a collaborative white paper

Building Trust Between Police and Community in Michigan

LESSONS FOR THE NATION FROM THE YEAR 2020

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Crossing the Thin Blue Line

This white paper is intended partly as a wake-up call, partly as a review of promising practices and partly as a message of hope. The authors include police chiefs, prosecutors, public health experts, professors, civil rights advocates and others. Our intended audience consists of policymakers, professionals and members of the public who are looking for meaningful responses to the complex challenges that we face, not just in revolutionary slogans or knee-jerk defenses of an unsustainable status quo. Policing is indeed plagued with problems, but most American communities still value their police, especially when they are properly doing their jobs, truly protecting all the people that they serve.

American attitudes towards police are complex. Recent polling conducted in Minneapolis, where the "Defund the Police" movement gained momentum in the wake of George Floyd's murder by police, suggest that the majority of residents oppose out-and-out defunding of police, and that these majorities are actually higher among Black residents.[1] On the other hand, residents across the board are overwhelmingly in favor of shifting public funding away from arming police and towards more social services. What these communities want is not NO POLICING, but BETTER POLICING. More precisely, they want a DIFFERENT KIND OF POLICING.

1 See polling conducted by the Minneapolis Star-Tribune and reporting by New York Times; https://www.startribune.com/poll-cuts-to-minneapolis-police-ranks-lack-majority-support/572119932/ and https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/26/us/politics/minneapolis-defund-police.html

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY (CONTINUED)

Pitting those who feel well served by police against those who have genuine historical and contemporary grievances is nothing but a recipe for continued social conflict. It essentially places all critics of police, no matter how legitimate, on the other side of the "thin blue line," implying a false choice between "anarchy" and "order." Rather, we contend that accountability of police to the broader community, including our harshest critics, is essential to building the trust upon which our protective power depends. Any process of restorative justice must begin by acknowledging the harm that has been done. Police departments cannot expect community trust without first taking true accountability for the accepted attitudes and practices of the past.

As these papers make clear, nothing erodes community trust—and undermines order—more than the excessive or irresponsible use of force. The first section considers long standing issues within American policing, including systemic racism, that have merely been illuminated by the murder of George Floyd and its aftermath. The second section examines how these issues have been engaged in Dearborn, Michigan, and what has been learned from the experience there. The third section offers a vision of meaningful police and community collaboration that seeks to address these issues and move us to a place of shared responsibility and hope.

While the idea of the "thin blue line" remains strong in police culture, the symbol, emblazoned on black-and-white flags, has become emblematic of a zero-sum, us-versus-them attitude.[2] Even worse, this flag has been appropriated by right wing nationalist and white supremacist groups, adding to the general atmosphere of divisiveness and confounding the genuine efforts of community-oriented police departments to build trust with their diverse constituencies. **As police officers and civic leaders, we must firmly reject any association with such groups, in word and in deed.** There can be no tolerance for tacit or explicit expressions of racism in either the leadership or rank and file of police. We must squarely confront these ideologies, publicly disavow any linkage with them, and internally root them out.

To conclude, we proclaim "Time's Up!" for all those in our field who have yet to grasp the enormity of what is happening in the streets of our cities as well as in our smaller cities and towns. We present some models based on our experience in cities like Detroit and Dearborn, Michigan, practices that have made a difference here, and move us in the right direction—while emphasizing that there is still a long way to go. Finally, we offer a message of hope, declaring that there is a path forward from this moment, if we embrace a vision of public safety that is informed as much by the insights of public health and restorative justice as the logic of criminal prosecution. Only then, we contend, can we set upon the path of not only enforcing law and maintaining order, but building a just peace in our communities.

2 See "The Short, Fraught History of the 'Thin Blue Line' American Flag", by Maurice Chammah and Caary Aspinwallm, June 8, 2020 in:https://www.themarshallproject.org/2020/06/08/the-short-fraught-history-of-the-thin-blue-line-american-flag

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PART 1: A HARD LOOK AT POLICING AND THE REAL SOURCES OF PROTEST

This section focuses on honestly assessing the situation of policing in America in the year 2020. In the first entry, Chief Anthony Holt issues a call for looking back to understand how we got here, looking inward to understand where we are and what we are doing, and looking towards the future with an eye towards improving police practices and establishing real trust and partnership with communities. In the second entry, William M. Davis, Police Commissioner for Detroit's 7th District, provides context to the calls for defunding police that were issued by many protestors and grassroots organizations in the wake of George Floyd's murder, moving past emotional divisiveness to identify reasonable demands that professional police departments can and should implement. In his contribution, Sean Smoot, legal representative of the Police Benevolent and Protective Association of Illinois, highlights the contradictions inherent in the role of police working in communities today, and argues that clarification of the police officer's role—accompanied by appropriate training and evaluation—is central to the task of reforming police and enhancing both their acceptance and effectiveness in diverse communities. Finally Robert M. Stevenson, Executive Director, Michigan Association of Chiefs' of Police makes a strong argument for rigorous police accreditation programs as a significant step towards addressing many of the issues raised by defunding advocates.

RETROSPECTION, INTROSPECTION AND REFLECTION:

Redefining social justice after George Floyd

By Chief Anthony Holt, Wayne State University Police Department

The words "I can't breathe," spoken by George Floyd, combined with the killings of Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, Rayshard Brooks, and numerous others, were the straws that broke the proverbial camel's back in the spring and summer of 2020.

This country, and policing as we know it, was literally set ablaze on Memorial Day 2020 when for 8 minutes and 46 seconds, George Floyd, an unarmed, handcuffed black man was dealt an untimely death at the hands of four of us. Us?

Yes, I will repeat, **us**. Makes it more palpable, doesn't it? Because it could have been your officer or your department under fire. You think it couldn't possibly happen in your department, right? Yet George Floyd died at the hands of law enforcement, in a justice system that often will cover up and make excuses for us even when we are recorded on live video for the world to see. Some defense attorney somewhere will argue that the Minneapolis officers feared for their lives, that while cuffed and unable to breathe with his body going limp, somehow George Floyd still posed a threat to officer safety on the scene.

Police officers may be conflicted; either they or someone they are close to could have been George Floyd, or as rookie officers in that very same situation, struggle with what was the best course of action to take—even as their FTO told them what to do or worse… not to intervene.

Unlike Mr. Floyd, we have the honor of wearing a badge and uniform that serves as a symbol to all that we took an oath to serve and protect all citizens; not just some. This act, witnessed all over the world, unleashed a sense of rage and despair never before seen across this country amongst all races, colors and creeds.

Police Departments around the world must now regroup to determine how to regain the trust of the community, when right now they are perceived as an occupying army hiding behind a blue

curtain of silence; couched in a blind criminal justice system with little regard for the life of African Americans. Now is the time for retrospection (what is it that we used to do?) introspection (what are we doing now?) and reflection (what and where can we improve?) in order to build a sustainable community model reflective of the collaboration between law enforcement and the community.

We must act swiftly to exonerate good officers and mitigate our liability by getting rid of the bad police officers. It is just that simple. In these times where there are calls to defund the police and regulate police unions—it appears that the unions protect the officer and not the public. Again, thorough and timely investigations support transparency and trust. The Defund the Police movement, discussed in the next section, may be seen as the problem for police departments and their supporters, but it is merely a symptom of this deeper issue.

Since we began this white paper in the summer of 2020, there have been eight cities with multiple shootings and at least three children killed. Violence is ticking up. If we do not make strides to get a handle on this growing momentum of civil unrest; if we continue to refuse to engage all segments of our community and society, if we don't quickly get rid of the bad officers who continue to wreak havoc on these urban communities with impunity, then sadly, there will continue to be more George Floyds. Then and only then will you see that we are doing a better job to regain the trust of the communities in which you serve.

The key is to use everything in your tool box and wrap your arms around the community - to provide a level of community service that improves the quality of life in the community for everyone. Again, this begins with rebuilding and sustaining trust.

Every department should mirror as much as possible, the community in which it serves. This may be a difficult mandate to achieve, complicated by the fact that many do not wish to become officers and serve in communities where trust is low. However, it is still incumbent on every city to strive to meet this objective of diversity, inclusion and equity—hire, train and promote officers and supervisors that reflect the makeup of the community. This builds trust because members of the community relate to those who they feel have shared values, vision and experiences.

Trust is also built when we show transparency, demonstrating that we, as law enforcement, seek a true partnership with the community we serve. Inviting members of the community into our weekly or bi-weekly Compstat meetings may be one simple way to increase transparency. Typically Compstat meetings are comprised of "top brass" or police leadership, dealing with the stats of major crimes in each precinct. Now while you definitely want to strategize on the best methodology to get the predators off the streets, what about the smaller issues that don't necessarily rise to the level of criminality but are simple annoyances/ordinance violations in the neighborhood? For example, excessive dog barking, loud music, auto thefts, blighted properties that are havens for drug dealing?

Solution: Information can be shared that the department may not normally investigate and may be less of a priority. Citizens should be made comfortable to report any and all complaints. No complaint is too big or too small that interferes with the quiet enjoyment for all. They should also feel comfortable to be part of the decision-making by keeping them informed and allowing them to voice their opinion on what's working and what's not. Based upon their recommendations, we can initiate meaningful collaborative change - promote and publish the accomplishments.

Show them trends in their community such as what periods crime increases and when it slows. Analyze why this happens and when. If response time is slower than usual, explain why and how you plan to fix it. The Compstat meeting discusses hot spots, how departmental budgets are spent, upticks and down trends for all crimes in the area. Citizens not only see your resources, but how you devote your time, utilization of monies and talent in your department. Moreover, they get to see issues firsthand for example, speeding, strengths and weaknesses and what strategies you plan to use to improve. Citizens who are invited and actually come to Compstat meetings are also your best brand ambassadors to give you feedback, take back news/resources that will benefit them and their community information, take back lessons learned, tell their neighbors about all of the good and the bad. More importantly, they had a voice at the table.

The department has to make its presence known by doing more than showing up only when there is trouble. Start attending block club and business association meetings to get to know the community, its stakeholders and it definitely helps to know the demographics of your community. Sit down, focus and develop programs that address their needs. Some examples of this include, but are not limited to:

- Save Our Seniors: A program in an old housing project where officers conduct 3 weekly checks on a list of seniors in the housing development. This helps to assure the area seniors that they are not alone and forgotten. Officers check to make sure that they are okay and that their basic needs are being met. Forge a partnership with an area church in the area that makes weekly deliveries of non-perishable food to seniors.

- Establish safety walks and routes for women and students between the hours of 8:00 pm and 8:00 am. Tell business owners that you are available to provide an escort when they are making their daily or nightly deposits.

- Hand out Courtesy Tickets to let people in the community know that you're patrolling the area: for example, if the Courtesy Patrol noticed that their door was unlocked or a purse was left on the seat hidden in plain view. In another instance, a weapon is spotted on the side of the driver's seat. The Courtesy patrol calls it in and the vehicle is towed away. When the owner calls to report that their car was stolen, they are told who towed the vehicle and as a courtesy, a car is sent to pick them up. Now that's not only thinking outside of the box, but it can go a long way to rebuilding trust and appreciation.

Again, employ all resources at your disposal. When the community perceives that you care, it will be well received. You also get the opportunity to gauge how well your officers are responding to their concerns because they will certainly let you know. So it's a win-win.

Chief Anthony Holt (seated center) participates during a compstat meeting that includes community stakeholders. Participants include business owners, security partners, students, faculty, and neighbors. Crime patterns, quality of life issues and relationship building are focus points. Most importantly potential problems can are discussed before they become larger issues. Wayne State University, December 2019.

American Communities Suffer Tragedies on Many Sides of the Law Enforcement Experience

Toledo Police Department Officer Anthony Hussein Dia
Appointed July 27, 2018 – End of Watch July 4, 2020

While the last moments of George Floyd and Rayshard Brooks rightfully riveted the nation's attention, other tragedies passed with little notice. One such incident occurred in the mid-sized, Midwestern city of Toledo, Ohio.

On the evening of the 4th of July, Officer Anthony Dia, a Community Policing Officer in his second year of service, posed with two children after showing them inside his police car and allowing them to turn on the lights and sirens.

Approximately two hours later, Officer Dia was dispatched on a run to "make sure that this man was OK." Upon arrival to the scene, a Home Depot parking lot, Officer Dia attempted to intervene but was fatally shot by the intoxicated subject, who later killed himself. Officer Dia's last words on the radio were, "Tell my family I love them."

Officer Dia, who had two sons of his own, was wheeled out of the hospital on a gurney a short time later, his body wrapped in an American flag, flanked by Toledo Police Officers saluting and weeping. Stories like these highlight what's at stake in current debates about the proper role of police in American communities and our approaches to mental health.

HIGH NOON IN AMERICA?

The Defund the Police Movement

By William M. Davis, Detroit Police Commissioner (District 7); National Action Network (NAN) Detroit Chapter President; Detroit Active and Retired Employee Association (DAREA) President.

After the murder of George Perry Floyd Jr., a Black American man, on May 25, 2020, a previously narrow window into the world of many Black and Brown Americans was peeled wide open for the rest of the world to finally see. For some, this event offered an opportunity to finally see how undeniably stressful it has been in these United States of America for Black and Brown Americans to have interactions with police that could result in injury or death during an incident that would be routinely deemed a minor offense. Yes, still in 2020. As a result, protests emerged from all over the world with the protesters chanting, "Defund the Police!"

"Defund the Police" is a slogan that means different things to different people. For some, it means outright abolition of police departments as we know them. More commonly, it is meant as a call to reduce the budgets of all local law enforcement agencies and instead add to other more peripheral programs. For example, monies would be reallocated to community programs, public health initiatives, accessible housing, youth services, education, and other community needs. This "defunding" would reduce the scope of responding from law enforcement since the other program resources would be used to de-escalate the need for police law enforcement. "Defunding" in this sense would actually allow for better community policing. Police officers would no longer be bogged down by unnecessary minor offenses which could escalate.

In most municipalities, like Detroit, funding the police department is the largest part of its budget. Law enforcement employees are usually the only employees available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. They are the first responders to many citizen emergencies, for those citizens to whom the police have sworn to "protect and serve." Yet in many marginalized communities law enforcement officers represent just the opposite: they are viewed as an occupying army, come to harm and destroy, eliciting terror. There is systemic racism in America's police and criminal justice arenas that has manifested in horrifying brutality, especially against Black and Brown Americans. There is a national crisis of violence towards Black and Brown people that has continued through centuries. Now that the more educated populace has awakened, they are more likely to put a long overdue end to qualified immunity, a judicial doctrine that protects

government officials from being held liable for constitutional offenses, such as the right to be free from excessive police force, or for money damages as long as the official did not break clearly established law. This could allow for civil suits to be filed against individual police officers who brandish excessive force.

Modern technologies such as cellular telephones equipped with cameras, and the more recent body cameras worn by police, have changed the world view of police law enforcement. Bad or rogue police officers are on the radar now. They have also placed those "good" or properly behaving police officers on notice of their inherent responsibility to speak up and speak out on those bad, rogue police officers. The "Blue Wall of Silence", an informal code that discourages officers from speaking out against the misconduct of another police officer, needs to be met with dire consequences and those that break through that wall need to have vigorous protection.

Peaceful protesting or non-violent resistance (NVR) is an act of expressing vehement disapproval through an action or statement without the use of violence. Sit-ins, walk-outs, and civil disobedience are just a few ways to participate in protests without violence. Its purpose is to achieve some kind of social change. In Detroit we have had daily protests since the death of George Floyd, with people marching en masse in the streets to show solidarity against violent police crimes. Many feel that it would be a crime in itself to remain silent in the face of such barbaric acts that have been put upon our citizens. We feel that it is our 1st Amendment Right to speak out and to march, just like we did during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, against racial segregation and other discrimination.

I have personally been involved in many peaceful protests. I have served my union brothers and sisters as a union official and as a strike captain. It is often necessary to protest in order to draw meaningful attention to particular matters of concern. Policing is certainly one of those particular matters now. George Perry Floyd Jr.'s murder was a call to action to wake up law enforcement and make them acutely and definitively aware that ALL Americans must be treated with basic human dignity. In moments like this, we as a society need to encourage peaceful protest. The right to petition our government, enshrined in our constitutional rights to free speech and free assembly, is our method of demanding fundamental change.

Other Detroit Police Commissioners and police staff agree that the fundamental changes that most of our serious peaceful protesters are demanding are urgently needed. These changes to policing need to be made not only in the city of Detroit and the State of Michigan, but also across America and ultimately the world. For one, the Detroit Police Department should increase the number of Neighborhood Police Officers (NPOs). There are far too many police officers in downtown Detroit. Effectively protecting billionaires' skyscrapers, their other buildings, and events, does not serve the neighborhoods well. Privately paid security officers and not Detroit citizen tax dollars should pay for these security issues. Detroit residents need to have visible officers truly committed to them "To Serve and Protect". The neighborhoods should be a place of safety for Detroit citizens, as much as downtown Detroit is for visitors.

On July 30, 2020, Detroit Police Chief James Craig issued an executive order – a "Duty to Intervene" as it is now being called – but it is weak. It requires police officers to intervene if they witness wrongdoings by their fellow police officers, but the order will only be in effect for one year. This mildly appeasing directive allows for an immediate yet temporary change, circumventing the approval of the Detroit Board of Police Commissioners. The previous policy was even weaker. It only required misconduct to simply be "reported." Such "window dressing" responses need to be addressed. Though I support this policy, a vigorous defunding demand might push the Chief to issue a policy with more muscle and no limitation of time.

As a Commissioner of the Detroit Board of Police Commissioners and the National Action Network (NAN) Detroit Chapter president I will advocate for a nationwide "Duty to Intervene" policy, a more permanent policy with teeth. To "Defund the Police" in its literal sense is not practical, but much can be done immediately: funding can be redistributed to our youth beyond the Police Athletic League (P.A.L.); additional de-escalation training can be provided for police officers, and we can connect them with mental health and social work professionals to learn proper protocol when dealing with those with mental health challenges.

To conclude, the Black Lives Matter and Detroit Will Breathe movements are raising valid points: we must end the war on Black people, invest in education, health, and the safety of Black people; divest from institutions that criminalize and negatively impact Black people, hence "defunding the police." Demilitarizing of police is also a valid point. As a Detroit Police Commissioner, I see the need to change the way our police operate. There are hard-working and community-oriented police officers on our police force. They deserve our respect, appreciation, and support for their good service to Detroit citizens. Unfortunately, the bad officers have cast a dark shadow on the rest of the police force. Those officers who are doing their jobs and exhibiting commendable service as aforementioned must take the lead, step up and speak up. Only in doing so will the trust of citizens slowly return.

We can and we must do more. It is our duty!

REDEFINING THE ROLE OF POLICE

Roles, Goals, Methods, and Measures

By Sean M. Smoot, Director and Chief Counsel for the Police Benevolent & Protective Association of Illinois ("PB&PA") and the Police Benevolent Labor Committee ("PBLC")

There is a great deal of focus these days on defining what public safety is and what role the police should play in ensuring it. These discussions take place in an environment where there does not seem to be clear agreement on what is "good policing" or even what constitutes a safe community. Most officers working today have been told from the time they were hired that they are warriors. They have been defined as soldiers in the war on drugs, the war on crime, the war on poverty, and the war on violence. Repeatedly they have been cast as crime fighters—that fighting crime is their purpose. But we also tell police officers that they should function as social workers, counselors, and peacekeepers. We ask them to be community leaders, code enforcers, and in some places, revenue generators. Here are just a few more—safety provider, mental health provider, drug overdose treatment provider, medical technician. So we tell them they are all these things—and guardians also, by the way, which I personally like—but we tell them all these different things are their roles.

These roles can emerge at different times during an officer's career. Sometimes one takes the place of another and sometimes they are expected to fill all of these roles at the same time. And by the way, we also tell them that we expect them to do every single one of these things "right." What do we mean when we say do them "right?" Well, the definition of "right" is constantly changing. It can vary based on who your supervisor is, who the Mayor (or Sheriff) is, or even what part of town you happen to be working in at the time. Imagine the persistent mental struggle and stress that these mixed and often unfixed messages create. Research has shown that this phenomenon alone can have very serious health effects for officers.

This reality lays bare the enormous challenge of defining success. Given what I have just described, how can true success in policing be identified when the measurement of success varies so much at different times, in different places, and based on very different expectations?

One of the biggest obstacles police have as a profession is the fact that we tend to do what is easy in terms of measuring success. The easy thing to do is to count numbers. Statistics may tell us how much crime exists but are they really a good indication of how good a job police are doing? Shouldn't success in policing be defined by the presence of justice rather than the presence (or absence) of crime? It is more difficult to figure out if the people we serve feel safe in their communities as opposed to how many thefts occurred in a given time. Do businesses believe that it is safe to locate and conduct business in the community? Do people feel safe letting their kids go across the street to the park? Do they feel safe walking around their neighborhood? Are crime and safety primary thoughts as they live their lives? Those things are really tough to count, but in the opinion of many experts they may be a better measure of success. When you add to ill-defined roles the deficiencies in measuring effectiveness, the lack of comprehensive officer training, and a lack of support for officer wellness, it becomes clear that comprehensive approaches are needed to fix the problems faced by law enforcement and our communities.

Sean Smoot speaking to community members about the value of community engagement in the wake of two fatal officer involved shootings in Dearborn. (2016)

We can start by adopting internal procedural justice. This is absolutely critical. Unless procedural justice is present all of the other challenges become far more difficult to address. When a law enforcement agency is grounded in *internal* procedural justice, officers feel that they are being treated fairly. When a government is grounded in procedural justice, its agents practice procedural justice on the street, and community members, the people whom police officers interact with, feel that they are being treated fairly. I cannot find a single person who thinks it is realistic to expect officers who do not feel respected at work to respect people they encounter while performing their work. Putting it another way, if an officer is facing a routine culture of disrespect by superiors, why would we expect the officer to display anything different to citizens on the street?

President Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing road-mapped improved policing from a wide angle, and developed recommendations that focused fundamentally on procedural justice, with the understanding that this would impact all of the other issues facing law enforcement. The task force heard from over 120 live witnesses and read thousands of pages of written testimony submitted by experts from one issue to the next. One of the things that really struck me, and I think others on the task force, was what police officers said was the highest cause of stress in their lives. They did not cite being shot, they did not cite being in a fight, they did not cite fighting crime, the danger of their employment, or stress in their marriages and personal

relationships. **The number one factor identified as the cause of stress was how they were treated, or how they felt they would be treated, by their employers.** That says a lot about the fact that there is an absence of, and need for, internal procedural justice.

In 2015, against the backdrop of the post-Ferguson world and informed by the task force recommendations, the Illinois General Assembly passed the Police and Community Relations Improvement Act. The legislature pushed forward on the Obama Task Force recommendations regarding police training by codifying them into statute. For instance, it expanded the basic training curriculum so when officers enter the academy, their coursework must include procedural justice, cultural competency, implicit bias, the proper use of force and law enforcement authority, responding to sexual assault victimization, interacting with people who are suffering from a mental illness, and on dealing with the disease of addiction.

