although not yet evaluated, Papazoglou and Anderson (2014) offer what they argue are evidence-based exercises that can be incorporated into police training curricula to promote resilience to future stress. They suggest “three topics to be incorporated into training curricula: (a) psychoeducation about the mental and physical health effects of chronic exposure to critical incidents; (b) transforming stigma and stereotypes within police culture by training officers to understand that feelings of fear, anxiety, and even terror constitute normal human responses to trauma and are not a sign of weakness; and (c) educate recruits about the value of peer support and alternative programs that can be used independently or in conjunction with formalized treatment programs” (see also McCraty & Atkinson, 2012). However, as with many other training programs, these organizational interventions remains untested with regard to effectively reducing stress or improving other police outcomes.

ACUTE STRESS: TREATING POSTTRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER

Severe and acute forms of stress can manifest into posttraumatic stress disorder. Traumatic stress is frequently experienced by first responders and members of the military, and it includes repeated exposure to incidents that put individuals at higher risk of serious injury and death. Effective treatment for PTSD is known and can include cognitive behavioral therapy, eye movement desensitization reprocessing, prolonged exposure, and stress inoculation therapy (see Bisson & Andrew, 2007; Bradley, Greene, Russ, et al., 2005; Van Etten & Taylor, 1998). The American Psychiatric Association (2004) has also issued guidelines for the treatment of posttraumatic stress disorder.

However, as Haugen, Evces, and Weiss (2012) emphasize, only a small fraction of studies have focused on the impact of treatment in law enforcement agencies specifically. Of the 845 studies they found evaluating the effectiveness of PTSD treatment, only 17 focused on first responders, despite their higher risk for PTSD, and only 2 studies employed a randomized controlled trial of treatment for this population. They conclude that while most PTSD treatment guidelines have been built from research conducted on combat veterans (Haugen, Evces, & Weiss, 2012), the scarcity of high-quality research for first responders precludes them from making any specific suggestions regarding first responders. However, at least two studies seem to indicate the effectiveness of cognitive behavioral therapy (Difede, Malta, Best, et al., 2007) and Brief Eclectic Psychotherapy (BEP) (Gersons, Carlier, Lamberts, & van der Kolk, 2000).

While treatment does exist for stress and acute stress disorders, Haugen et al. point out a number of organizational and cultural barriers can inhibit the implementation of effective treatment for those suffering from PTSD. These barriers include being in active duty status in shift work that makes it difficult to access services, the stigma associated with psychological treatment, and perceived or real effects of seeking treatment on changes in job assignment or pay. Thus, organizational strategies should focus on reducing the stigma of treatment, supporting seeking treatment and findings ways to identify and connect officers with treatment providers. Additionally, Haugen et al. promote a stronger link between police practice and the research community so that organizations can improve officer knowledge of, and access to, treatment, as well as determine how poor health and wellness might be linked to professional outcomes such as interactions with citizens or choices on how to prevent crime.

ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH FATIGUE

Fatigue is closely linked to officer stress and health and is also a well-established concern in the law enforcement community, affecting outcomes such as officer safety, performance, and behavioral

outcomes (see Rosekind & Schwartz 1988; Vila, 2000; Violanti, 2014). Numerous efforts by Vila and colleagues are under way³³ to examine the relationship between fatigue and outcomes such as implicit racial bias, driving and collisions, decisions to shoot, demeanor, interactions with citizens, and officer judgment to use deadly force. One study that directly examines the impact of a law enforcement organizational change on fatigue is the Amendola, Weisburd, Hamilton, et al. (2011) study on eight, ten, and twelve-hour work/shift schedules of officers. They found that 10-hour shifts have advantages over 8-hour shifts in that officers got more sleep, had a higher quality of work life, and also worked less overtime. These benefits did not extend to 12-hour shifts. The study also found that 12-hour shifts did not impact safety, but they did make officers less alert and sleepier, which could impact outcomes. Another study under way by James et al. on the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) will be one of the first comprehensive evaluations of a fatigue risk management training program for police officers. Their preliminary results look promising, showing increases in sleep, quality of life, and exercise, together with reductions in depressive symptoms and chronic pain.³⁴

SEAT BELTS, BALLISTIC VESTS, FIRST AID KITS AND COLLISION PREVENTION

The evidence that seat belts reduce injury and death in automobile accidents is undeniable (see the systematic review by Dinh-Zarr, Sleet, Shults, et al., 2001). Similarly, ballistic vests have also been found to effectively reduce injury from firearms (see, e.g., Peleg, Rivkind, Aharonson-Daniel, et al., 2006). With regard to collision avoidance technology and crash prevention systems, research that examines the impact of these systems of automobile crashes is ongoing, but shows promising impacts.³⁵ Task Force testimony provided by Dr. Alexander Eastman also suggests support for tactical first aid kits.³⁶

PRIORITIZING ACTION BASED ON THE RESEARCH ASSESSMENT

Although there is little research that tests the impact of organizational efforts to mitigate fatigue and stress and improve the health, safety, and wellness of police officers, there is a great deal of knowledge confirming that fatigue, poor health, posttraumatic stress, danger, and injury are prevalent in the law enforcement profession. Consistently making officers aware of this reality and promoting efforts known to alleviate these conditions can improve officer wellness and health. Agencies should consider the following suggestions based on the evidence-assessment above:

- Supervisors, leaders, and trainers should regularly discuss police fatigue, stress, posttraumatic stress, health, danger, and injury in a neutral way during training, roll calls, and within squad discussions. The agency should provide officers with easily accessible information on well-established treatments for stress and posttraumatic stress disorder, cardiovascular health, and wellness.

33 See continuing research efforts by Vila and colleagues at the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology and the Sleep and Performance Research Center Washington State University (<https://labs.wsu.edu/sprc/>).

34 Lois James (research assistant professor, Sleep and Performance Research Center, Washington State University) email to authors, March 23, 2016.

35 See National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, “Advanced Technologies Research,” <http://www.nhtsa.gov/Research/Crash%20Avoidance/Advanced%20Technologies%20Research>. See also Insurance Institute for Highway Safety, “Crash avoidance technologies,” <http://www.iihs.org/iihs/topics/t/crash-avoidance-technologies/topicoverview>.

36 *Listening Session on Officer Safety and Wellness: Officer Safety*, before the President’s Task force on 21st Century Policing, Washington, D.C., February 23, 2015 (oral testimony of Dr. Alexander Eastman, lieutenant and deputy medical director, Dallas Police Department).

- Agencies implementing wellness programs should try to collect baseline and ongoing data on officer fatigue, health, and stress in ways that are nonthreatening and respectful of officer privacy. These data can be analyzed to understand the connection between officer stress and health, wellness, and behavioral outcomes (from absenteeism and job satisfaction to officer-citizen interactions and deployment decisions).
- Agencies should take care in how they present wellness, health, and stress management programs, as labels and dissemination approaches seem to matter in officer receptivity to these programs. Officers may be more receptive to “wellness” programs than “stress management” ones.
- Agencies considering or using 12 hours should carefully consider the impact of these shifts on officer wellness and fatigue. Especially if job satisfaction is linked to lower levels of stress and fatigue, changing to 12-hour shift schedules can backfire on organizations, increasing fatigue and stress, worsening officer wellness, and reducing job satisfaction. In turn, fatigue might have adverse impacts on outcomes of direct interest to law enforcement agencies, including implicit bias, use of force, reaction times, and police-citizen interactions.
- Tangible actions can be immediately taken to increase the safety of officers. These actions include wearing seat belts, using ballistic vests, and having tactical first aid kits available. To ensure the implementation of these safety measures, agencies should have clearly written policies and expectations for these measures that are regularly disseminated and verbalized to all officers, detectives, specialized units, and civilian personnel. Additionally, agencies should ensure compliance with these policies through daily supervision and routine inspections.
- Strategic planning for officer safety also includes increasing data collection about accidents, near-misses, and injuries, and analyzing data regularly.

RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

Much more evaluation research is needed that links wellness factors and programs to specific officers’ outcomes and organizational goals. Specific studies that are needed include the following:

- Research on the types of wellness and stress management programs that are effective in improving the health of officers and analysis of variations in the effects of those programs.
- Research that examines how such programs and improved wellness are linked to specific outcomes of interest to the agency (e.g., crime reduction, fair policing, reduced bias, reduced use of force, citizen-police interactions, and job retention and satisfaction).
- Research that examines the relationship between fatigue and specific outcomes such as implicit racial bias, driving and accidents, decisions to shoot, demeanor, interactions with citizens, and officer judgment to use deadly force.
- Research on what types of programs and program delivery are most amenable to officers.
- Research that examines why officers may not be wearing seat belts or vests and how organizational environment, supervision, policies, and practices can increase their adherence to these safety measures.

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