I have been involved with law enforcement in one facet or another for over twenty-five years now. Having looked at it from a number of different angles, professionally and personally, I do not believe there is one issue that impacts crime, violence, and the criminal justice system, more than the disease of addiction. Nothing permeates it more. We see it at every level on the street —the simple drug transaction, drug users committing crime so they can make a drug transaction later, the business of dealing drugs and protecting the territory to operate drug distribution, or people who are arrested because of their conduct when they are under the influence of drugs or alcohol—addiction is there.

The Department of Justice actually did a study of inmates and found that over seventy percent of the people incarcerated in state prisons were regular drug users before they were incarcerated. In federal prisons, the numbers are a little lower, about sixty-four percent. But those are still pretty staggering figures. Amazingly, there was never a requirement for law enforcement officers to get any kind of training about the disease of addiction. It is important for officers to have that kind of training so they can more effectively perform their duties and recognize addiction-related problems that may be occurring with their colleagues or themselves. This type of training will ideally facilitate an opportunity for movement toward treatment rather than a movement towards criminalization.

Previously, police officers' annual training requirements consisted of weapons qualification—which some would contend is not really training, it is putting rounds down range into a target—and hazmat training for dealing with bloodborne pathogens—or essentially how to clean your squad car and equipment if they become contaminated. Now annual in-service training includes instruction on legal updates and use of force and, every three years, refresher training on procedural justice, civil rights, cultural competency, and the proper use of force. These are very progressive training requirements for any state.

There are a few things that are missing from the legislation and are also missing nationally. For instance, in the medical field there are sentinel event reviews that occur as matter of routine. Sentinel event reviews occur after there is an incident, maybe somebody dies in surgery, or a non-fatal mistake is made. In the sentinel event review, everyone who was involved in that procedure sits around the table in a non-punitive, non-judgmental format, talks about what happened. The goal of these reviews is "to encourage leaders to honestly acknowledge and learn from mistakes." [A1] This fosters a culture of learning from error in medicine, which is absent in policing. The Healthcare Quality Improvement Act helps facilitate this process by providing legal protections such that anyone who is involved in the process can speak freely without fear of having their statements used against them later on in litigation.

Imagine how many lessons could be learned and shared, especially with the expanded use of body cameras, to avoid mistakes and identify other ways to successfully deal with any given situation. If the officers involved in an incident could review their video and talk with peers or a mentor about the incident and what went wrong, what mistakes were made, what was missed, what was not, what was done right, the training value of that would be tremendous. Unfortunately, those discussions do not happen and they likely will not happen until there is some kind of a legal protection that can enable police culture to evolve from one of blaming to one of learning. That is a goal that we should work toward.

The fourth pillar of the 21st Century Policing Task Force Report examines community policing and crime reduction techniques and their effect on community members. Engaging youth is also a major theme in Pillar Four. This area calls for partnerships among law enforcement agencies, school systems, and social services in addressing youth issues. I believe this is an area where broader investment could pay huge dividends, and where models for success abound.

Everyone has heard of the Police Athletic League. Programs like PAL, where police and youth can interact in non-threatening environments are just the beginning of youth engagement possibilities for law enforcement. While sports can provide opportunities for officers and youth to build relationships, they are not the only way. Mentoring and tutoring programs, scouting programs, the performing arts, travel opportunities – there are many programs out there across the country where officers and youth participate in shared hobbies, and these are excellent ways to help children see officers as people in their communities or as professionals they may wish to emulate. They also are important for officers to see children, especially those from at-risk neighborhoods, as individuals with hopes and dreams, and not as current or future "clients".

[A1]. See "Mending Justice: Sentinel Event Reviews", a Special Report from National Institute of Justice, September, 2014, p 2. Accessed 12/25/20202 at http://www.nij.gov/topics/justice-system/pages/mending-justice.aspx

But many youth engagement programs are operated on shoe-string budgets, or as the pet projects of one or two officers in an agency. This limits their ability to build meaningful relationships with a large percentage of the youth in their community. It also leads to communities seeing one or two officers as "the good ones" and distinct from their colleagues who do not devote the same time and energy to largely volunteer efforts.

This dependence on volunteer labor and individual interest in supporting police youth engagement programs is very different from the largely publicly funded, systematic educational engagement done by fire departments around the country. Firefighters go into elementary schools to teach fire safety, kids are brought to tour fire stations and invited onto the trucks. Firefighters get to introduce who they are and what they do (protect your family and your home) to every child—not just those who join an extracurricular program or have been identified as "at-risk". From young ages, children get to see the fire service as a career and firefighters as people who help you.

School Resource Officer programs obviously do attempt to bring police into educational environments and well-run programs do incorporate the SRO into educational and mentoring activities in their schools. But the SRO is also still in full uniform, and responsible for safety and security in the school building while there. SROs are also most commonly found in middle and high schools, where the children already have preconceived notions of who the police are and, rightly or wrongly, perceive them as integral parts of the school disciplinary process. Many of us of a certain age may remember Officer Friendly programs from our school days, but the heyday of that program was more than a generation ago. Opportunities for young children and their parents to meet and interact with police officers in pro-social environments are simply not as universal as they are for meeting other important public servants like firefighters, teachers, and doctors.

This lack of systematic investment in youth engagement means that the majority of young people in a community will first meet an officer as the result of a traffic stop or criminal investigation. It means that the majority of young people in a community only understand policing from what they see on television. It means that the majority of young people in a community do not see the human in the police uniform, they only see the badge and the authority to negatively impact their lives.

How the community learns to see the police, of course, has an impact on how police see themselves. And this can have a profound impact on their health and wellness, which was also a pillar in the task force report. One way to aid officers in managing the effects of their job would be with a national peer-to-peer hotline for police officers. The Department of Defense supports a military crisis line for service members where all those who answer the phone have served and can refer callers to professional services who understand military culture. Or other professions, like attorneys and doctors, also have hotlines where third-party referrals can be made by colleagues, triggering outreach calls by peers to professionals who appear to be struggling.

Federal funding and staffing for a program like this should be a priority. The amount of damage that can be caused by someone who is suffering from any number of causes—maybe they are having marital problems, maybe they have a drinking problem, whatever the case may be—is tremendous. Hurt people can hurt people, including sometimes themselves. The suicide rate among police officers is among the highest of any profession. Many of those harms could be avoided if there were a safe place for officers to go say, (a) "Hey, my partner's going through a divorce and I think he's having a tough time," or (b) for an officer to call and say, "Hey, I am having a tough time. I'm feeling like I might want to kill myself." Officers need to have a national hotline—not a collection of regional, privately funded assistance lines—to do that.

As national conversations continue on the future of policing and public safety, it is vital that we define "what is good policing" and learn how to measure success in the provision of public safety services. It begins with a commitment to procedural justice, it is supported with comprehensive and continual training, includes building trust and relationships throughout people's lives, establishing a culture that promotes learning over punishment, and is committed to protecting the dignity, health, and safety of both those who serve and those whom they serve. Clearly defining roles, goals, methods, and measures is how we stop just trying to address symptoms and start building a healthy, and safe, community.

POLICE ACCREDITATION AS A PATH FORWARD

By Robert M. Stevenson, Executive Director,
Michigan Association of Chiefs' of Police (MACP)

The Michigan Association of Chiefs' of Police (MACP) endeavors to inform our citizens of the robust law enforcement accreditation program that currently exists in Michigan. Accreditation is a progressive and time-proven way of helping law enforcement agencies calculate and improve their overall performances and is available to all Michigan law enforcement agencies through the Michigan Law Enforcement Accreditation Commission (MLEAC).

Robert Stevenson, Executive Director of the Michigan Association of Chiefs of Police, presents the accreditation award to Battle Creek Chief Jim Blocker.

Given the current national climate regarding reform efforts, we believe it is critical for experienced organizations such as the MACP and the MLEAC, that are rooted and based in Michigan, to provide accreditation services in the state. The standards reflected in the Michigan Law Enforcement Accreditation Program represent the most up to date best practices for the safe, effective, efficient, and non-discriminatory delivery of professional law enforcement services possible.

Michigan's accreditation program is unique in the fact that we have developed standards of best practices that focus on policing the State of Michigan. The MLEAC program provides law enforcement agencies with an avenue for demonstrating that they meet accepted professional standards not only in policy, but in practice—a key point that gives the public confidence in their local departments.

As of July 1, 2020, the MLEAC program has 79 Michigan law enforcement agencies enrolled in the program, 29 accredited, and over 190 agencies have attended training in preparation tostart the process. addition, the Michigan Sheriff's Association has endorsed and joined the progress. The value of accreditation is further evidenced by the fact that 35 other states have a similar program.

Recent events have demonstrated that police agencies must re-establish trust and legitimacy with the citizens we serve. Accreditation provides transparent, comprehensive, non-discriminatory, and professional standards that are imperative to achieving this goal.

PART 2: EXAMINING POLICE PRACTICES IN DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

This section includes two articles focused on law enforcement practices in Dearborn, Michigan, a city of around 100,000 people that serves as a microcosm for many of the issues facing police departments in both large and mid-sized cities across the country. As 2020 has shown us, police violence and community distrust are not only issues in places like New York City, Los Angeles and Chicago: Louisville, Kentucky; Kenosha, Wisconsin; and Rochester, New York have also seen high profile incidents followed by major protests and demonstrations. Dearborn, an inner-ring suburb which shares a long border with the majority-African-American City of Detroit, has a large immigrant population and has faced its own challenges concerning use of force and racial profiling. Dearborn's responses to these challenges may be seen as instructive. The first entry in this section is from Chief Ronald Haddad, who provides a detailed overview of the ways in which they have responded to use-of-force incidents and built community relationships in a holistic and proactive way. The second contribution is from Dr. Larry Gant, Professor of Social Work at the University of Michigan-Ann Arbor. Dr. Gant provides a thorough analysis of the relationship between race and traffic stops along the Detroit-Dearborn border and in the city as a whole. Dr. Gant's work began nearly 20 years ago at the department's request. In 2015, Dr. Gant was invited back to update his findings and is expected to return again in the near future. This ongoing work provides valuable information to ensure the equitable treatment of everyone and that the examination produces some significant insights that may be incorporated into future practices and reform efforts.

TIME'S UP

Views from Dearborn, Michigan in 2020

By Chief Ronald Haddad,
Dearborn Police Department

New Year 2020 – As 2020 was ushered in, the nation continued to struggle with the most complex health challenge of our time: the opioid crisis. Concurrently, teen suicide reached an alarming 20-year high. While these challenges beckoned a collective and holistic response, our country remained severely divided socially and politically on critical issues including healthcare reform, immigration, gun violence and race.

By mid-February 2020, a deadly global pandemic, the Coronavirus-COVID-19, was attacking our planet. Our communities; and public safety—which includes police, fire and emergency medical services—changed forever. Emergency protocols; closures of businesses, schools and places of worship; forced stay-at-home orders; personal protection equipment shortages; and basic life commodities became immediately strained. Dearborn, Michigan, also experienced a 6% increase in violent crime during the first two months of 2020 in part due to a warmer-than-usual winter.

In the weeks and months that followed, states and municipalities endured the mounting needs for a complex medical response. Hospitals evolved into COVID-19 treatment centers staffed by committed but exhausted healthcare professionals, ventilators and personal protection equipment (PPE) were at a premium and national unemployment adversely impacted 30 million American workers.

On May 25, 2020, in eight minutes (8 min) and forty-six seconds (46 sec) the world would be upended again – GEORGE FLOYD. A Minneapolis police officer attempting to arrest George Floyd ultimately killed him by kneeling on his neck while other officers failed to intervene. Immediately following this indefensible and tragic occurrence, demonstrations and sometimes violent protests erupted in all 50 states and in at least 60 countries on all continents except Antarctica. Citizens enraged by incidents of recurrent injustice, through formal and informal channels, demanded long-awaited police reform, including de-escalation, equitable treatment under the law, defunding, police accountability and transparency.

In Dearborn, protests occurred as well—not just related to George Floyd, but due to our city's own troubled history of racial segregation. Orville Hubbard, the late Mayor of Dearborn, was "known as the most outspoken segregationist north of the Mason-Dixon line," according to local journalist Bill McGraw.[3] Although he had not served in office since the 1970s, a statue of Hubbard still adorned the lawn outside the Dearborn Historical Museum, having been removed from City Hall a few years earlier. It was a painful reminder for citizens and visitors of color. Protesters planned to converge on the statue and demand its removal, only to find that it had already been taken down and placed in storage. Nonetheless, protests continued on that day and subsequent days.

The BSU at U of M and the protest was a joint effort between students from Henry Ford College and the University of Michigan-Dearborn

Several hundred Henry Ford College and University of Michigan-Dearborn students facilitated a Peaceful Protest on Juneteenth Day 2020 at the Police Headquarters. The event included a march down Michigan Avenue.

More recently, several hundred Wayne State University students and Black Lives Matter advocates facilitated a 2020, Juneteenth demonstration at Police Headquarters and a march down Michigan Avenue. Dearborn Police accompanied and accommodated these peaceful protests, which concluded without incident.

3 See "Three communities and and auto tycoon: How Henry Ford created modern day Dearborn", The ArabAmerican News, 1/24/2019, accessed at https://www.arabamericannews.com/2019/01/24/three-communities-and-an-auto-tycoon-how-henry-ford-created-modern-day-dearborn/

The City of Dearborn's commitment to the Constitution and the 1st Amendment is unwavering.

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

In 2008[4], Mayor John B. O'Reilly, Jr. and Police Chief Ronald Haddad gave authority to designate several areas in the city as permit-free zones. The permit-free zones provide a space for impromptu demonstrations with high-visibility, ample parking and plenty of public space for demonstrators, supporters and the media. Over the years these designated permit-free zones have welcomed close to 500 various demonstrations and tens of thousands of people, all of which have occurred without an arrest, property damage or injury. They have welcomed the Reverend Jesse Jackson and 5,000 supporters on behalf of the UAW to Archbishop of Detroit Allen Vigneron in support of Pro-life initiatives.

(L-R) Wayne County Executive Robert Ficano, United Steel Workers President Leo Gerard and Reverend Jesse Jackson surrounded by supporters during a demonstration for worker's rights in front of Dearborn City Hall. May 9, 2009. Dearborn, MI.

4 https://codelibrary.amlegal.com/codes/dearborn/latest/dearborn_mi/0-0-0-11903

Quran burning self proclaimed Pastor Terry Jones visited the City of Dearborn 6 times between April, 2011 and June 2014.[5]
With each visit he brought with him his message of intolerance and religious discrimination in an effort to incite the community.

The Dearborn Police Department facilitated these visits while remaining intensely aware of the implications and challenges they presented. Terry Jones stood uncooperative with security measures while reporting 400 death threats against him.

Pastor Terry Jones being escorted to the 19th District Dearborn Court for a hearing in front of Judge Mark Somers about Jones' right to protest in Dearborn, Michigan April 21, 2011.

During an April 29, 2011 visit, Terry Jones hoisted the Quran in the air threatening to light it on fire while standing on the front steps of Dearborn City Hall. Chief Haddad recognized the danger associated with such a provocative act. Chief Haddad admonished Terry Jones, "Don't do it, not a good idea." In response Terry Jones threw the Quran on the ground, it was immediately picked up by Chief Haddad. Ultimately, Terry Jones walked down the steps of City Hall towards the barricades inciting the crowd. His activities created public safety concerns not only at the local and state level, but on a national and international level as well. Rather than divide us his visits united our entire community who put public safety and freedom of religion first.

Counter-protestors rush barricades surrounding Pastor Terry Jones during his speech in front of City Hall. April 29,2011. Dearborn, MI.

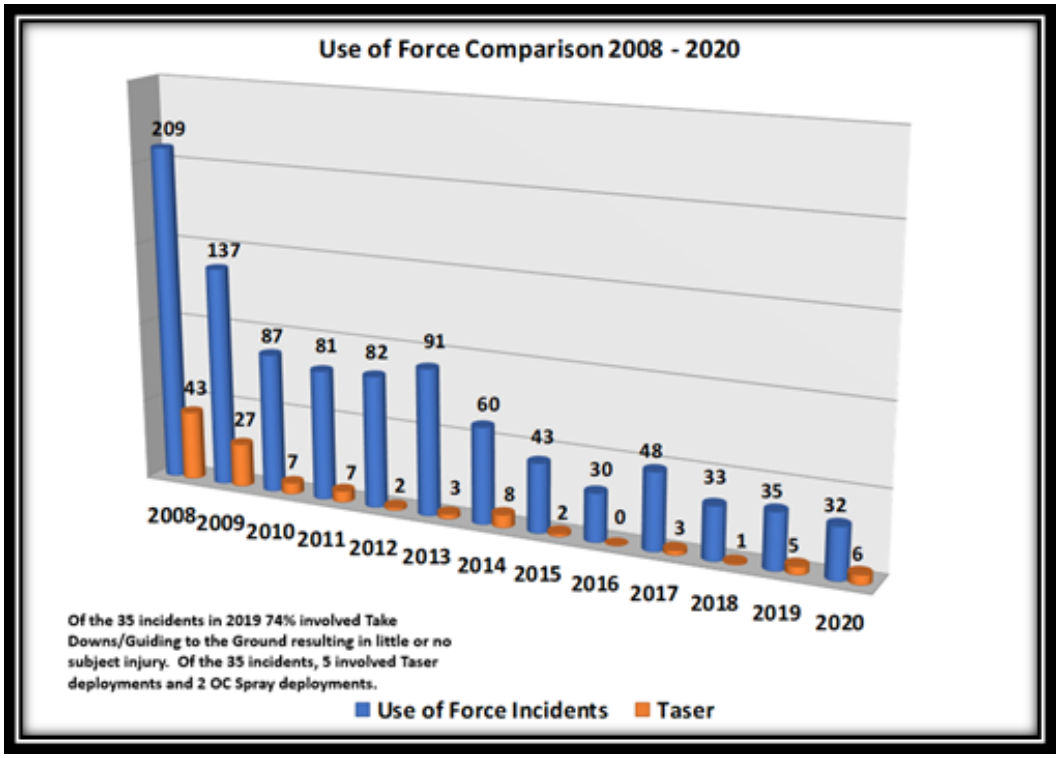
5 The Washington Post. 2020. Terry Jones' Imaginary Protests — And That Gunshot. [online] Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/compost/post/terry-jones-imaginary-protests--and-that-gunshot/2011/03/03/AFuglIRE_blog.html> [Accessed 14 December 2020].

Hundreds of citizens, including many religious leaders and elected officials, link arms in front of the Islamic Center of America in 2011 after a vigil sponsored by the mosque and the Interfaith Leadership Council of Metropolitan Detroit. The meeting was in response to Florida-based Pastor Terry Jones who has said he intends to protest in front of the Islamic Center of America. April 21, 2011, Dearborn, MI.

Citizen Encounters - Use of Force Best Practices

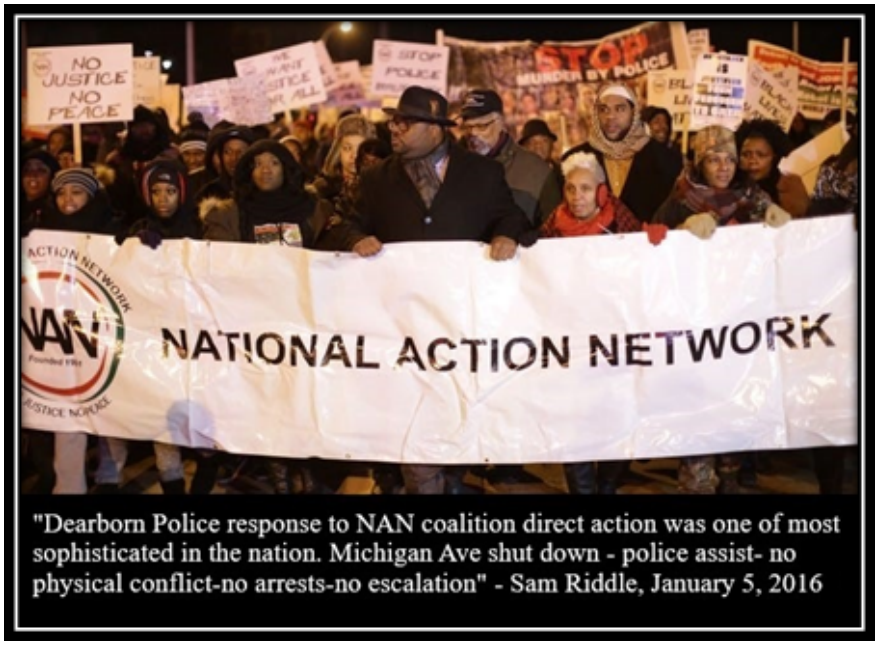
The final report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2014) points out that *"people are more likely to obey the law when they believe that those who are enforcing it have the legitimate authority to tell them what to do… The public confers legitimacy only on those they believe are acting in procedurally just ways."* To that end, it has become critically important to establish best practices and strong policies that will gain the public trust while keeping first responders safe.

Recognizing the serious implications of eroding the community trust, the Dearborn Police Department has taken proactive steps to address the use of force by our officers through comprehensive policy changes and training. A supervisory and command-level review process is completed for each use of force incident incorporating relevant training and ensuring the accountability of officers and the agency to the community. These efforts have resulted in an 83% reduction in the use of force from 2008-2020.



In late 2015 and early 2016, the Dearborn Police Department experienced two fatal shootings of unarmed people of color. These incidents occurred even though we have committed our training around de-escalation and the use of minimal force. While both cases are profoundly regrettable, as are all losses of human life, mental illness was an underlying factor in both incidents.

In the interest of complete transparency to our communities, both of these incidents were independently investigated by the Detroit Police Department and the Michigan State Police. After nearly a year of review by the Wayne County Prosecutor's Office, the officers involved in each incident were found to be legally justified in their actions.



Rather than assuming a defensive stance in the wake of these two fatalities, we actively worked with community leaders and organizers to facilitate the safety and security of over one dozen peaceful protests and demonstrations while the investigations were underway. Minor infractions of the law were met with de-escalation and patience. There were no tickets written, arrests made or injuries. To go hands-on during a demonstration generally escalates the situation and as an observation outcomes for both the community and the police are not good.

In response to these two fatal shootings, in early 2016, Police Chief Ronald Haddad reached out to the U.S. Department of Justice-Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) and the department's Community Relations Service (CRS). Chief Haddad requested the COPS Office conduct an official technical review of department policies. The Dearborn Police Department then partnered with the COPS Office and the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) to conduct a thorough review of policies, training, and practices related to use of force, recruiting and hiring, and community policing. The Dearborn Police Department began implementing many of the findings prior to the completion of the final report.[6]

During the first half of 2016, the DOJ-CRS office helped the department establish the Bi-City Concerned Citizens Advisory Council (BC3AC) a 10-member working group of representatives from Detroit, Michigan. The group was made up of community and faith leaders, civil-rights activists and neighborhood groups. Through the mediation sessions the parties involved signed a Memorandum of Understanding[7] (MOU) that included proposals directed toward improving police-community relations and interactions for all citizens in the City of Dearborn and Detroit.

6 Police Executive Research Forum. 2018. Review of the Dearborn Police Department's Policies and Practices Related to Use of Force, Recruiting and Hiring, and Community Partnerships. Critical Response Technical Assistance Review. Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum. https://www.policeforum.org/assets/CRTADearborn.pdf

7 MOU : Agreements & Memorandum of Understanding Mutually Entered into between The Bi-City Concerned Citizens Advisory Council and the Dearborn Police Department, Dearborn, MI. (2016) : https://cityofdearborn.org/police-dept/transparent-policing/40-policedept/2086-community-engagement

The Dearborn Police Department reviews and updates internal policies and procedures on an ongoing basis in a continuing effort to improve operations. The use of force policy is reviewed regularly and updated to reflect current best practices. Critical areas include updates that require de-escalation, officer intervention and prohibits the use of carotid or respiratory restraints and firing at moving vehicles. All use of force incidents are reported immediately by the first-line supervisor and are then reviewed by the executive team. Department policy requires the reporting of all incidents when a weapon is pointed at a person during a confrontation.

Law enforcement agencies would be best-served by thoroughly vetting their use of force policies to ensure they meet current best practices. In the following sections, we offer similar proactive approaches in the areas of mental health, substance abuse, implicit bias and community engagement. Changes and updates should include all of the criteria listed above; further information on best practices and internal policies can be obtained from the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF), the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), and your respective states' licensing agencies.

All members have attended Alternatives to Violent Force, a program designed and implemented in partnership with the University of Michigan. The program runs for seven weeks and includes instructors with prior law enforcement, judicial and mental health backgrounds, and an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union. This mandatory training included workshops on the sanctity of life, how the public perceives use of force, de-escalation as a first alternative, Arab-American culture and religion, African-American culture, profiling, and re-imagining use of force and the police role. Currently the Michigan State Police have adopted the program for their department. The city and police department's dedication to continuing education is evidenced by the tuition reimbursement program available to all sworn personnel thanks to the unwavering commitment of Mayor John B. O'Reilly, Jr.

Bias-Free Policing

The Dearborn Police Department Bias-Free Policy[8] mandates a commitment to unbiased, equitable treatment of all persons and unequivocally prohibits discriminatory practices. Equally important, this policy includes sections on the duty to report observed violations by other members, a prohibition on delaying or discouraging citizens from making complaints, and a requirement for supervisors to continuously monitor their personnel to ensure compliance.

Written policies that inspire confidence and the public trust are recommended by PERF and the IACP.

8 Dearborn Police Department, General Order A-1.7, Unbiased Policing, March 7, 2016. https://cityofdearborn.org/documents/city-departments/public-safety/policies/5638-go-a-17-unbiasedpolicing/file

Use of Technology

In 2015, the Dearborn Police Department began its body-worn camera program in order to strengthen our relationship with the community, improve officer performance, and to promote agency accountability. Prior to implementing the body camera policy the police department solicited input from all community stakeholders. Additionally, the Department consulted with over a dozen law enforcement agencies from across the United States, and reviewed research studies by the Office of Community Orientated Policing Services (COPS) and the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF). The resulting formal policy was then submitted to the Wayne County Prosecutor's Office for final approval. This final step was the first of its kind and demonstrates another example of the Dearborn Police Department's commitment to transparency and openness.

Dearborn Police officers have been utilizing body worn cameras since 2016 and are currently on the third iteration of this technology, the Vista WiFi by WatchGuard Video. The camera fully integrates with the department's Patrol vehicles and features built-in GPS, and "Record After the Fact" technology. In early 2019, the Dearborn Police Department began utilizing Guardian Tracking and PowerDMS. These software programs improved internal documentation/tracking as well as accountability and dissemination of policies and procedures. Guardian Tracking is a comprehensive electronic personnel monitoring system that measures officer performance and provides an early warning on deficiencies and wellness issues. PowerDMS is a document management software program that allows for easy dissemination and retrieval of any department documents, including policies and procedures, from any computer or device with internet access. Administrators can quickly update existing policies, and can require employees to electronically sign for and acknowledge receipt of new or updated policies and procedures.

The Dearborn Police Department has for many years tracked the race and gender of the people with whom they come in contact with during traffic stops and arrests. As technology has improved so has our ability to more accurately track these data points. The data is objectively analyzed by department leaders and university level researchers to ensure racial profiling concerns are being addressed in a substantive way. The data assists department leaders when implementing policy changes and operational initiatives, and is provided to the public in a transparent way to strengthen trust, accountability and public safety.

The Dearborn Police Department received accreditation on September 15, 2020, through the Michigan Law Enforcement Accreditation Commission (MLEAC). Accreditation requires proof of compliance with 107 standards in five main functions:, Personnel, Operations, Investigative, and Arrestee/Detainee/Prisoner. The accreditation process is a valuable tool to ensure departments are operating under policies and procedures that follow best practices of 21st Century Policing.

Proactively Addressing Mental Health

Dearborn Police have extensively researched case studies on active shooter/active assailant incidents. Most of the offenders had mental fitness issues, no criminal history or limited prior contact with law enforcement, and many were ostracized, had few friends or social connections, or were bullied. In almost all cases, however, someone knew or suspected the individual's plans for violent measures were imminent but failed to prevent action or report the situation to authorities.

Due to a steady increase in active shooter incidents and acts of terror around the country in 2015 the Dearborn Police Department developed and implemented a Law Enforcement and Mental Health Intervention Model[9] in partnership with Johns Hopkins and Harvard Universities. The model provides a practical, non-punitive intervention that focuses on collaboration between law enforcement and mental health professionals to prevent acts of violence.

This model requires a holistic approach with extensive training on mental illness recognition, familiarization, and appropriate verbal de-escalation techniques. The process emphasizes engagement rather than enforcement. It also requires extensive and coordinated inter-disciplinary training between police and private-sector responders to mental health crises.

Through use of the Dearborn Law Enforcement Mental Health Intervention Model, potential active-shooter violence has been prevented and most importantly, responses during street encounters between law enforcement and the individuals exhibiting mental fitness issues can be resolved safely.

Based on the prevalence of mental illness in society it is estimated that 6-10% of all police contacts with the public in the United States involve persons with serious mental illness.[10] These interactions between the mentally ill and law enforcement can at times result in violent confrontations. Mentally ill individuals who are experiencing an emotional crisis or are under the influence of alcohol or drugs comprise the majority of assaults against police officers, and these individuals account for one out of every four of those killed in officer-involved shootings.[11]
The outcomes of these interactions often have lifetime implications for the individuals involved and the community as a whole. They can result in injury or death for the individual, another community member, or the officer. Furthermore, the damage done to community and law enforcement relationships built on trust can take years to repair.

9 Dearborn Police Department (2015) Law Enforcement and Mental Health Intervention Model, Dearborn, MI https://cityofdearborn.org/police-dept/transparent-policing/40-policedept/2137-law-enforcement-mental-health-model

10 National Institute of Mental Health, "Any Mental Illness (AMI) Among U.S. Adults," accessed June 23, 2020, https://www.nimh.nih.gov/health/statistics/mental-illness.shtml

11 Amy C Watson et al., "Improving Police Response to Persons Affected by Mental Illness: A Multi-Level Conceptualization

Special Needs Registry

In partnership with Dearborn Schools special needs programs, the Dearborn Police Department established the voluntary Special Needs 911 Registry. This allows citizens to provide information on individuals with special needs to the police department that would assist officers in safely identifying and providing service to those individuals, while reducing the likelihood of violent or physical encounters. Mental disabilities, mental illness, physical disabilities and mobility problems may all be included on the registry as well as contact information for family members and support personnel. Other information gathered for the registry may include inclination for the individual to wander, favorite attractions or frequented locations, best methods of approach and de-escalation, and any officers' actions that may unintentionally cause adverse reactions. Dispatchers provide information contained in the registry to police and fire department personnel while enroute to incident scenes, allowing for planned and coordinated responses prior to their arrival.

Internally the Dearborn Police Department has adopted all of the applicable policies and training to ensure they align with national and state best-practices. Collectively, Dearborn police officers have received over 17,800 hours of training related to policing the most vulnerable populations. Training has included de-escalation techniques, youth mental health first aid, police response to persons with mental health disorders, mental preparedness, Autism training and interacting with our special-needs populations.

Dearborn officers receive this training throughout the year through roll-call training, bi-annual in-service training in spring and fall, and quarterly on-line training with virtual classes.

Opioid Intervention Outreach Assistance

The Dearborn Police Department has partnered with the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS) and the Detroit Wayne Mental Health Authority (DWMHA) to confront the opioid epidemic on multiple fronts. ACCESS is a nonprofit community outreach organization that offers a wide range of social, economic, health, and educational services to a diverse population. The DWMHA provides training and naloxone kits to all of our officers to be used in response to the opioid overdose epidemic. Since program implementation in 2017, Dearborn officers have administered approximately 400 doses of naloxone.

The Dearborn Police Department developed an opioid intervention program in partnership with ACCESS. A multi-disciplinary team comprised of a specially-trained police officer and a public health worker travel to the residence of an overdose survivor or the site of an overdose shortly following an overdose incident. Together they assist survivors and members of their personal networks with support services and connect them with addiction treatment services. Naloxone

kits and training are also provided to family members during these visits. Since the program's inception in June 2018, team members have conducted 371 site visits and enrolled 45 individuals into treatment.

(L-R) Sheikh Ibrahim Kazerooni, Police Chief Ronald Haddad, Father George Shalhoub and Imam Husham Al-Husainy were photographed prior to participating as panelists for an ACC Town Hall Meeting on the opioid crisis. May, 9, 2018, Southfield, MI.

The Police Department partners with the Arab American and Chaldean Council (ACC) a non-profit human services organization serving Southeast Michigan. The ACC provides over 650,000 services annually to people of all backgrounds through its 40 outreach offices.

The 19th District Court under Chief Judge Gene Hunt established the Veterans Treatment Court. Created in October 2018 as a non-traditional problem-solving court, the Dearborn Veterans Treatment Court focuses on local nonviolent offenders with underlying medical and social problems that have contributed to recurring contacts with the criminal justice system. It promotes sobriety, recovery and stability through a coordinated response that involves collaboration with volunteer mentors, community and state-wide partners along with the VA healthcare administration and its medical center. In addition, the City of Dearborn demonstrates its commitment to the wellness of all citizens by supporting Healthy Dearborn, a coalition of more than 200 community residents, businesses, employees, and elected and civic leaders. The mission of Healthy Dearborn is to create valuable opportunities for people to practice healthy lifestyles by enriching their minds, nurturing their bodies and revitalizing their spirit.

Faith-Based

Over the past decade, the Dearborn Police Department has placed a high priority on community engagement and stakeholder input. We strive "to deliver superior public service and to earn the public's trust every day in everything we do." We recognize community engagement is the driving force behind fostering a healthy relationship between citizens and their police department. This extends to National Defense and Homeland Security initiatives. Our community has participated in high-level meetings and workshops on Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) 2015,

The Honorable William H. Webster addresses members of the faith-based community during an active shooter workshop hosted by the Dearborn Police Department and U.S. Homeland Security. January 17, 2017. Dearborn, MI.

Foreign Fighter Task Force[12], Report Suspicious activity, "See Something, Say Something" and school safety briefings.

In January 2017, the Dearborn Police Department hosted a Homeland Security Active Shooter Workshop. The highlight of the event was keynote speaker the Honorable William H. Webster who shared his insightful perspective on the importance of community engagement at the local level that enhances the safety and security of the entire nation. Clearly, there is no one-size-fits-all solution but in this article we enumerate programs that have been successful in further establishing community trust in Dearborn, in hope that this will assist both police and the community in forging a necessary and meaningful path forward.

Chief's Faith-Based Advisory Board

This partnership with faith-based organizations has proven to be a very effective method to serve our diverse community, ensuring that those organizations are better able to respond to current events and changing conditions in the city.

(Pictured center) Pastor Marvin L. Winans next to Police Chief Ronald Haddad during an annual regional law enforcement appreciation service. 2017, Perfecting Church, Detroit, MI.

Dearborn police command staff members meet regularly with faith-based leaders in the community. Faith-based organizations are among the largest, most concentrated groups in the nation that provide volunteers.

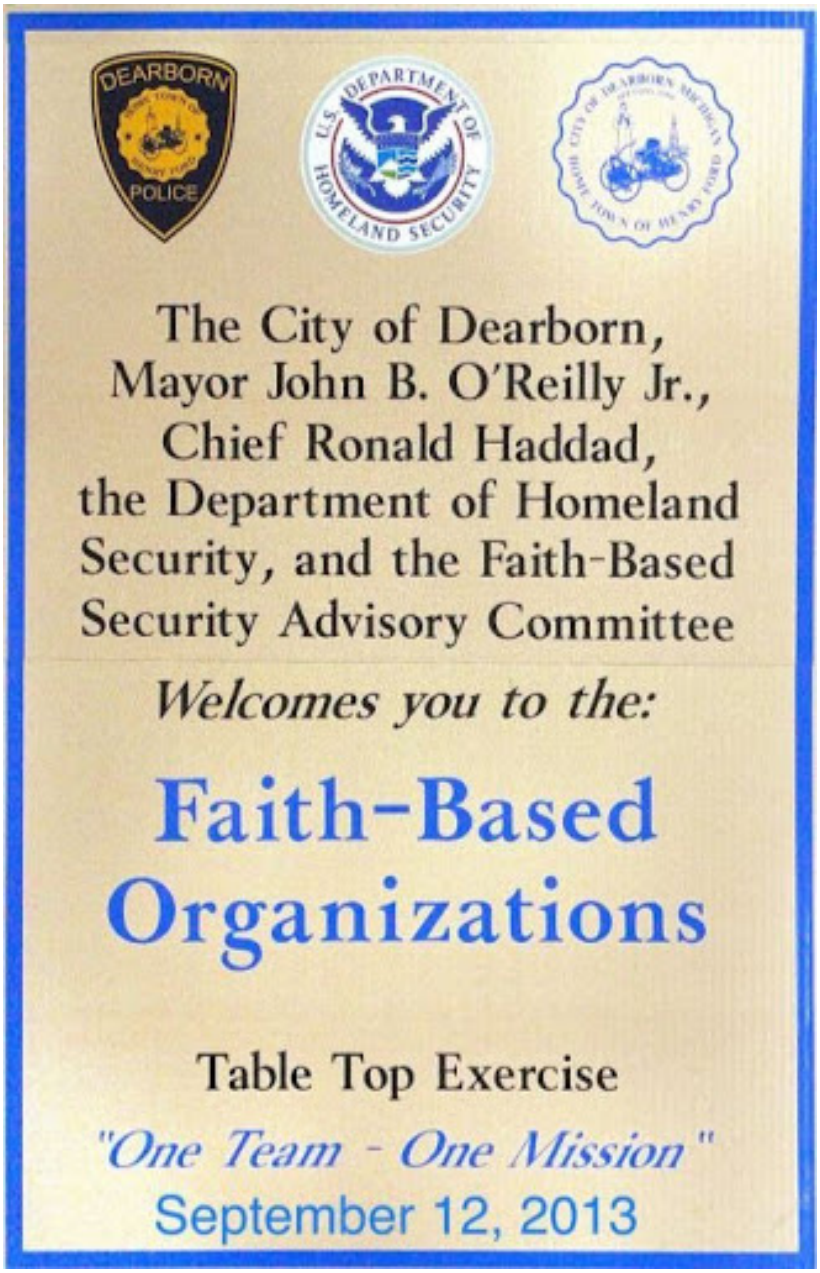
The faith community serves as a critical link between citizens and the police; city leaders can build stronger, safer communities by taking steps to reinforce this connection. The Faith-Based Advisory Board has proven to be a calming influence, and instrumental for the community during challenging times.

The partnership with our faith-based community has been longstanding. In September 2013, the Dearborn Police Department and the Department of Homeland Security hosted a Faith-Based Organizations Tabletop Exercise in Dearborn. The exercise brought together a diverse group of

12 Homeland Security Advisory Council. (2015). Foreign Fighter Task Force. Retrieved from https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/DHS-HSAC-Foreign-Fighter-Task-Force-Interim-Report-May-2015.pdf

faith-based leaders from across the region. The event was focused on information sharing and management actions during an improvised explosive device and active shooter incident. The best practices from the event were shared with over 120 faith-based leaders across the State of Michigan.

While these programs have proven to be successful in Dearborn, there is no one-size-fits-all solution and other communities will have to tailor their civic outreach to the needs of the citizens they serve. The time to create these programs and relationships is NOW, so the open communication and trust is in place before a crisis situation occurs. Having continuous dialogue with those in trusted leadership positions within the community is essential to ensuring good public order. City and police department executives should remember that the community has a right to decide what the good order of their city should look like.



(L-R) Reverend Rami Abdulmashih, Rabbi Emeritus David Nelson, Imam Steve Mustapha Elturk, Imam Mohammad Mardini and Father George Shalhoub during a break at the DHS Faith-Based table top exercise on September 12, 2013, in Dearborn, MI.

Dearborn Police Chaplain Program

Chaplains foster relationships between law enforcement officers and the public. Chaplains can access community resources and organizations, and facilitate partnerships between the department and important individuals such as religious figures, community leaders, and local hospital administrators, to improve relationships and cooperation.

By offering invocations at community events, assisting with funeral or burial services, feeding the hungry, delivering supplies after a crisis, visiting individuals in hospitals, and aiding with death notifications, chaplains establish important networks. Clergy acts as a conduit between officers and community members to address critical issues that impact the community. Their work helps to improve police/community relations and is most evident in times of crisis.

Dearborn Mayor John O'Reilly, Jr. (second row, right) and Police Chief Ronald Haddad (third row, left) welcome new police department chaplains from houses of worship in Dearborn and around the region, are Imam Mohammad Ali Elahi (front); Pastor Deborah Satterwhite (second row, left) and Pastor Fran Hayes; Pastor Oscar W. King III (third row, left), Imam Mohammad Mardini, Rabbi Emeritus David Nelson and Father Terry Kerner; and Reverend Rami Abdulmashih (back row). Photo courtesy of City of Dearborn.

Welcome to the Neighborhood

New residents who purchase a home in Dearborn receive a welcome visit from the beat officer assigned to their neighborhood. During the visit, the officer answers any questions about the city and police department and highlights various city services. These include procedures such as public service days, snow emergencies, tree trimming, trash pickup, important phone numbers and storm warnings.

Dearborn Federation of Neighborhood Associations (DFNA)

The DFNA brings together the presidents of all of the neighborhood associations across the city. The needs and concerns of the various neighborhoods are discussed, building respect and understanding among our diverse population. The department regularly attends association meetings to address citizen concerns and provide updates on current pattern crimes such as burglaries, larcenies, or car thefts and the public safety measures in place. In addition, the DFNA was instrumental in promoting the "Lock It or Lose It" program which ultimately reduced Larceny from Auto incidents by 40% over a three-year period. They also assisted in implementing the department's NIXLE program (real-time alert system) which to date has 18,000 subscribers who serve as additional eyes and ears.

Dearborn Schools Advisory Board

This is a collaborative effort that brings together the Mayor, the Dearborn Schools superintendent, Dearborn School Board members, and the presidents of the two colleges in the city to meet quarterly. The purpose of these meetings is to discuss safety within the schools, cost-sharing initiatives, and innovative methods to jointly drive excellence in education. Working in cooperation with the board an anti-bullying campaign, a statewide K-2[13] (synthetic marijuana) initiative and vaping awareness were successfully implemented.

The Dearborn Police Department currently has seven school resource officers who cover all public, charter and parochial schools within the district and patrol officers also make regular informal visits to schools within their patrol beats.

The board discusses the outcomes of major complaints and incidents, and shares any lessons learned from those outcomes. Also discussed and planned with the advisory board are emergency preparedness training drills and exercises including planning for active assailant incidents and responses from both the schools and police perspectives.

13 Chief Ronald Haddad. Letter to Dearborn Business Owner. June 5, 2012. Dearborn Police Department. https://cityofdearborn.org/documents/city-departments/public-safety/police-information/5640-2012-letter-business-owners/file

Security Directors Board of Dearborn

The department meets regularly with local private security directors to discuss crime trends and current events. The group includes security representatives from retail, schools, heavy industry, office complexes, entertainment and tourist destinations. The group discussion improves technical communication between participants to share crime patterns and officer safety information.

International Visitor Leadership Program

The International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) is the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs' premier professional exchange program. The IVLP builds mutual understanding between the U.S. and other nations through short-term visits to the U.S. for current and emerging foreign leaders.

The Dearborn Police Department has partnered with Global Ties Detroit, the Metro Detroit area affiliate of the IVLP over the last decade. During this time span, Dearborn Police Chief Ronald Haddad has met with hundreds of international delegations who have requested to discuss many law enforcement related challenges and community relations issues in the City of Dearborn due to its large diverse population. Particularly, many of the delegations want to discuss the Dearborn Police model of Community Policing partnerships and its success with engaging the Arab American community. Another topic that many of the delegations discuss with Chief Haddad is how the Dearborn Police Department has been able to successfully balance civil rights and public safety in a city with a large and diverse immigrant population and the comprehensive training required to successfully carry out this mission.

Chief Ronald Haddad meeting with foreign leaders during an IVLP delegation visit at the Dearborn Police Department. (Dearborn.org)

Building Respect in Diverse Groups to Enhance Sensitivity (BRIDGES)

BRIDGES began as a partnership between the U.S. Attorney's Office, law enforcement agencies and leaders in the Arab American and Middle Eastern communities in the Metro-Detroit region. It is the outgrowth of an alliance formed shortly after the September 11th attacks to address the backlash against the local Arab American community. This partnership led to BRIDGES, which meets regularly to provide a forum to discuss mutual concerns in a non-adversarial fashion and now includes representation from nearby black and Hispanic communities. Examples would include perceived grievances about border crossings and dealing with Immigration and Customs

Enforcement at the multiple international border crossings in and around the Metropolitan Detroit Area.

Advocates And Leaders For Police And Community Trust (ALPACT)

ALPACT is a twenty-year-old voluntary group coordinated and facilitated by the Michigan Roundtable for Diversity & Inclusion; and is comprised of law enforcement leaders, community advocates, and civil rights and civil liberties organizations dedicated to the mission of ALPACT.

The mission of ALPACT is to examine issues affecting police and community relations. It examines the discriminatory enforcement of laws such as racial profiling, police discretion, use of force, recruitment and training, citizen complaint processes, community partnering, police leadership and management, and disciplinary practices designed to enhance the bonds of trust between law enforcement and the communities they serve. ALPACT collectively presents and recommends implementation strategies to law enforcement and community groups.

Time has run out, and the time for change is now.

The Dearborn Police Department is fully committed to serving our entire community, which includes residents, workers and visitors. Success requires long term partnerships with all segments of the community. These partnerships must be built over time on a foundation of mutual respect and trust. The issues of racial inequality, use of force and equal treatment in policing will require difficult discussions and decisive action. These discussions must work toward a solution where real change occurs.

For law enforcement, the challenge will be to implement change, including policy revisions that focus on use of force and bias-free policing. Training officers on de-escalation and mental health intervention with a commitment to employ a workforce that reflects the community in which they serve. Community grievances must be addressed promptly. The process must be accessible, transparent and non-adversarial. Citizens must know that their police department when appropriate will hold their members accountable.

Nabih Ayad founder of the Arab American Civil Rights League speaks during a unity press conference outside the Dearborn Police Station. May 31, 2020.

In Dearborn, community engagement has proven to be a foundation for success. Engaging our stakeholders in real solutions has created mutual respect and trust within our community. The inclusive relationships established with our community groups have paved the way for a safer community, improved quality of life issues and enhanced cooperation and respect for law enforcement. The Dearborn Police Department is committed to working with all stakeholders, collaboratively, to implement solutions that produce meaningful results for those we serve.

Time has run out, and the time for change is now.

In a letter to the community penned on June 3, 2020, Mayor John B. O'Reilly, Jr. and Police Chief Ronald Haddad state with certainty where community leaders stand on unwarranted use of force and racial equity and define the path moving forward.

CITY OF DEARBORN

Home Town of Henry Ford

MAYOR JOHN B. "JACK" O'REILLY, JR.

June 3, 2020

To All the Citizens We are Dedicated to Serve:

In response to the tragic and totally incomprehensible death of Mr. George Floyd, the nation is once again challenged "to form a more perfect Union" that will best "promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty" for every single American citizen. We are angered and saddened that these incidents are recurring, and that Black communities, which are entitled to be protected and served, have been rendered to such a level of hopelessness.

So as a 40-year public servant, and a 47-year law enforcement professional, we want to be clear: there is no greater violation that can be exacted against the people we serve than the use of excessive and unwarranted force.

Currently, there are approximately 800,000 police officers who work every day to maintain the good order of our nation's communities – at a time in America when it has never been more difficult to be a cop. Police chiefs must continue to stand up for the majority of officers who do a good job; for the individuals who do not, chiefs must take decisive action in order to bring much needed accountability essential to regain the confidence of our neighborhoods.

In spite of the challenges, it is of paramount importance that we continue to protect the people, and for police leaders across the country time has run out. All police executives must immediately and fully employ national best practice policies for the use of force, which start with de-escalation, mental fitness awareness, accreditation, and hiring qualified applicants representing the diverse makeup of Americans.

This past Sunday, we stood in solidarity with elected officials, civil rights advocates, religious and civic leaders, and members of our community to denounce racism and police brutality, and to demand equal and equitable treatment for all. Again, we extend heartfelt condolences to the family of Mr. George Floyd, and to the Black community.

In closing, we are committed to ensuring Dearborn is a welcoming and safe city for our residents, visitors, and those who work here. We will remain true to our mission "to deliver superior public service and to earn the public's trust every day in everything we do." And, we will use whatever influence we possess to push for necessary changes to fully realize the promise of this country's great potential.

JOHN B. O'REILLY, JR.
MAYOR

RONALD HADDAD
CHIEF OF POLICE

DEARBORN ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER • 16901 MICHIGAN AVENUE • SUITE 20 • DEARBORN, MICHIGAN 48126-2967 • (313) 943-2300

RACIAL PROFILING ON THE DEARBORN-DETROIT BORDER

What We Have Learned

By Larry M. Gant[13]

At the foundation of our research was the question of perception of how police traffic stops were initiated and how tickets were issued. This included both police perception (how the police see the city and how the city functions) as well as citizen perception (how the community sees the city and how the city functions). In the 2001 study, we deployed an innovative methodology to estimate and distinguish residential population from mobile (driving) population. We decided on this approach given the then conventional analysis of the existence of racial profiling of Black motorists vs. white motorists. At that time, researchers compared the percentage of traffic stops and tickets given to Black motorists (vs. White motorists) by comparing the "population demographics" of traffic stops/tickets to the residential population of Blacks living in Dearborn. The very low population of Black residents in Dearborn was used for many years to corroborate the notion that Dearborn - and Dearborn law enforcement - was engaged in racist and discriminatory policing. In fact, I argued that the population denominator was the incorrect number (since very, very few Blacks lived in Dearborn - still as of 2020). Instead, I proposed a census not of residential population, but driving population (given the relative availability of work and shopping venues in Dearborn contrasted to the lower availability of such venues in Detroit), particularly near the city border between Dearborn and Detroit. I further suggested the presence of a major thoroughfare - Michigan Avenue - increased the likelihood of driving beyond posted speeds. Thus the 2001 study of possible racial profiling by the Dearborn Police Department provided a rare opportunity to use a novel approach to describing the driving profile of users of major thoroughfares between Detroit and Dearborn. In this way, the simplistic assumptions underlying much of the racial profiling discussion paved way for more nuanced, complex and difficult contexts underlying this common phenomenon.

13 Special thanks to students assisting in the projects in 2001 and 2015 (LK,RW,MM,NB,JG,JK,ARN)

Methodology: 2001 Driving Population Results

In the 2001 driving population study, a survey was conducted to identify the total number of African American drivers on the road in the city of Dearborn during high volume traffic times. Four observers were stationed beside the road in teams of two. One observer counted the total number of drivers while the other observer counted the total number of African American drivers. Observations were collected at 15 locations for 45 minutes (three 15 minute blocks of time) between the hours of 7:00 AM to 9:00 AM, 12:00 PM to 1:00 PM and 4:30 to 6:30 PM. Data was collected over a three week time period in July through August 2002. Results were compared for accuracy.

Results

The number of African Americans driving in the city of Dearborn varies depending upon the location within Dearborn. There were significantly more African-American drivers driving on the Eastside of Dearborn (between 39 to 50% and percent of the total drivers on the road at specific times). There were significantly fewer African-Americans driving West of the Southfield freeway (between 3.5% to 11.5%). The highest population of African-American drivers (57%) was in the northeast corner of Dearborn near the Detroit border (Tireman and Schaefer).

The number of African-Americans driving on the highways in central Dearborn varied from 11.5% to 39% with no clear pattern. The number of African-American drivers was higher in the afternoons and evenings than in the mornings. We suspect the percentages varied according to time of day, but further research is needed to specify exactly how time is a factor and the variation of percentages.

According to the 2000 census, African Americans comprised only 1.3% of Dearborn's total population. The figures from the driving studies show that African Americans were driving in Dearborn in much higher numbers than they are living there.

Question: can driver ethnicity be reliably determined by visual tracking?

The literature in racial profiling of traffic stops purports that "profiling" can occur by visual identification of drivers into ethnic categories. Our results - aside from the relative ease in distinguishing African Americans from non-African-Americans - suggests this was extremely difficult to do. While our spotters were able to distinguish a number of African-Americans on the roads, they admitted they could have misidentified some individuals and under-identified others. African American spotters reported strong possibilities that dark complexioned Latinos and Arab Americans could be easily confused with many African-Americans, and lighter complexioned African Americans could have been identified as non-African-American.

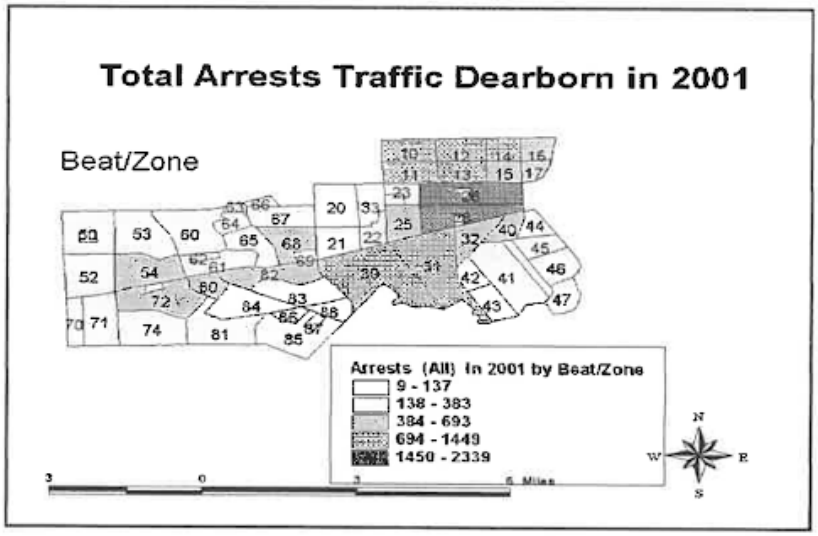
We also had Latino spotters and spotters of Arab and Middle East descent conducting driving population studies. They reported after many efforts that they simply could not reliably distinguish drivers by any Spanish speaking groups. The spotters of Arab and Middle East descent could identify some drivers as possibly Arab and Middle East descent by clothing, but also noted that clothing was not a reliable and consistent identification of Arab and Middle East culture.

We therefore suggest that with the exception of African American populations, the consistent racial identification of other groups by visual observation was and is not possible, at least for this group of well-trained observers and spotters of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

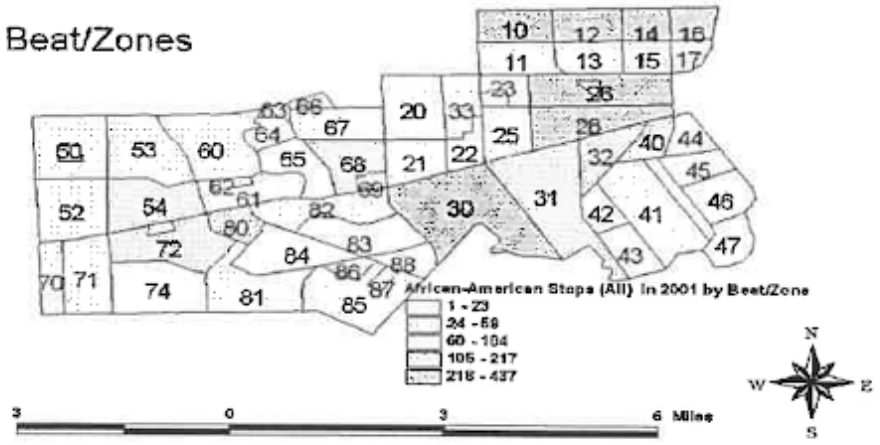
Methodology and Results: 2001 Data Mapping Study

The research team digitized beat and zone maps for the city of Dearborn, Michigan. The team then geocoded data entries reflecting approximately 24,000 traffic stops during calendar year 2001 (January through December) by beat and zones as recorded by law enforcement officers on the traffic stop summary form. Over 100 different maps were created reflecting the distribution and patterns of traffic stop by ethnicity, gender, reason for stop, time of day and disposition (outcome) of stop. Our four basic questions were quite simple: 1) What was the aggregate pattern of traffic stops for all people in 2001? 2) Did patterns of traffic stops differ in significant ways by demographic profile? 3) How can these patterns be explained? 4) What would a pattern of traffic stops reflecting 'racial profiling' look like?

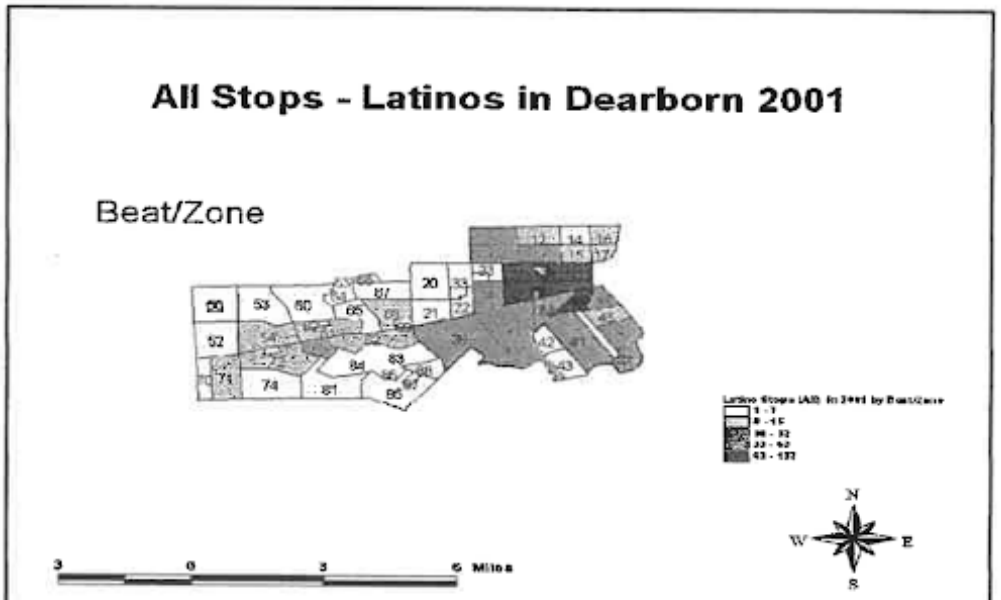
Our visual and statistical analysis revealed a specific aggregated pattern. Our visual analysis and statistical analysis revealed a specific aggregate pattern of traffic stops for all individuals stopped in 2001. This pattern was largely replicated in map after map that we generated. We provided four simple brief sample maps that corroborate this finding: stops for all persons, for African Americans, for Latinos, and for Whites. Four beat zone areas - 28, 26, 30 and 31 - account for nearly 40% of traffic stops across all Maps and all configurations. We did not find significant either statistically or conceptually patterns of traffic stops due to any demographic profile:



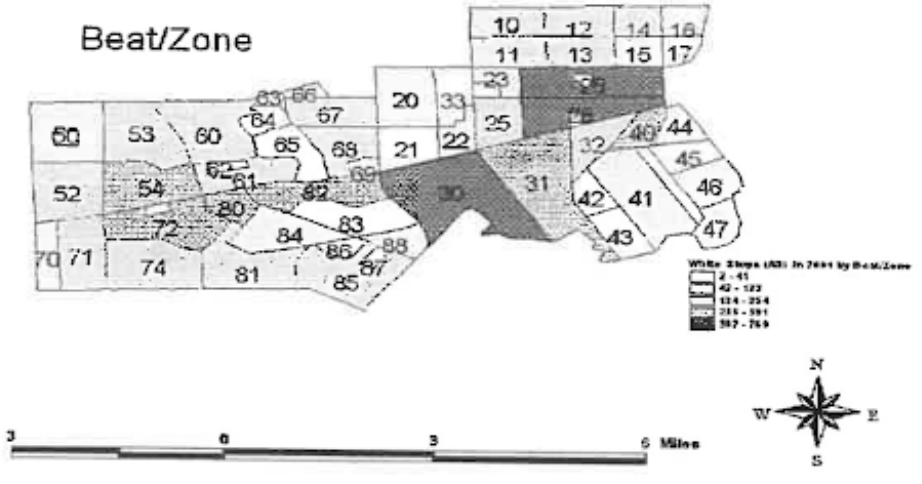
All Stops - African-Americans in Dearborn 2001



All Stops - Latinos in Dearborn 2001



All Stops - Whites in Dearborn 2001



Methodology: 2015 Data Study

In the 2015 study, we believed a visualization of traffic citation data through GIS mapping and an interactive community component that encouraged critical literacy of traffic stop data by citizens could bring light to these questions and provide mutual understanding among police and residents.

Using traffic citation data from the Dearborn Police Department, two months worth of data from March and April of 2015 (2,796 data points) were randomly selected to develop GIS maps to determine spatial (and visual) traffic citation patterns. We chose to focus on traffic citation from the months of March and April of 2015 after determining that traffic citations issued in January may have skewed data due to holidays and weather conditions (specifically New Year's Eve) and February is the shortest month of the year.

Given the limits to interpreting data in 2001, we hoped in 2015 to request the following data for each traffic citation: race, gender, age, location of stop, direction car was going, make and model of car, date/time and traffic stop citation for each stop. However, due to systematic constraints upon the information that can be gathered during traffic stops, the dataset only included race, gender, location of traffic stop, date/time, and citation. Within those categories, race was divided into W for white, B for black, A for Asian, and U for unknown. Given the limitation of this data, GIS maps were developed for location of all stops, crime by location, crime by race and gender, location by race and gender, and location by African American only to determine if and how patterns of traffic citations were manifested.

Results: 2015 Study

Sex by Traffic Violation

[From the left: box 1 = Male, box 2 = Female, and box 3 = Unknown]

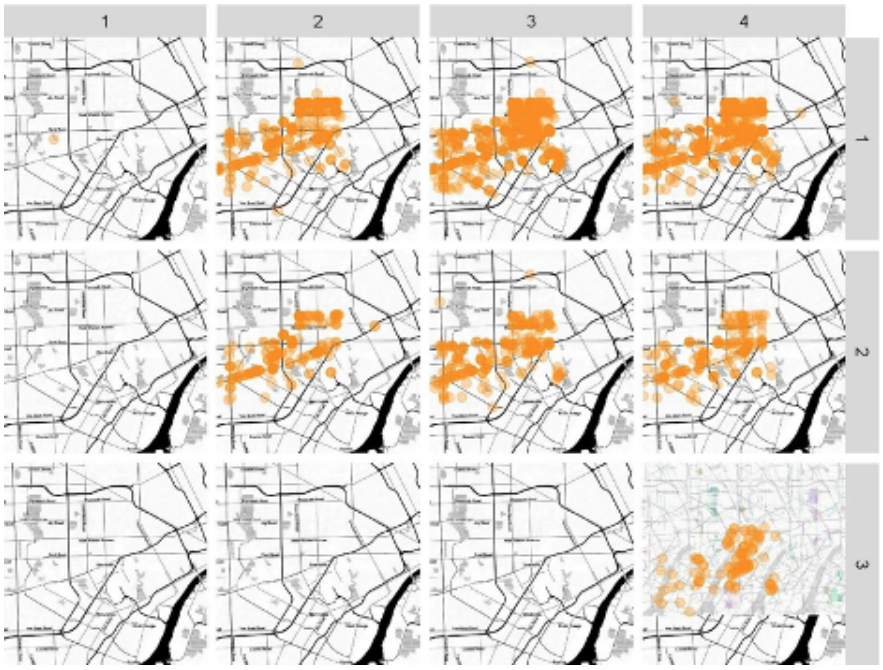
While this data set of maps demonstrates that men were given traffic citations at a higher rate than females, the rate of traffic citations is not easily demonstrable. In addition, the large number of traffic citations assigned to the third box, where the sex is unknown (most likely due to parked cars being ticketed) leaves little evidence to draw a conclusion.

Race by Traffic Violation

[From the left]: box 1 is Asian, box 2 is Black, box 3 is White, a box 4 is Unknown.

This data set illustrates that White drivers received a greater number of traffic citations than Asians or Blacks. Skewing the data is the large number of Unknown drivers, similar to the first map.

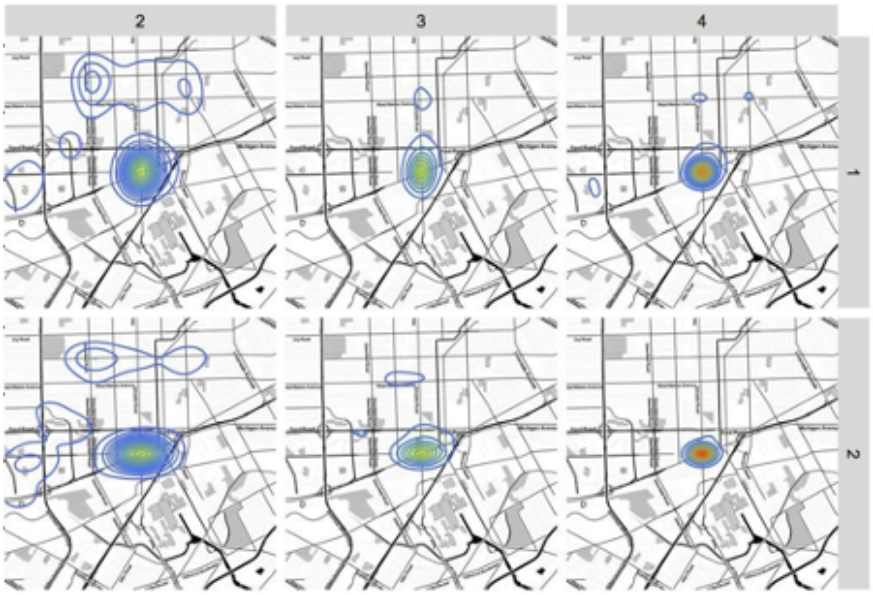
Race and Sex by Traffic Violation



[From the left, columns are: Asian, Black, White, Unknown. Rows from the left moving down: Male, Female, Unknown.]

This data set shows that both White males and females received a greater number of traffic citations than any other race. However, the high level of drivers assigned as Unknown both by Race and Sex, really limits what can be determined from these maps.

Race and Sex by Traffic Violation: Heat Map



[From the left, columns are: Black, White, Unknown. Rows from the top moving down: Male, Female.]

This data shows the density of where violations were given. Many violations happen outside of these contours. However, as one moves further into the contours, there are greater and greater densities of violations and are occurring within those areas.

Discussion: Strengths of the 2015 Study

Breadth of Data. The Dearborn Police Department provided us with more than 29,000 data points. This allowed complete freedom to examine the types of questions that seemed most pertinent to us, as well as verification of our findings through multiple analyses and different samples. The flexibility of the data was certainly an advantage to us.

*Characteristics of Data.*The characteristics of this particular dataset (and specifically the geographic identifiers) allowed us to literally map each datapoint transforming a spreadsheet into a visual representation of information. In many ways, this lifted the veil of mystery that typically covers investigative inquiries led by figures of authority and made the information more accessible and digestible.

Discussion: Concerns with the 2015 Study

Breadth of Data. Although the vast number of datapoints (29,000+) allowed us flexibility to fit the data to our purpose, the number also proved to be overwhelming in many instances. We struggled to determine the best ways to split up the data, the most strategic sampling method, and the most appropriate sample size. Unlike 2001, the statistical and graphing applications we used in 2015 required sophisticated computer workstations beyond our ability to secure. We were able to analyze only a much smaller number of traffic stops. A power analysis supported a

decision to make statistically significant estimates from a randomly generated 10% subsample for analysis (N=2900).

Characteristics of Data. Again, while some characteristics of the data played to our advantage, other aspects made the data tricky to analyze and interpret. The data were largely generic, which increases data misinterpretation. Rather than running further statistical analyses, these data need to be analyzed with thought, integrity, and a grounded understanding of police practice and tactics.

Categories of Data. Related to the above point, the generic characteristic of the data limited the ability to draw detailed conclusions. For finer grain use (for example, traffic citations based on ethnicity or direction the car was going in) more and different data categories need to be collected and the data on race that is already collected needs to be further detailed.

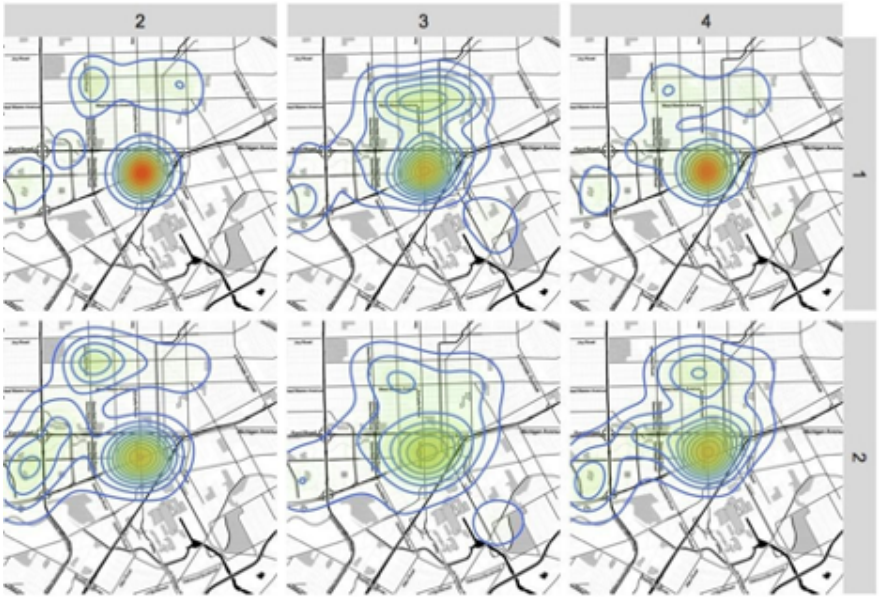
Additional Observations: 2015 Study

Important Demographic Trends. Both blacks and whites were cited at a rate that significantly varied from the population demographics found from Census data (see table below). From this sample, excluding individuals whose race/ethnicity was not documented, whites were cited at a rate of 38% - a rate less than half the 89% white population of Dearborn. Blacks were cited at a rate of 26%, a rate six times the 4% black population of Dearborn (Census of Bureau, 2010). This disproportion was complicated by the roughly 36% of data that did not provide a race/ethnicity for the cited individual, it still suggests continuing review is a good idea.

Race	Citation Rate	Dearborn Pop	Proportional Diff
White	38%	89%	43%
Black	26%	4%	+650%

Reading Between the Data. An investigation of local legislation revealed that the only documentation information officers gain access to through a license plate search is registration information - not insurance information. There were numerous instances in the data of people cited for lack of proof of insurance, and nothing else. This indicated that the officer pulled the individual over for something other than failure to provide documentation of insurance, but no such record was indicated in the data. Race might have been a factor in this, but there was insufficient information to draw this conclusion. (See map below for more detail).

Insurance and/or Registration Related Traffic Violations Heat Map



[From the left, columns are: Black, White, Unknown. Rows from the top moving down: Male, Female, Unknown.]

The data shows these types of violations are given closer to the Schaefer Avenue and Michigan Avenue intersection (near the center of each map). There are changes in where these patterns occur depending on Race and Sex of the driver. As stated earlier, violations for men appear to be more in the more central areas between Dearborn Heights and Detroit, while women's span East and West across Dearborn.

After running initial descriptives on the data, it was quickly realized that the citation ratio of women:men across racial groups varies greatly (see table below). Among whites, the ratio was 296:756 (about 1:2.5). Among those with no race/ethnicity identified the ratio was 252:615 (about 1:2.4). Among Blacks the ratio was 274:444 (about 1:1.6). This suggests to us that gender should be included in any conversations about racial profiling patterns of traffic stops, as black women seem to be cited at a significantly higher rate than their female counterparts in nonblack racial categories.

Race	Female	Male	Ratio
White	296	756	1 : 2.5
Unidentified	252	615	1 : 2.4
Black	274	444	1 : 1.6

Summary: Consistent Findings Across 2001 and 2015 Studies

1. General Patterns of Traffic Stops: The analyses of the 2001 (24,000 stops) and 2015 (2900 stops) both yielded specific patterns for stops of all persons by specific beat/zone, but no persistent pattern by ethnicity of driver.
2. Law enforcement officers receive extensive training in use of discretion in distinguishing stops and nonstops. Law enforcement officers use basic, easy to understand strategies in determining who is stopped and why. This does not rule out patterns of profiling but makes the assertion far more difficult to establish.
3. Law enforcement officers have a very low rate of pretext stops. Officers reported extensive and nuanced insights into factors leading them to make stops. While not conclusive, at the very least, the voices of officers on the street and patrol need always to be included in current and future reports and studies.
4. The 2001 estimates of driving population vs. residential population was corroborated by interviews and census data comparisons with 2015. Patterns consistently showed a far more diverse driving population for clear reasons (e.g. Dearborn's commercial shopping districts including Fairlane Mall, and those on Michigan Avenue and Warren Avenue) in comparison with the very small demographic populations of African-Americans in Dearborn.

Moving Forward: Recommendations

1. *Need for Richer Data.* DPD is serious about determining whether there is pattern of racial discrimination. There must be more systematic ways of determining the race/ethnicity of people who are being pulled over, cited, and arrested. As of 2015, there was no documented race/ethnicity on drivers licenses or registration. The only data on race/ethnicity is the officer's perception and this is at best an imperfect source. When considering this in the context of the limited race categories provided: White, Black, Asian, or Unknown, it is not clear if Dearborn police also classify the drivers as White, Black or Unknown. Resolving this might require a change in legislation at the state level. As a simpler alternative, the DPD might want to begin requiring that officers ask how a driver self identified in terms of race/ethnicity and include this in their report to provide an additional participatory element to clarifying the data.
2. *Need for increased education among DPD and residents.* In both 2001 and 2015, "ride alongs" with DPD officers corroborated their extensive training procedures and protocol for traffic stops due to traffic violations as well as the concern of racial profiling. Continued training among Dearborn Police of protocols and racial profiling of traffic stops is strongly encouraged. The data could also be made public through monthly Precinct meetings. Similar to Detroit's Compstat program, data of traffic stops and crime patterns could be made available to the public through a structured format such as a monthly meeting. Residents would be able to learn about the processes of police traffic stops and officers could be held accountable to their decisions. This could build rapport between the DPD and residents while

also increasing trust and transparency - at the forefront of officers' minds during ride alongs in both 2001 and 2015.

3. *Need for greater transparency*. Building upon the Detroit Police Department model, we suggest that the Dearborn Police Department develop a Community Report based on their CompStat data and discussion, and share this report with the public. This report should be easy to access and understand, and written with a community audience in mind. Efforts to make police and community interactions more transparent can be strengthened with social media campaigns. These Community Reports, for example, can be published on the #MapMIDearborn website, and monthly community meetings can be advertised on the website. The Discussion Board feature of the website can allow for ongoing dialogue between meetings, and momentum from these collective efforts will likely encourage the continued development of the community map on Instagram. In addition, in making data collected and owned by the Dearborn Police available to the public via #MapMIDearborn community engagement projects (art gallery, and community workshops), Instagram allows for an entirely new method of transparency. Instagram's geotag function could allow community members to use the app as a collection tool showing their perception of the DPD. This method not only gives ownership to the community but also provides a platform to share their realities with the police. This could increase transparency and help develop a more robust community policing program.

To the Dearborn Police Department, congratulations and commendation. However and moreover in this case, constant due diligence and transparency are rewarding and ethically responsive. I continue to encourage the DPD to continue periodic data collection, analysis and community presentation (but perhaps sooner than every 15 years!)

PART 3: MOVING FORWARD TOGETHER

In this section, our contributors develop forward-looking strategies for building community trust and decreasing police use of force. Former US District Attorney Barbara McQuade leads off with a call for police departments to actively engage with communities to build trust in advance of adverse incidents, both to reduce such incidents and to promote a healthy collaborative response when they do occur. Gina Wilson Steward, the President of the NAACP of Western Wayne County, contributes a call for widespread listening campaigns to improve police-community relation and Regina Luttrell, Professor of Public Relations and Social Media at Syracuse University, follows with concrete suggestions for how police departments may use social media to proactively engage their communities. Paul Draus, Juliette Roddy and Judge Donald Shelton describe the Alternatives to Violent Force (AVF) Program which provides cultural and attitudinal training to active police officers. Dr. Anthony Iton, Senior Vice President of Healthy Communities at the California Endowment, examines the relationship between the geography of social inequality, law enforcement and public health, arguing that mending our frayed social fabric is in our long-term best interest as a society. Christy E. Lopez of the Georgetown School of Law offers the example of *active bystandership* as a way for police departments to develop cultures of accountability that emphasize their obligations to the community rather than to each other. Finally, in our concluding essay, Charles Schoder of the Michigan Department of Civil Rights argues for the necessity of aligning priorities across systems, breaking down the structural and culture barriers that too often pit law enforcement against community to achieve a better outcome for the vast majority, on both sides of the "thin blue line."

Barbara McQuade, U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Michigan, talks at a press conference outside Dearborn City Hall. McQuade and other leaders were there to decry a report, supposedly based on leaked government documents that connected Dearborn to terrorism. August 8, 2014. Press & Guide.

TO BE EFFECTIVE, POLICE MUST EARN COMMUNITY TRUST

By Barbara McQuade

Public safety is a social compact between the police and the community it serves. In a government of, by, and for the people, police departments derive their authority from the consensus of the governed. To achieve an effective partnership, law enforcement agencies need to think of themselves as guardians of the community and not warriors of the streets.[1]

Law enforcement agencies that exceed their authority by engaging in overly aggressive tactics risk losing the trust of the community they serve. When I served as United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Michigan, Former FBI Detroit Special Agent in Charge Andrew Arena frequently said that law enforcement officers can never be successful if they are perceived as an occupying army. They must use only that force which is necessary to protect public safety. Use of excessive force will cause police departments to lose the moral authority to enforce the rule of law. Trust takes years to build and an instant to lose.

In addition to use of force, responsiveness to community needs is also essential for police departments to be successful. Law enforcement cannot be effective unless it understands the needs of its residents. Police agencies must manage limited budgets and finite resources and decide how to best deploy them to meet the most pressing needs of the community. As the priorities of a community change over time, police departments must be nimble to adapt. For example, police departments that once prioritized traffic offenses may find themselves confronting the opioid crisis.

To be effective, the best law enforcement leaders spend countless hours meeting with community stakeholders, listening to their needs and using discretion to decide how to serve the best interests of the people. Priorities will evolve over time, and only by listening to community members can law enforcement leaders be responsive to their needs.

1 Final Report, President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, p. 1, (May 2015), https://cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/taskforce/taskforce_finalreport.pdf

2 https://www.miroundtable.org/alpact

One example of law enforcement leaders listening to the needs of their citizens is ALPACT, Advocates and Leaders for Police and Community Trust. Formed in 1999 in Southeast Michigan, ALPACT is a group of law enforcement and community leaders.[2] Originally formed to address concerns about racial profiling, ALPACT has worked over the years to confront issues involving use of force in policing, mass incarceration, fines and fees, and other disparities in the criminal justice system. Monthly ALPACT meetings provide an opportunity for mutual educational opportunities on topics like implicit bias to improve policing and community awareness. ALPACT meetings also provide a forum for parties to provide information, obtain briefings on cases of interest, and ask questions to enhance understanding and improve accountability for police departments. Such a culture of transparency is one of the key recommendations of President Obama's Task Force on 21St Century Policing.[3] ALPACT chapters now exist in Flint, Saginaw, Jackson, and other parts of Michigan. When incidents involving police force create tension between police and community members, ALPACT has provided a venue for non-violent dialogue.

Another success story occurred in Michigan with a group called BRIDGES, Building Respect in Diverse Groups to Enhance Sensitivity, which was formed shortly after the attacks of September 11, 2001.[4] BRIDGES brings together law enforcement and Arab-American community leaders to discuss issues of concern, such as border crossings, ethnic profiling, charitable contributions, and no-fly lists, among others. BRIDGES meetings provide an opportunity for law enforcement officers to explain their work to community leaders, who ask questions and expect answers regarding law enforcement operations. BRIDGES has helped to build relationships of trust between law enforcement and community leaders.

Both ALPACT and BRIDGES have added value to the participating police agencies. They have provided forums for agency heads and prosecutors to explain law enforcement operations, such as an FBI plane that caused concerns about surveillance when it was seen flying over Dearborn, as well as charging decisions, such as declination of charges against officers involved in a fatal shooting. By facing the public, providing information, and answering questions candidly, law enforcement leaders earn the trust of the people they serve, and help diffuse what could be tense situations.

The effort to develop trusting relationships has also helped communities to build resilience. When Rev. Terry Jones travelled to Dearborn in 2011 to publicly burn a Koran in front of the largest mosque in America, many thought his goal was simply to inflame tensions and spark violence.[5] Police leaders such as Dearborn Chief Ronald Haddad were able to work with community and faith leaders to resist this incitement to violence. The success of that effort was the fruit of many years of relationship building.

3 Final Report, President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing Report, p. 13.

4 https://www.arabamericannews.com/2019/05/24/nasser-beydoun-named-co-chair-of-bridges/

5 https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/compost/post/terry-jones-imaginary-protests--and-that-gunshot/2011/03/03/AFuglIRE_blog.html

Chief Haddad has also successfully used community input before launching new initiatives. In 2016, when Chief Haddad was exploring the use of body-worn cameras, he called together an advisory group first to seek input. By discussing issues with residents and colleagues before acting, Haddad has been able to obtain feedback, flag issues, and gain acceptance of a new initiative.

These relationships of trust are important during times when communities are tested by agitators or tragedies, but they are also important to the success of day-to-day police work. Officers must earn the trust of the public in order to perform the basic functions of their jobs effectively. Effective law enforcement relies on residents to serve as witnesses and to provide tips to police when they are aware of criminal activity. If people fear the police because of excessive force or unfair administration of justice, they are less likely to report to the police when they are a witness to or victim of crime. Immigrants must be able to call the police to report a crime without fear of deportation. Otherwise, they will be victimized by those who know they are unable to seek police protection. When police officers take the witness stand in trials of criminal cases, jurors will believe them only if their department has a reputation for fairness. If not, then police departments lose legitimacy over time. The resulting lack of respect for the law leads to less compliance and more crime.

Even improving day-to-day communication can be an important way for police agencies to achieve goodwill among members of a community. Use of social media and text alerts to share with residents crime bulletins, safety initiatives, and public service announcements can provide benefits to the community and build goodwill for police departments.[6]

Another one of the recommendations of the Task Force on 21st Century Policing is to engage in activities that bring together police and community members outside of traditional law enforcement contacts.[7] Police athletic leagues, coffee with a cop, citizen academies, and other opportunities for police and residents to meet in settings that allow them to see each other as fellow members of a community can help reduce an us-vs-them mentality that can be destructive.

All of these efforts to build relationships with community members take time, thought, and resources. Some law enforcement leaders believe that they lack the time and funding to engage in such activities. But it is more costly in the long run for police departments to ignore the need to build trust with the people they serve. Trust is an investment that pays dividends exponentially.

6 https://twitter.com/dearbornpolice?lang=en

7 Final Report, President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, p. 14.

COMMUNICATION THAT INCLUDES LISTENING IMPROVES RESULTS

By Gina Wilson Steward, President,
Western Wayne County NAACP

The negative relationships that exist between communities of color and many police departments is not a new phenomenon. History traces these relationships to the early 1900s. This multigenerational thought process of systematic racism has been a deterrent to the positive lifestyle that African Americans could have acquired.

There is no way that a problem that has festered for over one hundred years can be solved in one year or even two years. It is going to take a combined effort between the community, municipalities, police departments and the judicial system with a mission to reach a goal that will be fair to all involved.

I look at this problem of systemic racism as the big oak tree that is growing in my backyard. The tree was planted over fifty years ago as a little sapling. Over the years, with just normal rain and the tree's make-up, it has continued to grow uncontrollably. Each year it grew more branches as the roots grew deeper in the soil and the seeds (little airplanes) would fall down during each season and little trees would sprout up. So fifty years later, it's not just one little tree. It is a humongous tree with a big trunk, lots of branches and lots of little trees all filled with the same sap that allows it to continue to grow. The only way to stop the tree from growing is to prune the branches back one at a time to stop it from growing and spreading itself into our yard and our neighbor's yard. That is how systemic racism grows. It begins with one person and over the years, it continues to spread unless something is done about it. That is where we are today. The problem has spread year after year and since not much was done about it, it became business as usual. Now it is time to get to the root of the problem and make dramatic changes.

As with any problem-solving strategy, you must come to a consensus and first admit that there is a problem. The key is to not only allow the victims' voices to be heard, but it is important that others hear that there is a problem. In many police departments and city governments, the leadership is slow to admit that systematic racism or police issues exist in their cities. But, many members of the community see things differently.

The Western Wayne County NAACP along with the Inkster branch of National Action Network began meeting regularly with the Westland Police Chief and Deputy Chief in 2018. The goal was to build a positive relationship where information would be shared and we would be able to prevent issues from happening. It has been working as we are the voice of the community and share information with them and they would provide data to us for us to review. It was productive as we narrowed down the areas where people were being stopped and who was being stopped. That information was then shared with our community groups and people from the community as we worked and began to reduce those numbers. The police chief also attends our meetings and other meetings in the community to keep the lines of communication open. This relationship has continued and helped us to prepare so that instances that are happening around the country are not happening here.

As 2020 started, highlights of many negative issues that exist between many police departments and people of color, explicitly African American men began to be shown to the world. When the police officers in Minnesota killed George Floyd, we decided to step up our efforts. We scheduled a ZOOM meeting with six police chiefs and one state police commander that represented our cities in our 24 communities and a diverse group of community groups. The purpose of the meeting was to host a Listening Tour to expand upon what we were doing with the City of Westland. During the meeting we learned that many police chiefs were open to discussing their internal issues and the community leaders were willing to share issues that affected their constituents.

What came from this meeting was the decision to expand the Listening Tour and partner with the Conference of Western Wayne which includes 18 cities and townships, many of the cities that we represent. The mission of the Listening Tour was to provide an avenue for both community members to speak out in a

controlled setting and voice their concerns, while police and municipality leadership listened. Then the table was turned where the police and municipality leadership shared their concerns and the community members listened. This Fishbowl style of forum was productive because you had to listen. People have a habit of only listening long enough until they begin to prepare their answer and wait for the appropriate time to speak. In this type of Listening Tour, you actually have to listen.

The results were immediate. As each group completed their session, the listening group responded with what they heard. It was amazing to learn that what people said, is not what the group heard. What an eye opening experience. In any relationship, fixing the communication problem so that people are truly listening to each other is essential. As Police Chiefs continue to listen to community people, they realized that everyone wants the same thing... A safe trusting community where everyone is treated fairly.

The Western Wayne County NAACP Branch covers 24 cities with varying social and class levels. To make sure everyone in our region will be heard, which is important to us, the Listening Tour will rotate around the region. COVID-19 has slowed down our meeting schedule, but we are continuing to meet via ZOOM with police chiefs individually to keep the conversation going.


Gina Wilson Steward announcing the new partnership, Westland City Hall, June 2020

Communicating involves listening and sharing. As we continue to fight for justice and freedom for all, it will take us continuing to work together to discuss the problems facing everyone. Once the listening has started, it must not end. Community relations must be addressed and revised continuously; from the viewpoint of the police chiefs as well as the viewpoints of the community. Just like the tree in the backyard, the problem of systemic racism will not be solved overnight. It will take continuous communication and constant action.

CONNECTING IN THE COMMUNITY

By Regina Luttrell, Ph.D.

Over the last decade, the opportunity to connect with the community has swelled exponentially. In fact, data from the Pew Research Center notes that 72% of Americans use some type of social media. This can be quite advantageous for effectively connecting with the community.

This also means that the police must begin to understand and master newer forms of emerging technologies that enable direct communication with members of the community they serve. In doing so departments can build consistent, authentic interpersonal communication with community members. Sometimes this is easier said than done particularly in a tech-driven society. However, establishing and maintaining trust and transparency is the first step.

The PESO Model

By using integrated efforts, a police department can successfully build an online presence that has the ability to resonate with the public. Social media professionals plan and execute strategies using the PESO Model developed by Gini Dietrich. The model combines the four media types—paid media, earned media, shared media and owned media—and illustrates the possible relations between the different types. As you can see in the image there are multiple overlapping areas representing a specific type of media.

Paid media includes social media advertising, sponsored content, and even email marketing. Most people associate paid media with Facebook ads or Instagram promoted posts.

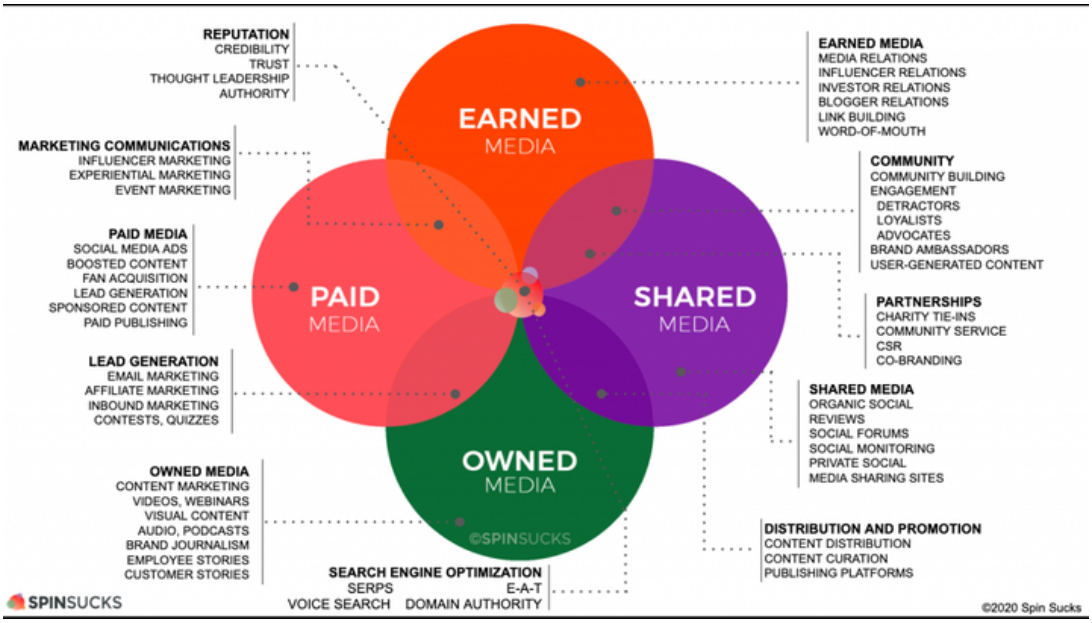
Earned media is probably the most recognized type of media used by police departments. That's because the news media have traditionally been the primary method police use when communicating salient messages to the public.

Shared media holds many of the key opportunities to connect with the community. It's what most of us know as social media. Departments can use various forms of social media to curate content, share experiences, and engage with community influencers.

Owned media, defined as the platform and content owned by an organization—is the most powerful tool a department can have. That's because the organization has complete control over the content shared. Departments can decide what should be shared, how often, and with whom.

The department website offers a place to post reports, statistics, breaking news, policies, and even crime mapping. However, it is also the dominant place to share community events, photos, updates, meeting information, and so much more. Because a department can organize their own website they have the ability to manage the content and messaging.

Departments that want to engage fully with the community should take advantage of shared and owned media.



The PESO Model developed in 2014 by Gini Dietrich of Spin Sucks.

Passionate Social Media Community through Planning

One of two scenarios can happen when an officer is assigned to manage the department's social media efforts. Either the police officer is so overwhelmed they spend hours looking at the computer but get nothing done or they fall down the proverbial "rabbit hole" by reading posts, checking status updates, clicking on ads, and before you know it, again hours have gone by but little progress has occurred.

The only way to eliminate this is to set a plan in place. Choose weekly or daily, but the most important thing is to plan and of course, execute!

If the department is just starting off, a good rule of thumb is to choose one or two social media outlets that can be maintained easily by one person or a small team. It's never a good idea to take on too much. Once a department starts down the path of implementing a social media strategy, they can't turn back.

5 Minute Marketing

Recognizing that most police departments have modest budgets for promotional efforts, social media offers many options to connect and communicate with the community through social media channels, websites, and blogs. Here are three options for implementing daily 5 Minute Marketing plans.

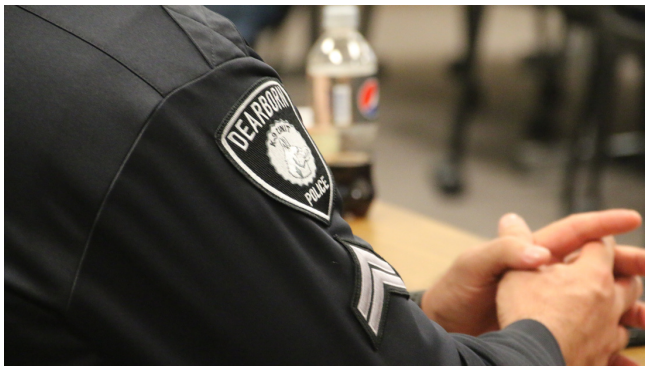
- Beginner: Spend three minutes sharing information on the social media channel of your choosing. First scan the department's social media feed and then share intriguing information from a member of the community. Then spend two minutes interacting by checking and responding to comments and direct messages.
- Intermediate: Spend two minutes to identify and create a list of community members and organizations that the department should follow. Spend three minutes publishing your own content. Include relevant information such as a hashtag or link back to the department's website or a special event happening.
- Advanced: Take two minutes to connect with influencers in your community. Connect with them, share their content, and engage in conversations. Then take three minutes to conduct an advanced search to find discussions happening in your city. Make time to listen, follow and engage when appropriate.

Developing ongoing, reliable communication is vital when building and maintaining long-term relationships. The International Association of Chiefs of Police along with the Bureau of Justice Assistance launched the Center for Social Media website that provides information and assistance to police departments interested in researching the use of social media as a part of a complete communications plan. The website can be found at www.iacpsocialmedia.org/ Here, officers will find materials including social media policies, facts surrounding social media, and examples of how other departments are using social media.

At the end of the day, the most important aspect of implementing a social media strategy is to simply engage with the community. Take time to get to know community members, find out what's happening, and extend the reach of communication.

WHO WANTS TO BE A POLICE OFFICER?

Answering this question is not just a rhetorical exercise



By Paul Draus, PhD, Professor of Sociology, the University of Michigan-Dearborn; Juliette Roddy, PhD, NARBHA Institute James Wurgler, MD endowed Chair in Criminal Justice and Behavioral Health and Transformational Fellow at Northern Arizona University; and Donald Shelton, JD, PhD, Director of the Criminology and Criminal Justice Program, the University of Michigan-Dearborn; on. Donald E. Shelton, JD, PhD is the Director of the Criminology & Criminal Justice Studies Program at the University of Michigan-Dearborn

"Why did you become a police officer?"

We asked this question at the beginning of the three-hour dialogue session which served as the capstone of the Alternatives to Violent Force (AVF) series for active police officers. The AVF was initiated by the Justice Reform Project at the University of Michigan-Dearborn in 2015-2016, in collaboration with Chief Ronald Haddad of the Dearborn Police Department. As noted in Section 2, 2015- 2016 also saw two fatal police shootings occur in Dearborn.

Over the course of the next three years, we saw ten cohorts of officers go through AVF. Sessions focused on a range of topics: how the legal system viewed the use of force; the historical relationship of African Americans to the police; Arab American and Muslim culture; mental illness, and others. Our workshops were never intended to impart tactical skills, but rather to shift perspectives on how officers approached their work, and how they viewed different members of the community. Dr. Donald Shelton, a retired judge and the Director of the Criminology and Criminal Justice Program at the University of Michigan-Dearborn who founded the AVF program, stated that we would have achieved success if we helped to prevent the loss of a single life—and not just "innocent" life.

Our session, entitled "The Sanctity of Life and the Policing Experience," sought to connect many of the themes from the previous weeks to the practical application of day-to-day policing work. It made sense to begin by trying to understand why and how they came to this work in the first place. Typical responses to our initial question included the following:

- "my father/grandfather/mother/uncle was a police officer" (most common);
- "I wanted to help people" (second most common);
- "I wanted a job that wasn't boring"; and "I didn't know what else to do."

Aside from the first response (we will come back to that), I related to all the rest. Although I have never worked as a cop, I felt some affinity for the role that they played as street-level bureaucrats enacting policies that they didn't create. More than twenty years ago I became a public health worker in the City of New York, tasked with the mission of tuberculosis control. I got into this job because I wanted to help people, I wanted a job that wasn't boring, and I didn't know what else to do.

In theory it was simple: interview those who were diagnosed with the disease, test all of their close contacts, make sure patients attended regular clinic visits and took their medicines as prescribed. In practice, it involved a lot of interpersonal skills, neighborhood navigation and on-the-ground negotiation. It brought me to apartment buildings in the Bronx, street-corners in Harlem, and underground restaurants in the East Village. It opened my eyes to the lives being lived in vastly different environments, and it taught me the fundamental rule of respecting those you sought to serve.

I learned this the first time I questioned a man's account of his own behavior, as he lay in his hospital bed. He responded with rage and threatened to throw me out of the room. My coworker, a few years older than me, a military veteran and a native New Yorker, offered me a bit of advice: don't ever accuse someone of lying if you want to continue the conversation. I learned to listen, to understand people's perspectives, to work with them and their circumstances, rather than trying to assert legal authority over them. Though technically we had the weight of the public health code behind us, as tuberculosis is an infectious airborne and potentially deadly disease, enforcement was at best a distant threat. As one of my supervisors said, "Patience, persistence and the power of persuasion are our only tools."

These were tools that I used repeatedly over nearly ten years of public health field work, first in New York City and later in Chicago, and I was able to utilize them in my subsequent career as an ethnographic researcher conducting interviews with active drug users in rural Ohio and heroin addicts and former street sex workers in Detroit. I also found them fundamental to my work as a professor teaching inside Michigan prisons. In each case, it was peoples' basic desire to be heard that proved more powerful than any credential or authority that I possessed.

In our AVF session, we focused on two major concepts: discretion and empathy. According to Michael Lipsky, "relatively high degrees of discretion, and relative autonomy from organizational authority" (p. 13) are key characteristics of street-level bureaucrats. Ben Austen, in an article entitled "Peace Officers," wrote "The police are the boots-on-the-ground government workers who first encounter the mentally ill, the drug-addicted, the homeless, and the unemployed."[1] In these circumstances, police officers have tremendous latitude and situational power, which comes into horrific display in the videos that many of us have seen.

But while members of the public view police in largely terms of their power, police may see themselves in terms of their lack of it. William Ker Muir, Jr. in his classic sociological study, *Police: Streetcorner Politicians* (1977), wrote that "The policeman is forever working in the 'paradoxical circumstances' of being powerful but not absolutely powerful." This "paradox of coercive power" for Ker Muir, was the key characteristic of policing, even more than discretion itself. It marked both the extent and the absolute limits of their discretion.

After asking why they became police, we then projected a series of images on a screen: a doctor, a judge, a city mayor, and a police officer. We then asked: who has the most power? Then we would pause and give them time to respond.

"What do you mean by *power*?" some of them asked.

I know what you are going to say," another officer declared, detecting a trap. "You're going to say the police officer has the most power because they can kill someone."

In fact, this exercise had been introduced to us by a veteran police officer, following a conference presentation we gave in Pittsburgh several years ago. He gave us some other great advice: "Pose the question and let them answer," he said. "Don't talk at them. Get them talking. If you listen, some of them will open up."

So we let it play out—yes, if you are talking about the ability to impose a sentence, to save or lose a life in the operating room, to issue an administrative order, then all of the others have more power than the lowly police officer. But only one group has the legal license to use deadly force against another individual. That is the unique province of the police.

According to James Sheptycki, "The craft of good policing consists of the ability to use the background possibility of legitimate coercion so skillfully that it never needs to be used, at least to the maximum level."[2] In other words, you may carry a gun on your hip, but if you do your job perfectly you should never have to use it. That is the "paradox of coercive power." But how do you utilize your discretion most effectively to achieve your professional goals of enforcing the law and keeping the peace? One of the officers compared the use of force to electricity: you need to be able to flick that switch when the time comes.

1 See Ben Austen, "Peace Officers", June 21, 2018, The New Republic https://newrepublic.com/article/148854/peace-officers

2 See James Sheptycki, "The Constabulary Ethic Reconsidered" (2010), from International Police Cooperation: Emerging Issues, Theory and Practice, P 298-319, 2010, Frederic Lemieux, ed. - See NCJ-230937)

"Is that just an on-off switch?" I asked.

"No, it's more like a dimmer switch," he replied. The use of force may be amplified by minute degrees, or dialed up to the extreme. The driving factor, from the police perspective, was the citizen's behavior: they didn't comply, they acted erratically, and so on. But what drives your response? How does your own context of experience, your use of language and listening, shape your understanding of peoples' behavior, and your reaction to it?

This is where we introduced the concept of empathy—putting oneself into the shoes of another. This is distinct from sympathy, which implies pity or sorrow, "feeling sorry" for someone else. To practice empathy, we argued, is not a bleeding-heart response. It's easy to just feel sorry or take pity for someone whose situation is worse than your own. Empathy means actively attempting to understand how you might feel if their situation were your own. We then got them in groups to talk about circumstances where they had used their discretion, informed by empathy, and had them share their stories. In the discussions that followed, we explored the social dynamics, such as race, class, gender, culture and life experience that informed both their emotional responses to situations and their resulting actions.

Like emergency room nurses and physicians, cops often see people at their worst. Over time this can lead to a jaded and degraded view of other human beings in general, and this negativity may be conditioned by conscious or unconscious bias towards demographics and neighborhoods that are overrepresented in hospitalization or arrest statistics. If you are not able to see past the surface and understand the contexts that surround the destructive situations that people find themselves in, you might only perceive a string of people doing lousy things to each other, and then treating you like garbage when you show up to step in. This doesn't necessarily foster a sense of fellow-feeling between police and community.

Throughout our session, we sought to communicate the value of employing empathy as a practical tool informing one's use of discretion. This doesn't mean that you will let someone off, or take it easy on someone because you feel bad for them. But it does mean that you will couch all your actions in respect for a person's humanity. My co-facilitator was Bishop Daryl Harris, who serves as the Faith-Based Coordinator of the Detroit CeaseFire Program, working closely with Detroit Police Department to reduce gun violence. He recounted his experiences facing suspicion and resentment when he donned the badge that identified him as a reserve officer. In an interview about the AVF program, he stated:

> As soon as I got my Detroit Police Department badge, I had cousins who didn't want me invited to family gatherings. Not because of who I was as a person, but because family members had negative interactions with police and it was seen that I chose to be a part of the police community. My goal is to remove the idea of separate communities, like police and citizens, and help create one community that we all happen to live within.[3]

This expanded view enables us to see everyone else as some variation of ourselves, part of the full spectrum of humanity. According to Ker Muir (using the gendered language of the time),

> A policeman becomes a good policeman to the extent that he develops two virtues. Intellectually, he has to grasp the nature of human suffering. Morally, he has to resolve the contradiction of achieving just ends with coercive means. A patrolman who develops this tragic sense and moral equanimity tends to grow in the job, increasing in confidence, skill, sensitivity and awareness.

A similar note was struck by Officer Brian Willingham of the Flint, Michigan Police Department, in an editorial that appeared in the New York Times in 2016.[4] After recounting the numerous ordeals faced by both the cops and citizens of Flint, before and after the 2014 water crisis, Willingham concluded:

> Those police officers who make it are resilient men and women of all races who have been tested in just about every way possible. When those people come together and realize that they're all in the same boat, what you have is a strong, experienced, formidable police force.

These observations, offered some forty years apart, each suggest that policing at its best is n dehumanizing, but humanly fulfilling. But it takes a particular type of individual, a particular type of training, and a particular type of organization to achieve and sustain this orientation. An alternative socialization of police officers might begin, rather than end, with these insights. Police departments all over the country are facing challenges in appealing to young, diverse applicants. Some see this as a natural result of anti-police sentiment as amplified (in their eyes) by the media. Others see it as a reflection of the suspicion that communities of color in particular bear towards law enforcement. Still others attribute it to the lack of adequate pay, the conflicting demands of the police role, or the insularity of cop culture. Likely it is a combination of these and other factors, many of which may be place-specific, as chronicled by Ron Cassie in the City of Baltimore.[5]

3 See "Addressing the Us Vs. Them", https://umdearborn.edu/news/all-news/articles/addressing-us-vs-them

4 See Brian Willingham, Nov. 2016, NY Times, Finding Hope in the Flint Police Department, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/21/opinion/finding-hope-in-the-flint-police-department.html

5 See Ron Cassie, "Who wants to be a cop now?", in Baltimore Magazine, March 2017, https://www.baltimoremagazine.com/section/community/who-wants-to-be-a-cop-now-the-baltimore-police-department-reforms-its-culture/

Whatever the causes, there is no doubt that recruitment of new officers is an issue for police departments across the country, and it is compounded by the exit of experienced officers taking early retirement in an era of increasing civil strife and social division.

However, this might also be seen as an opportunity to both recruit a new generation of diverse officers and simultaneously transform the role and culture of police as the "old guard" departs. As Rosa Brooks, a Georgetown Law Professor who went through police training in Washington D.C., observed, "Many police recruits enter the academy as idealists, but this kind of training turns them into cynics, even before their first day on patrol."[6] What if we invited young, idealistic people into the project of redesigning what police do and how they relate to the communities they serve? Mayor Ras Baraka's attempts at reforming Newark, New Jersey's police department illustrate how challenging this goal may be—but also that it makes a real difference in the life of communities.[7] That would be an exciting, even epic project that could appeal to a new generation's sense of purpose in addressing social ills, meeting demands for reform, and filling the ranks of police with the diverse perspectives they need.

With the implementation of new requirements for implicit bias training approved by the Michigan State Senate in June 2020, there is a real opportunity to impact the way officers are socialized. As stated by State Senator Stephanie Chang of Detroit, "If we can change what goes through an officer's mind when they encounter one of our community members who doesn't look like them, we can change the outcome." In late 2020, we completed a revised AVF workshop series with a group of administrative officials from the Michigan State Police, using a virtual format. One of the sessions focused on issues in police culture, especially the role of the Field Training Officer, or FTO, as the flag-bearer for the values that new recruits, or "rookies" will learn as well as the practices they will adopt. I asked the presenter, Dr. Arthur Rizer, what he thought was the single biggest issue dividing police from community, and he responded that it was the concept "of the troops, for the troops." "Police are supposed to be reflective of the body they serve", he said. "Rather than 'Us versus Them', it should be 'Of the people, for the people.'" By cultivating empathy, cultural awareness and perspective-taking as skills, not mere sentiments, we may recruit a new generation of community-minded problem-solvers.

6 See The Atlantic, June 2020, "Stop Training Police Like They're Joining the Military", https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/police-academies-paramilitary/612859/)

7 See Sam Sutton, "Newark mayor: Dismantling police a 'bourgeois liberal' solution for a much deeper problem", Politico, June 11, 2020, https://www.politico.com/states/new-jersey/story/2020/06/11/newark-mayor-dismantling-police-a-bourgeois-liberal-solution-for-a-much-deeper-problem-1292674.

The Alternatives to Violent Force (AVF) Program

Offered by the Justice Reform Project and presented by the Office of Metropolitan Impact at the University of Michigan-Dearborn.

Bishop Daryl Harris (above) leads a dialogue concerning cultural attitudes with Dearborn Police Officers and explains the change in perspective brought about by wearing a police badge (right). Dr. Paul Draus (below) discusses sociological perspectives on policing and concepts of discretion and coercive force.

"Our program will be successful if, as a result, a single life is saved."

-Judge Donald Shelton

For more information about the workshops and series, contact: The Office of Metropolitan Impact, Mardigian Library, Suite 1100 or Dr. Donald Shelton, 313-583-6404

WHEN IT COMES TO YOUR HEALTH IN AMERICA, YOUR ZIP CODE MATTERS MORE THAN YOUR GENETIC CODE

By Anthony Iton, M.D., J.D., MPH, Senior Vice President, Healthy Communities, The California Endowment. Lecturer, University of California, Berkeley, School of Public Health

"Life expectancy swings wildly between Michigan neighborhoods." So reads the headline of a December, 2018 Detroit News article[1] which cites data and analysis by the National Center For Health Statistics (NCHS). The article notes that, "Life expectancy in Michigan ranges from almost 91 years in an East Grand Rapids neighborhood to just 62 in one Detroit area, ...That's a nearly 29-year difference".1 Similar life expectancy differences have been demonstrated across many American cities including Oakland[2], Los Angeles[3], Seattle[4], Baltimore[5], Chicago[6], Cleveland[7], Philadelphia[8], and others. NCHS's U.S. Small-area Life Expectancy Estimates Project (USALEEP) Neighborhood Life Expectancy Project provides the data for virtually every census tract in the US.[9]

In fact, in the United States, when it comes to your health, your zip code is more important than your genetic code. This correlation between the neighborhood in which you live and your health, education, income, and exposure to crime has now been firmly established by decades of scientific research.[10],[11] In fact, the very length of your life can now be predicted by looking at

1 Christine MacDonald, Sarah Rahal and John Barnes, The Detroit News. Published 3:01 a.m. ET Dec. 18, 2018

2 http://www.healthyalamedacounty.org/indicators/index/view?indicatorId=6401

3 https://societyhealth.vcu.edu/media/society-health/pdf/TCE_APHA_2014_EZPres.pdf

4 http://www.healthdata.org/news-release/life-expectancy-varies-18-years-king-county

5 https://health.baltimorecity.gov/sites/default/files/Baltimore%20City%20Life%20Expectancy%20by%20CSA,%202011-2015.pdf

6 https://las.depaul.edu/centers-and-institutes/chaddick-institute-for-metropolitan-development/news-and-events/Documents/FinalChaddick%20Presentation%20-%20060617JS.pdf

7 https://www.cleveland.com/healthfit/2018/12/where-you-live-determines-how-long-you-live.html

8 https://www.phila.gov/documents/close-to-home-the-health-of-philadelphias-neighborhoods/?mc_cid=b2a0efbb93&mc_eid=1197d87fe6

9 For data files: National Center for Health Statistics. U.S. Small-Area Life Expectancy Estimates Project (USALEEP): Life Expectancy Estimates File for {Jurisdiction}, 2010-2015]. National Center for Health Statistics. 2018. Available from: https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nvss/usaleep/usaleep.html.

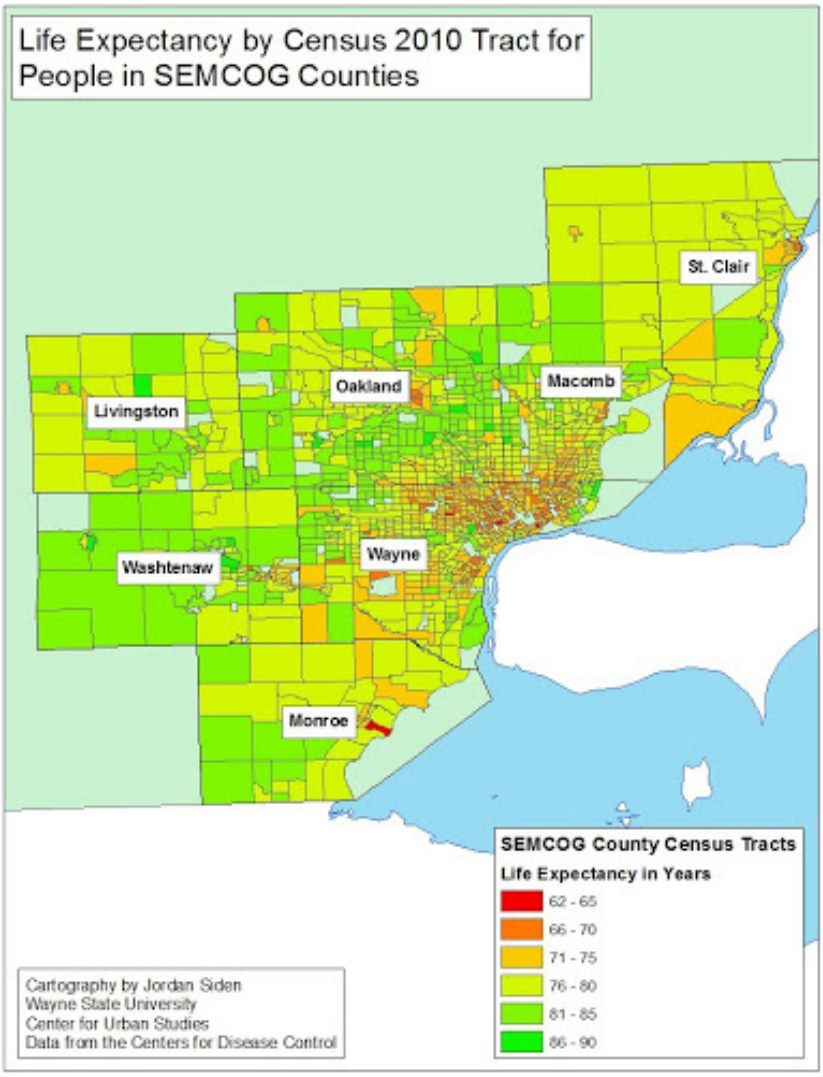
10 Neighborhoods and Health. Issue Brief # 8. May 2011. Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Commission to Build a Healthier America. https://www.rwjf.org/en/library/research/2011/05/neighborhoods-and-health-.html

11 https://www.opportunityatlas.org/ The Effects of Neighborhoods on Intergenerational Mobility I: Childhood Exposure Effects. Chetty R, Hendren N., Quarterly Journal of Economics, 133(3): 1107-1162, 2018

your address.[12] Why?

The answer boils down to stress. Chronic stress.

Stress is what happens in the body when the brain perceives a threat. That threat may be an out of control truck veering towards you as you are crossing a street, or a large vicious looking dog charging at you growling and baring its teeth. We all experience stress. Our brains perceive the threat in our hypothalamus which sends a message to the pituitary gland at the base of the brain. The pituitary sends a signal to the adrenal glands which release so-called stress hormones. This physiologic response happens within fractions of a second and these hormones help the body respond quickly and hopefully successfully to the immediate threat. This acute stress reaction is a normal physiological response.



However, people living in neighborhoods that are lacking basic resources that are important for a healthy life, experience high levels of ongoing stress. The threats that they encounter are many and often are "social threats" like impending utility shut offs or eviction, lack of medical care when sick or injured, unemployment, or inadequate wages, fear of crime, and increasingly, fear of law enforcement. Families may fear for the lack of educational or recreational opportunities for their children. Some families may even fear the water coming from their taps or the air they breathe. When multiple threats are presented simultaneously and over time, the stress becomes chronic. The Michiganders living in the lower life expectancy neighborhoods described in the Detroit News article above are often enshrined in a fog of chronic stress. They are literally bathed in stress hormones 24/7. Disproportionately, residents of these resource deprived neighborhoods are African American and Latino.

12 Life Expectancy Calculator. https://www.rwjf.org/en/library/interactives/whereyouliveaffectshowlongyoulive.html

Chronic stress changes the body's physiology. Research has demonstrated that chronic stress can alter the function of the immune, gastrointestinal, cardiovascular, and reproductive systems. Chronically stressed people may experience disordered sleep, anger, and agitation. Over time, chronic stress may contribute to heart disease, high blood pressure, diabetes, and mental disorders such as depression and anxiety.[13]

Comprehensive scientific reviews of research looking at poor neighborhoods and chronic stress shows that living in a poor neighborhood increases chronic stress and changes people's physiology.[14], [15] The conditions in a neighborhood literally get under people's skin and change their how their bodies work. These changes contribute to higher levels of heart disease, diabetes, obesity, and mental health disorders[16]. The patterns of higher level of communicable[17] and chronic disease[18], infant mortality[19], injury[20] and mental health disorders[21] is well documented. The conditions in these communities literally manufacture disease. The increased burden of disease also causes more stress which creates a vicious cycle.

A substantial literature has developed pertaining to adverse childhood experiences (ACEs).[22] Unsupportive neighborhood conditions, particularly for children, are associated with mental disorders among children.[23],[24] The impact of unsupportive neighborhoods on mental disorders is in part mediated through ACEs. The Adverse Childhood Experiences Study (ACE

13 National Institute of Mental Health. 5 Things You Should Know About Stress. https://www.nimh.nih.gov/health/publications/stress/index.shtml

14 "Weathering" and Age Patterns of Allostatic Load Scores Among Blacks and Whites in the United States. Arline T. Geronimus, ScD, Margaret Hicken, MPH, Danya Keene, MAT, and John Bound, PhD. Am J Public Health. 2006 May; 96(5): 826–833 doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2004.060749

15 Neighborhood Socioeconomic Deprivation and Allostatic Load: A Scoping Review. Ana Isabel Ribeiro, Joana Amaro, Cosima Lisi, Silvia Fraga. Int J Environ Res Public Health. 2018 May 28;15(6):1092. doi: 10.3390/ijerph15061092.

16 Stress and glucocorticoids promote oligodendrogenesis in the adult hippocampus. Chetty et al. Mol Psychiatry. 2014 Dec; 19(12): 1275–1283. Published online 2014 Feb 11. doi

17 Disparities in Reportable Communicable Disease Incidence by Census Tract-Level Poverty, New York City, 2006–2013. Sharon K. Greene, PhD, MPH, Alison Levin-Rector, MPH, James L. Hadler, MD, MPH, and Annie D. Fine, MD. Am J Public Health. 2015 September; 105(9): e27–e34. Published online 2015 September.

18 Neighborhood Environmental Health and Premature Death From Cardiovascular Disease. Gaglioti AH, Xu J, Rollins L, Baltrus P, O'Connell LK, Cooper DL, et al. Prev Chronic Dis 2018;15:170220. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.5888/pcd15.170220

19 The interplay of race, socioeconomic status and neighborhood residence upon birth outcomes in a high black infant mortality community. SSM Popul Health. 2016 Dec; 2: 859–867. Published online 2016 Oct 1. doi: 10.1016/j.ssmph.2016.09.011

20 Trauma in the Neighborhood: A Geospatial Analysis and Assessment of Social Determinants of Major Injury in North America. Newgard, C., et al. Am J Public Health. 2011 April; 101(4): 669–677. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2010.300063

21 Cohesive Neighborhoods Where Social Expectations Are Shared May Have Positive Impact On Adolescent Mental Health. Donnelly, L., et al. HEALTH AFFAIRSVOL. 35, NO. 11: CULTURE OF HEALTH. Nov. 2016.

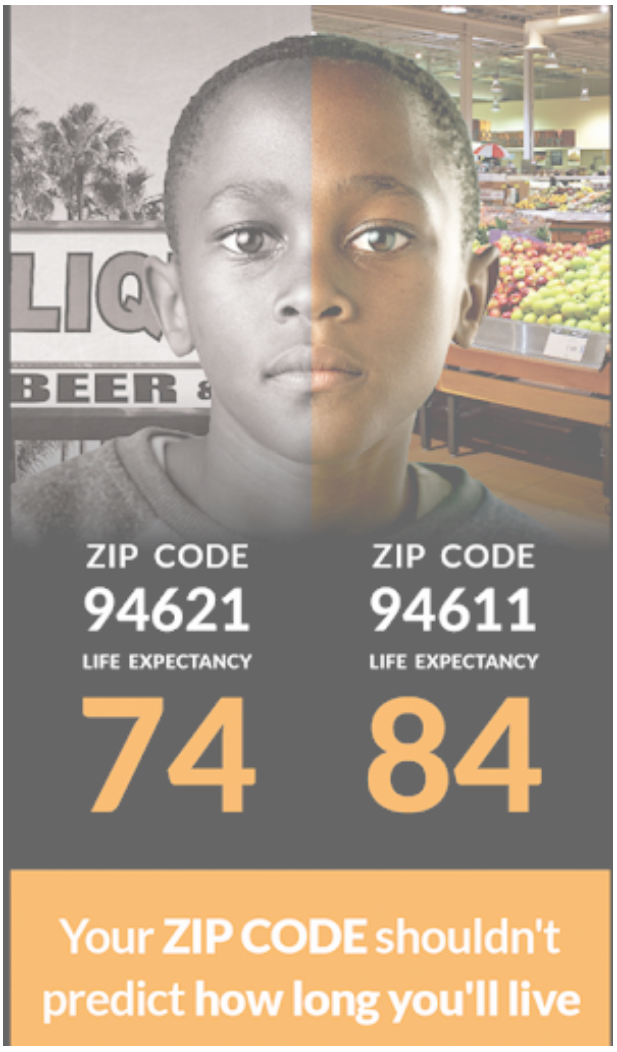
22 Adverse childhood experiences, allostasis, allostatic load, and age-related disease. Review. Andrea Danese, Bruce S. McEwen. MRC Social, Genetic and Developmental Psychiatry (SGDP) Centre, and Department of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, Institute of Psychiatry, King's College London, London, UK. Harold and Margaret Milliken Hatch Laboratory of Neuroendocrinology, The Rockefeller University, New York, NY 10065, USA

23 Association between Neighborhood Conditions and Mental Disorders among Children in the US: Evidence from the National Survey of Children's Health 2011/12. Sushma Dahal, Monica H. Swahn, and Matthew J. HayatResearch Article | Open Access Volume 2018 |Article ID 5914315| 9 pages | https://doi.org/10.1155/2018/5914315Division of Epidemiology and Biostatistics, School of Public Health, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA, US

24 Neighborhood residence and mental health problems of 5- to 11-year-olds. Yange Xue 1, Tama Leventhal, Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Felton J Earls. Arch Gen Psychiatry. 2005 May;62(5):554-63.

Study) assessed the relationship between chronic stress caused by early adversity and long-term health. The researchers from Kaiser Permanente and the US Centers For Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) showed that exposure to intense, frequent, or sustained stress can change children's brains and bodies, including disrupting learning, behavior, immunity, growth, hormonal systems, immune systems, and even the way DNA is read and transcribed. ACEs are linked to chronic health problems, mental illness, and substance misuse in adulthood.[25], [26] The distribution of ACEs across American neighborhoods is not uniform nor unpredictable.[27] Many American low income neighborhoods serve as incubators of chronic stress, particularly those that have been segregated and divested of infrastructure, opportunity and basic health protective amenities.

It is not enough to just know these facts. We also have to know how the conditions in these neighborhoods were created.



Resource deprived American neighborhoods are not a natural phenomenon. These conditions are manmade. They are the product of conscious policy decisions.[28],[29] These policy decisions are both contemporary and historical and thus have legacy effects. In the United States, the primary driving force that shapes the development of neighborhoods is racial segregation. In fact, it is accurate to say that American has a formidable system of apartheid that intentionally separates people by race in neighborhoods, schools, employment, and social and recreational institutions. The disproportionate concentration of African Americans in particular, in low income resource deprived neighborhoods is the result of a constellation of longstanding federal, state, regional, and local policies designed to separate specific groups from

25 Translating ACEs Science. Nadine Burke Harris. https://centerforyouthwellness.org/translating-aces-science/
26 Adverse Childhood Experiences. Centers For Disease control and Prevention. Violence Prevention/Injury Center. https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/acestudy/index.html
27 Predicting Adverse Childhood Experiences: The Importance of Neighborhood Context in Youth Trauma Among Delinquent Youth. Baglivio, M., et al. Sage Journals. Volume: 63 issue: 2, page(s): 166-188. Article first published online: February 9, 2015; Issue published: February 1, 2017
28 The Racial Segregation of American Cities Was Anything But Accidental. A housing policy expert explains how federal government policies created the suburbs and the inner city. Katie Nodjimbadem SMITHSONIANMAG.COMMay 30, 2017.
29 The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America. Richard Rothstein Liveright Publishing Corporation. 2017

resources and opportunity. Substantial research links patterns of lower neighborhood life expectancy and health disparities to racial segregation.[30] In fact, it is clear that racism itself is a significant cause of chronic stress.[31]

The Detroit News article goes on to note that, "certain demographic qualities—high rates of unemployment, low household income, a concentration of black or Native American residents and low rates of high school education—affected life expectancy in most neighborhoods." These "demographic qualities" are the product of state-mediated policy violence.[32] Policy violence is the absence of affirmative policy in the face of abject need. A clear example of American policy violence is the absence of universal healthcare despite the fact that innumerable scientific studies show that being uninsured makes people more likely to die of preventable illness.[33] That is policy violence, we know better but we consciously choose to not *do* better.

Policy violence has collateral damage.

White American life expectancy is in freefall compared to developed countries around the world.[34] US Whites die at younger ages than people in over 30 other developed countries. In 1990 there were only 17 developed countries with longer life expectancies than US Whites. Over 500,000 more US Whites have died prematurely over the past roughly two decades than should have based on expected death rates. These people lived primarily in rural communities and died of drug overdoses, alcohol-related causes, and suicide. These are EXCESS deaths, in other words deaths in addition to the deaths we would normally expect to see from these causes. Many of these deaths could have been avoided by universal healthcare, and more robust education and employment policies. Policy violence has significant collateral damage. To be explicit, American racism is not only killing Black people and other people of color, it is killing White people through collateral damage. It is the law of unintended consequences.

30 Large Life Expectancy Gaps in U.S. Cities Linked to Racial & Ethnic Segregation by Neighborhood. Gourevitch, M. NYU Langone. https://nyulangone.org/news/large-life-expectancy-gaps-us-cities-linked-racial-ethnic-segregation-neighborhood June 5, 2019.
Racial residential segregation: a fundamental cause of racial disparities in health. D R Williams 1, C Collins. Public Health Rep. Sep-Oct 2001;116(5):404-16. doi: 10.1093/phr/116.5.404
Racial and spatial relations as fundamental determinants of health in Detroit. Amy J Schulz, David R Williams, Barbara A Israel, Lora Bex Lempert. Review Milbank Q . 2002;80(4):677-707, iv. doi: 10.1111/1468-0009.00028
31 Racism and Mental Health: The African American experience. David R. Williams & Ruth Williams-Morris (2000). Ethnicity & Health, 5:3-4, 243-268, DOI: 10.1080/713667453
Perceived racial/ethnic discrimination, problem behaviors, and mental health among minority urban youth. Amy L. Tobler, Mildred M. Maldonado-Molina, Stephanie A.S. Staras, Ryan J. O'Mara, Melvin D. Livingston & Kelli A. Komro (2013). Ethnicity & Health, 18:4, 337-349, DOI: 10.1080/13557858.2012.730609
Hajat, A., Diez Roux, A., Franklin, T.G., Teresa, S., Shrager, S., Ranjit, N.... Kirschbaum, C. (2010). Socioeconomic and race/ethnic differences in daily salivary cortisol profiles: The Multi-Ethnic Study of Atherosclerosis. Psychoneuroendocrinology. 35(6), 932-943.
Berger, M., & Sarnyai, Z. (2015). "More than skin deep": stress neurobiology and mental health consequences of racial discrimination. Stress. 18(1), 1-10.
32 The Poor People's Campaign Calls Out 'Policy Violence' The campaign wants to advance a new understanding of poverty as a traumatic experience inflicted by policy-makers. By Greg Kaufmann The Nation, October 16, 2018.
33 Care Without Coverage: Too Little, Too Late. Institute of Medicine (US) Committee on the Consequences of Uninsurance. Washington (DC): National Academies Press (US); 2002.
34 Trends in non-Hispanic white mortality in the United States by metropolitan-nonmetropolitan status and region, 1990—2016. Elo IT, Hendi AS, Ho JY, Vierboom YC, Preston SH. [published online June 26, 2019]. Pop Dev Rev. doi: 10.1111/padr.12249.

So what do we do about all of this?

The failure of our neighborhoods is fundamentally a failure of our democracy. The deprivation in neighborhoods that is depressing people's life expectancy is a product of our politics. One definition of politics is that it is "the struggle over the allocation of finite and precious resources". Those "finite and precious resources" may be a park or grocery store in your neighborhood, clean tap water, sidewalks, good public transportation, high quality schools, decent affordable housing, or even simple things like access to broadband to close the digital divide. If our failure is a political one, then we must invest in and repair our democracy. Civic leaders must invest in creating meaningful leadership opportunities for young people in resource deprived neighborhoods. Police leadership must be as concerned about high school graduation rates as about petty property crime. If our democracy must be repaired, then peaceful Black Lives Matter protests must be embraced as an opportunity for constructive dialogue and policy debate and analysis. Re-evaluation of the proper role of law enforcement and the appropriate balance between policing and community-based solutions must be open to discussion and reform.

We are at a crossroads in our society and must decide which path we will choose. There is a path of the status quo which has produced a 29 year life expectancy gap between Michigan neighborhoods, profound racial health disparities, as well as collateral damage to the health of Whites. There is another path which offers the opportunity to rebuild our frayed social contract, reinvigorate our democracy, and foster authentic dialogue across groups that have much more in common than the petty things that divide us. That path will require bold leadership across many sectors including law enforcement. There is a path forward, we just have to embrace the difficult conversations that will bring us closer to the truth that our fates are inextricably intertwined.

CHANGING MINDSETS AND PREVENTING HARM

Active Bystandership for Law Enforcement (ABLE)

By Christy E. Lopez, Professor from Practice, Georgetown Law; Faculty Co-Director, Innovative Policing Program

George Floyd's killing by police surfaced many long-simmering critiques of policing: the role that race plays in police decision-making; whether policing is always the best response to a public safety problem; and how to ensure that police reliably reduce, rather than exacerbate, harm.

But alongside these big questions is a question that is smaller, but in some ways equally momentous: why did none of the three bystander officers intervene? Imagine if any of the officers on the scene in Minneapolis had asked — or told — Officer Derek Chauvin to take his knee off Floyd's neck, or had provided Floyd with medical assistance. Floyd might well still be alive.[1]

Moreover, immediate officer intervention would almost certainly have done more to preserve and restore police legitimacy than any after-the-fact apology or prosecution. If any of the other officers at the scene, instead of standing by and ignoring public pleas for help, had moved Chauvin away from Floyd and started providing medical care, the message about policing would have been quite different.

Through their actions, the intervening officers would have communicated: "This is not who we are. This is not who I am. That is one officer. The rest of us are not that officer." Instead, the message was: "We are the police. This is what we do." It would also have been in the best interests of the officers themselves to intervene: if they had intervened, not only might Mr. Floyd still be alive, but they might still have their jobs, rather than be facing prosecution.

1 This article includes adapted portions of a previous opinion piece, George Floyd's death could have been prevented if we had a police culture of intervention, Wash. Post (May 29, 2020), https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-killing-of-george-floyd-underscores-why-we-need-a-police-culture-of-peer-intervention/2020/05/29/a54ee178-a1e7-11ea-b5c9-570a91917d8d_story.html.

In my twenty-five years of police accountability work, much of it with the United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, I have reviewed countless incidents not so different than George Floyd's death: an officer causes great harm, or makes a terrible mistake, or behaves in a clearly self-destructive manner—sometimes for minutes, other times for years—while one, a handful, a dozen, or more, stand by and do nothing. I have often thought about how profoundly different policing would be if officers routinely intervened to prevent their peers from hurting themselves or others.

What I have learned is that it is harder than you would think for anyone—not just police—to intervene to prevent wrongdoing. A number of what social-psychologists call "inhibitors" to intervention discourage bystanders from doing the right thing in a wide variety of contexts. Hierarchy, group-think, and pluralistic ignorance—where you erroneously assume no one but you believes that what is happening is wrong—all prevent bystanders from intervening to prevent harm. And when people get in the habit of not intervening, a culture of non-intervention sets in.[2]

I have learned also that simply having a policy or even law requiring intervention is not enough. Law enforcement officers have generally been required by law for decades to prevent fellow officers from violating the constitutional rights of members of the public,[3] yet the internet and court files are replete with instances where officers did not intervene, despite having a legal duty to do so. Indeed, the Minneapolis Police Department changed their force policy in 2016 to require officers to intervene if they witness another officer using excessive force.[4] The Minnesota Attorney General's Working Group Report on Police-Involved Deadly Force Encounters, released a few months before Floyd's death, similarly recommended that all law enforcement officers in Minnesota be required to intervene to prevent unreasonable force.[5]

Other professions have taken note of this dynamic and focused less on reminding people of their legal or ethical obligation to intervene to prevent harm, and more on teaching them how to overcome inhibitors so that they can successfully intervene. The medical profession, for example, teaches nurses to intervene to prevent harm caused by inadvertent doctor errors notwithstanding the hierarchy of the operating room.[6] The military and the airline industry

2 Ervin Staub, "Preventing Violence and Promoting Active Bystandership and Peace: My Life in Research and Applications," Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology 24, no. 1 (2018): 95–111.

3 Byrd v. Brishke, 466 F.2d 6, 11 (7th Cir. 1972). This affirmative duty to intervene is consistent with the U.S. Supreme Court's holding over 100 years ago that persons in the custody or control of law enforcement officers have a right to be protected from "lawless violence." Logan v. United States, 144 U.S. 263, 285 (1892), abrogated on other grounds by Witherspoon v. State of Ill., 391 U.S. 510 (1968).

4 Minneapolis Police Department Use of Force Policy 5-301, http://www2.minneapolismn.gov/police/policy/mpdpolicy_5-300_5-300; Libor Jany, Minneapolis Police Reveal Changes to Use of Force Policy, Star Tribune (Aug. 9, 2016), https://www.startribune.com/minneapolis-police-reveal-changes-to-use-of-force-policy/389509371/.

5 Minnesota Attorney General Working Group on Police-Involved Deadly Force Encounters Report (February 2020), https://dps.mn.gov/divisions/co/working-group/Documents/police-involved-deadly-force-encounters-recommendations.pdf.

6 See Jonathan Aronie and Christy E. Lopez, "Keeping Each Other Safe: An Assessment of the Use of Peer Intervention Programs to Prevent Police Officer Mistakes and Misconduct, Using New Orleans' EPIC Program as a Potential National Model," Police Quarterly 20, no. 3 (June 2017), https://epic.nola.gov/epic/media/Assets/Aronie-Lopez,-Keeping-Each-Other-Safe.pdf.

similarly use active bystandership training to empower aircraft crews to intervene to prevent pilot error in the cockpit. In the university setting, active bystandership training has helped reduce sexual assault on campus.[7]

Despite the clear need for this evidence-based educational intervention in policing, active bystandership has not been systematically taught to law enforcement officers—and when it has been taught, it has often been taught poorly. The New Orleans Police Department began to meet the need for good active bystandership training during the last decade with a police peer-intervention program called EPIC—Ethical Policing is Courageous.[8] The previously-troubled New Orleans Police Department has, since the implementation of EPIC, experienced a reduction in police misconduct, uses of excessive force, and misconduct complaints. It has also seen an increase in public satisfaction with the police department, and in officer job satisfaction. While NOPD, which has been under a DOJ consent decree since 2012, has undertaken myriad reforms during the time EPIC has been in place, survey and anecdotal evidence indicates that these improvements in outcome metrics are due in part to the implementation of EPIC.[9]

After Floyd's death and the national outcry that followed, there was broad recognition that training and education in active bystandership should become the norm in every law enforcement agency. The Georgetown Innovative Policing Program, in partnership with the law firm of Sheppard Mullin and, in particular, partner Jonathan Aronie, has sought to meet this need by launching the ABLE (Active Bystandership for Law Enforcement) Project.[10] The ABLE Project is a hub for active bystandership research, resources, training, and education. ABLE educates officers on the science behind active bystandership so that officers have a better understanding of why ABLE works and thus can use it more effectively. ABLE also trains officers in the skills needed to successfully intervene to prevent fellow officers from harming members of the public or making costly mistakes, and in how to intervene to initiate difficult conversations about officer health and wellness issues that are taking such a toll on officers directly, and on their families and the communities they serve indirectly.[11] We call these three elements—officer misconduct, officer mistake, and officer wellness—the three "pillars" that the ABLE Project seeks to address. ABLE training is based on a professionally designed curriculum that draws on decades of social science research and uses adult-based learning methods and extensive scenario-based role-playing to deliver this learning effectively.

ABLE
Active Bystandership for Law Enforcement

7 https://alteristic.org/services/green-dot/green-dot-colleges/

8 http://epic.nola.gov/home/

9 Jonathan Aronie and Edward Yeung, Active Bystandership Can Be Taught and Learned FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin (Dec. 8, 2020), https://leb.fbi.gov/articles/featured-articles/active-bystandership-can-be-taught-and-learned.

10 https://www.law.georgetown.edu/innovative-policing-program/active-bystandership-for-law-enforcement/

11 https://cops.usdoj.gov/officersafetyandwellness

Perhaps even more exciting than ABLE's ability to teach officers how to intervene to prevent harmful conduct or mistakes is its potential to actually transform policing culture by changing the policing mindset. ABLE has the potential to do this in at least two ways. Traditionally, policing has emphasized *physical* courage. Being an active bystander in policing often requires officers to summon up *moral* courage. Moral courage can be far more difficult to employ than physical courage and arguably is needed far more frequently by officers. [12] Once named and practiced, the exercise of moral courage can become routine. Imagine how the routine exercise of moral courage could change any profession—including and perhaps especially policing.

The exercise of active bystandership also requires officers and agencies to redefine loyalty: loyalty in policing should no longer mean backing your fellow officer no matter what; rather, sometimes loyalty means *not* letting your fellow officer do whatever he or she wants, if that act will cause harm to the officer or another. Again, imagine the impact this shift in thinking could have if it became the norm in policing.

The ABLE Project seeks to test the theory that active bystandership can change police culture by incorporating elements designed to do just that. The ABLE Project requires participating agencies to commit to the 10 ABLE Standards.[13] Among these standards are a requirement that each agency—before even being accepted for training as an ABLE agency—not only provide letters from the agency head and the city manager or mayor, but also letters from at least two community groups vouching for an agency's sincere commitment to active bystandership. Other standards include the requirement of a non-retaliation policy; a requirement to investigate apparent instances of a failure to intervene, and a requirement to "pay it forward" by committing not only to training all the officers in your own agency but also to making reasonable efforts to train officers in other law enforcement agencies.

Research tells us that just educating officers in active bystandership will make them more likely to intervene to prevent harm. But what if active bystandership can do even more—what if it can actually play a role in driving the positive transformation of policing culture? There is reason to believe that it can, and that the ABLE Project can show law enforcement agencies how.

12 Catherine A. Sanderson, Why we Act: Turning Bystanders into Moral Rebels (Harvard University Press, 2020).

13 https://www.law.georgetown.edu/innovative-policing-program/active-bystandership-for-law-enforcement/able-program-standards/

CONCLUSION

UNITED WE STAND, DIVIDED WE FALL

Extending the Olive Branch Over the Blue Line

By Charles W. Schoder

In my role at the Michigan Department of Civil Rights, I promote voluntary compliance with civil rights laws through outreach, engagement, and education. One aspect of my work involves training police officers in topic areas such as cultural competence, implicit bias, and procedural justice. I also convene sessions for police and community members to engage in dialogue; while tackling issues, addressing conflicts, and discussing perceptions. The intent of these sessions is to build deeper levels of trust and understanding through conversation and transparency. In an ongoing effort to provide relevant, informed content to training and discussions, I have studied police culture and structure. I have participated in police ride-alongs and have conducted informal interviews of law enforcement professionals from officer level up to chiefs. I have also spent considerable time listening to community voices throughout Michigan, hearing about the issues they face in daily life, as well as their ideas for improvement.

During the recent period of global protests, sparked by the death of George Floyd by a Minneapolis police officer, a mosaic of voices has made a desperate call for change. The diverse makeup of participants at the protests was quite compelling. I marched alongside police and community leaders, citizens of all ilk's representing a broad range of socio-economic classes, the young and not-so-young. There were no apparent exclusions in participating at these events related to race or ethnicity, gender, creed, sexual preference, or profession. The world took a knee to proclaim that Black lives DO matter.

These experiences have served me well in my work. I will share some of what I have learned, and conclusions drawn, to aid in devising holistic solutions to address this national crisis of contention between law enforcement and community.

An Unnourished Seed Cannot Grow

I once rode with an officer through his shift, within a suburban community. During the ride, he explained his duties, the pressures of the job, and his passion for serving the public. He also described the area he patrolled, the border of a neighboring urban city. I asked the officer why he patrolled that border area. He said, "We have crime coming in from the city…breaking into cars and houses, robberies." I continued, asking him why he thought that was the case. "Well, we have stuff!" he replied, suggesting he recognized that the neighboring, mostly Black city, did not. I told him that he had just solved the crime problem.

Many conversations on the issue of policing have regressed into heel digging, polarized factions proclaiming "law and order" on one side and "defund the police" on the other. More moderate voices have conceded that while significant progress must be made toward improvement of the system of policing, some form of law enforcement is necessary in our society. This submission proposes that at the heart of the issue, deep below all the contention, is the underlying problem of unmet community needs and denial of basic care. Most see that inequitable systems produce inequitable results, and it seems that we are often attempting to fix the very problems that we perpetually create. No amount of law and order can address our problems in the same way, or with the same results, that preventing them from occurring will.

There is a saying that, "Talent is distributed equally throughout the world, but opportunity is not." (source unknown). We recognize that ZIP codes are a significant determinant of individual health, safety, access to opportunity, and economic outcomes. A person raised in a privileged community is expected to use what they have learned, resources provided and what is invested in them, to reach their fullest potential. However, when someone raised in an underserved community fails to succeed, lacking similar care and investment necessary to thrive in our society, we blame them. The term 'urban community' is often used as a kind of code to describe a community lacking in the most basic, yet fundamental resources for producing a healthy, well-functioning population. Urban communities are also often communities of color. While we recognize it is not police who create these conditions, utilizing law enforcement as gatekeepers of these inequitable systems puts them in direct conflict with their community.

Recently, a former Detroit public school student brought an issue before Michigan's highest court. The question: Is literacy a fundamental right for Detroit kids? Proponents of the suit argue the inferior education provided to Detroit students is discriminatory and creates a "second-class caste system". According to a recent study, Detroit Public Schools "have an average math proficiency score of 8% (versus the Michigan public school average of 33%) and reading proficiency score of 13% (versus the 39% statewide average)."

1 See https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/how-lawsuit-over-detroit-schools-could-have-earth-shattering-impact-n1072721. https://www.publicschoolreview.com/michigan/detroit-public-schools-community-school-district/2601103-school-district.

Notably, Detroit public schools have a 98% minority enrollment rate; most of the students are Black.[1] Do we think that producing illiterate adults and expecting them to be fully prepared to mainstream into our economic and societal systems is a recipe for success? Those steadfast in the law and order mantra should tour the underfunded Detroit School system and decide whether these conditions should be deemed criminal, with our children and communities as the victims.

The result of this disinvestment in our youth is a primary factor in Detroit being a leader across the nation in poverty. We are only second to Cleveland now, another mostly Black city, after holding the top spot for over a decade.[2] The recognition of these inequitable systems creates tension between races, ethnicities, and with police. Long-time Detroit residents have witnessed a flood of suburban Whites migrating to the city in recent years, bringing with them wealth and an expectation for city services, access to groceries and other goods, and a sense of safety. In contrast to the rest of Detroit, these mostly concentrated communities experience vastly different living conditions. Many native Detroiters have expressed feelings of contention toward their new neighbors and the police, who they state treat them differently. An African American Detroit resident recently expressed her frustration during a community forum, stating she is treated with annoyance by the police and feels intimidated when she visits these White enclaves, "like when you travel to a third world country and the police work to keep the natives from the tourists…as to not interrupt the enjoyment of their stay." Long-time residents feel particularly offended by the perceived treatment, noting they stayed in and supported the city prior to its current renaissance.

To address this issue and others, Detroit Police Chief James Craig has recently created the Office of Internal and External Relations. The initiative is designed to "build (a) bridge of understanding", expanding on the positive model of community policing by convening regular, intentional opportunities to foster understanding and create trust.[3] Chief Craig and his department hope that by hearing one another's experience and perspective, officers and residents can come to better relate and lay the groundwork for foundations of respect, understanding and unity.

Build Departments That Will Attract Talent

Police departments nationwide are facing an ongoing recruiting issue. Over the last several years, law enforcement throughout the country has bemoaned the difficulty in finding qualified candidates. Police state their attempts to hire new officers is proving difficult to impossible, which they attribute to the current negative view of their profession by the public.

2 ee https://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/detroit-city/2020/09/17/cleveland-overtakes-detroit-poorest-big-city-u-s-census/3476269001/.

3 See https://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/detroit/2020/10/21/detroit-police-department-office-internal-external-relations/3721426001/.

Rather than looking exclusively outward at perceived anti-law enforcement sentiment, agencies must also look within. If the role of the police officer is transformed, these positions may become desirable to a broader and more diverse group of young people.

Well-advised law enforcement professionals will also recognize that society, and its views toward force and aggression, have changed. Violent crime statistics have plummeted decade over decade. While recognizing that officers routinely encounter people on their worst days, including extreme acts of violence and harm, these are outliers and do not reflect how the country behaves as a whole. Yet most of police training is focused on these outside possibilities, while very little time is spent understanding the dynamics of dealing with people of diverse social and cultural backgrounds on a daily basis.

During a conversation with a seasoned officer, he stated that new recruits are not as willing to engage physically during an incident. "They just want to try to talk everything out. Sometimes as an officer, you just have to throw hands (engage physically)", he said. From his perspective, this was seen as a problem, but we might also see this as an opportunity for growth. We must understand that less than a decade ago, these new recruits were mostly teenagers, socialized during the advent of an 'anti-bullying' movement. They were chided for physical or verbal assaults and were taught to stand up for, and with, the vulnerable. Ongoing, practical training in de-escalation techniques is essential to reducing the need for force and should be the primary skill set of the police officer. Departments should establish clear policies regarding the continuum of force, as well as consequences for inappropriate use of physical force. This is vital for setting a standard that builds legitimacy in policing and a public perception that its law enforcement officers are peacekeepers and not an oppressive, abusive power.

Currently, a new paradigm is emerging in the police profession. A generation ago, parents in law enforcement would encourage their children to consider a career in policing. Now officers routinely say they do not want their children to follow in their profession. Many current law enforcement professionals feel overwhelmed by the expectations they feel are placed on them to meet so many public needs, and fill endless gaps in community care. Officers state they do not feel fully equipped to meet these needs, and do not feel internal support by command staff if they err or fall short in reaching an already impossible expectation.

Moreover, while the blue line flags and slogan may be thought to produce a sense of honor within and for the profession, it also produces a perception of division. More attractive to many young adults now is a sense of connection. They do not want to 'become the police' and cross that blue line, leaving everyone else behind. If departments are to be intentional and successful with strategic recruiting plans, they must recognize that promulgating an us-versus-them narrative may be stalling their efforts to recruit new officers.

"Defund the Police"

This polarizing slogan may thwart opportunities for productive movement toward mutually beneficial outcomes. However, law enforcement officials themselves routinely lament the heavy weight and responsibility of applying a one-size-fits-all model of community response to calls for help. Officers state that they are asked to be guardians of the community, but also: social workers, substance abuse counselors, relationship therapists, mental health practitioners, and so on. Both sides of the blue line apparently agree that law enforcement officers are ill prepared to meet all the needs for which they are charged. Rather than a complete defunding of police agencies, many are calling for reforms that **aid** police by evaluating 911 calls and requests for assistance. They envision a system that could provide a more appropriate and effective response, through expanded resources and crisis intervention plans featuring social workers, mental health and substance abuse counselors, and other community care workers, to complement or take the place of a law enforcement response.[4]

Criminalizing Gaps in Care

The opioid crisis has wreaked havoc on our country. Criminalizing addicts has not made any apparent dent in combating this issue. Law enforcement has been befuddled by the revolving door of those suffering with addiction in and out of their station lockups, some addicts experiencing daily overdoses. While many that are addicted became so due to unscrupulous physicians and pharmaceutical companies, solely focused on profiting from the dependency and pain of opioid use, police and communities are left to deal with the aftermath.[5] Moreover, the state is picking up the residual costs of this travesty. The Michigan Department of Corrections currently receives an annual budget of roughly 2 billion dollars. Touring the prisons, you will find many with underlying addiction and mental health issues which led to their incarceration. Michigan incarcerates more people than all of Canada, which drains resources that could otherwise be used to maintain safe communities, as well as advancing educational and economic opportunities. Over the past several decades our prison population has exploded as our systems of care have shriveled.

Beginning in the 1980s, a nationwide trend pushing for smaller government prompted the widespread closing of treatment facilities and programs offering care for those contending with mental illness. Michigan, too, experienced mass closures of its mental health facilities. Vulnerable populations no longer had access to mitigating medicines and care for them to be able to integrate and function within our society and workforce.

4 See https://www.marketwatch.com/story/long-before-defund-the-police-mental-health-advocates-have-been-redefining-public-safety-2020-06-11

5 See https://www.wsj.com/articles/purdue-pharma-reaches-8-34-billion-settlement-over-opioid-probes-11603292613

6 See https://www.hopkinsmedicine.org/health/wellness-and-prevention/mental-health-disorder-statistics

7 See https://www.treatmentadvocacycenter.org/key-issues/criminalization-of-mental-illness/2976-people-with-untreated-mental-illness-16-times-more-likely-to-be-killed-by-law-enforcement-

The numbers are staggering: one in four people in this country has a diagnosable mental disorder,[6] and those with mental illnesses are 16 times more likely to be killed during an encounter with law enforcement.[7]

Across our state, we have experienced fatal shootings of citizens with mental illnesses by police officers, devastating communities. We must recognize that beyond placing blame on police for these tragedies, we as a society have failed everyone affected; the victims, their families, our communities, and the officers involved. How many of these incidents could have been prevented with an adequate system of care? How many of these individuals would still be alive had we provided the basic care they needed for their mental health issues or addictions? Progressive law enforcement professionals would be wise to recognize these systemic gaps are making their officers less safe and should stand in unison with their communities, demanding adequate funding of comprehensive mental health and addiction care.

A Way Forward

In conclusion, we can no longer ignore communities that bellow out for access to fundamental resources and equitable treatment. We can no longer expect law enforcement to police the consequences of our neglected societal obligations. The time is over for kicking the can of responsibility down the road. Expecting the police to buy time, and communities to lay idle, has reached its limit. For its part, law enforcement will challenge its own exclusive culture and form departments that will attract the officers needed to maintain safety and build peace in diverse communities. Community and its law enforcement partners are saying, "Time's Up!"

APPENDIX AND RESOURCES

International Association of Chiefs of Police

The International Association of Chiefs of Police is dedicated to advancing the policing profession through advocacy, research, outreach, and education in order to provide for safer communities worldwide. As such, the IACP's legislative efforts on behalf of the policing profession have always been one of the centerpieces of the association's activities. Given the enhanced focus this year on police reform, the IACP has released several statements, spoken to many national media outlets, and testified before the United States Congress on issues of importance to the profession. The IACP has advocated for preserving qualified immunity, adopting the National Consensus Use of Force Policy developed by a broad coalition of law enforcement leadership and labor organizations, making participation in the FBI's National Use of Force Database mandatory, and obtaining the resources needed to maintain and increase the use of the national database of decertified police officer.

The IACP Law Enforcement Policy Center creates four types of documents: Model Policies, Considerations Documents, Concepts & Issues Papers, and Need to Know one-page summaries. Listed below please find links to several germane documents:

WHEREAS, bias free policing is a critical cornerstone for upholding professional ethics in law enforcement, is vitally important to strengthening public trust and confidence in our actions and responsibilities, and is an essential element in maintaining community support for tolerance and understanding of our actions as we perform our responsibilities as law enforcement officials; and

WHEREAS, the overwhelming majority of law enforcement officers perform their duty in an ethical and impartial manner free from bias. Law enforcement is expected to steadfastly protect the human and civil rights of its citizens, uphold law and order, protect people and property, respond to emergency situations and calls of assistance, all the while maintaining public trust and confidence; and

WHEREAS, biased policing is defined as an act, intentional or unintentional, that is the basis of police action that inappropriately distinguishes people by race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, age, or socio-economic status; and

WHEREAS, public trust and confidence can be easily destroyed if we let biased decision making control police behavior or to serve as a short cut in performing law enforcement duties; and

WHEREAS, hiring policies and practices are critical components in maintaining bias-free policing. A thorough and complete investigation of all candidates should be consistently conducted to find qualified candidates with indicators in their background that display traits of bias-free attitudes and an understanding of public service; and

WHEREAS, law enforcement training should be values-based with emphasis on ethics, respect, service, diversity, integrity, conflict resolution, courtesy, and communication within the cultural context of the community. Training is the responsibility of all instructors, supervisors, managers and administrators. Education in cultural and ethnic diversity should be emphasized throughout a law enforcement officer's career; and

WHEREAS, law enforcement should develop systems of accountability that hold all personnel at each level of the organization responsible for their conduct related to biased policing; and

WHEREAS, the IACP recognizes that establishing agency accountability and taking appropriate corrective action when needed is a primary responsibility of the law enforcement chief executive; and

WHEREAS, when a community has expressed a concern and/or perception that bias policing is present, it is important for law enforcement to respond in a timely and meaningful way. Data collection and an objective analysis of data are important tools in understanding crime patterns and deployment of resources. Objective analysis of data can aid in understanding the nature and extent of biased policing which can also be used for accountability, future training and supervision; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, every law enforcement chief executive should review hiring eligibility requirements to ensure those standards are free of bias and do not exclude otherwise eligible candidates. Law enforcement agencies should develop a testing and evaluating component for potential recruits to identify any bias regarding race, gender, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, age or socio-economic status; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, that the IACP hereby commits its resources, energies and influence at all government levels to enhance trust and confidence between law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, that the IACP will educate and advise law enforcement agencies on constructive methods of eliminating prejudicial practices which erode the public trust and confidence in law enforcement; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, that the IACP is committed to the belief that discrimination, bias policing and racism have no place in law enforcement.

*2003 RESOLUTIONS Adopted at the 110th Annual Conference Philadelphia, PA October 24, 2003

Bias-Free Policing https://www.theiacp.org/sites/default/files/2020-06/Bias-Free%20Policing%20January%202020.pdf

Evidence-Assessment of the Recommendations of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policinghttps://www.theiacp.org/sites/default/files/all/i-j/IACP%20GMU%20Evidence%20Assessment%20Report%20FINAL.pdf

Statement of Chief Steven R. Casstevens, Police Use of Force and Community Relations, Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate, June 16, 2020https://www.theiacp.org/sites/default/files/Testimony_Senate%20Judiciary_Police%20Use%20of%20Force%20and%20Community%20Relations_IACP%20President%20Casstevens.pdf

Contributor Biographies

William M. Davis, is a Detroit Police Commissioner, President of the Detroit Chapter of the National Action Network and President of the Detroit Active and Retired Employee Association. Mr. Davis holds a Bachelor of Science degree from Wayne State University in Criminal Justice and is a lifelong Community Activist in the City of Detroit. Mr. Davis served as chief union steward for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and for UAW Supervisors. Mr. Davis became president of the newly formed Detroit Active and Retired Employees Association to protect their rights and benefits when the City declared bankruptcy.

Paul Draus is a Professor of Sociology in the Department of Behavioral Sciences and Graduate Program Director of the Criminology and Criminal Justice Program at the University of Michigan-Dearborn. From 1992 until 2000, Dr. Draus was a public health field worker, specializing in tuberculosis control, first in New York City and then in Chicago. He earned his PhD from Loyola University Chicago in 2001, and he is the author of Consumed in the City: Observing Tuberculosis at Century's End (Temple University Press, 2004). Dr. Draus has published numerous articles on health behaviors and social contexts related to substance abuse, from crack cocaine in small towns in Ohio to heroin in the city of Detroit. His most recent research focuses on the relationship between neighborhood landscape change and marginalized populations in Detroit.

Larry M. Gant, Ph.D., is a Professor of Social Work at the University of Michigan School of Social Work and a Professor of Art and Design at the University of Michigan School of Art and Design. He received his Ph.D. in Social Work and Social Psychology, as well as his M.S.W., from the University of Michigan. Dr. Gant's research focuses on neighborhood based responses to health disparities and social economic challenges in post-industrial cities in the United States and urban metropolitan areas in Europe, sub-Saharan African and China. Dr. Gant's neighborhood-based prevention and promotion related work and research has been supported by the National Institutes of Health, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and numerous private foundations.

Ronald Haddad, appointed in 2008, currently serves as the Dearborn, Michigan, Chief of Police. Chief Haddad is recognized nationally for his community policing advocacy. He has forged best practices and presented at the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), Michigan Association of Chiefs of Police (MACP) and Department of Justice conferences on use of force, de-escalation, mental fitness intervention and special needs. He has served on several national task forces including the IACP Bias-free training for law enforcement executives. Previously, Chief Haddad served 34 years in the City of Detroit and retired as a Deputy Chief. Chief Haddad is a graduate of Highland Park College - Associate Degree, University of Detroit Mercy - Bachelor's degree, Eastern Michigan University - Master's degree and is a graduate of Northwestern School of Police Staff and Command. Chief Haddad is a leading participant in the U.S. Department of State International Visitor Leadership Program and is the recipient of the prestigious Governing Magazine 2011 Public Official of the Year.

Anthony Holt, current Wayne State University Chief of Police and NOBLE-Metro Detroit Chapter President he has held several positions within the university's police department since he joined the force as a police officer in 1977. He rose through the ranks to sergeant, lieutenant, captain, and now chief during a career spanning more than 30 years. Chief Holt is also the Co-Founder of the Public Safety and Youth Forum and is a frequent contributor to the Michigan Gang Research Project. He serves on the Wayne County Community College Police Advisory Board, The Detroit Rescue Mission Advisory Board, and the Detroit Crime Commission Advisory Board. He is a graduate of the Wayne State University Criminal Justice Program. Under his leadership, the WSUPD has implemented the use of body cameras on all 70 officers; worked with Wayne State's Center for Urban Studies on reducing crime through the CompStat program; and established the headquarters for the National De-escalation Training Center.

Anthony Iton, MD, JD, MPH, is a Lecturer of Health Policy & Management at UC Berkeley's School of Public Health. He is also a Senior Vice President for Healthy Communities at The California Endowment. In the fall of 2009, he began to oversee the organization's 10-Year, multimillion-dollar statewide commitment to advance policies and forge partnerships to build healthy communities and a healthy California. Iton serves on the board of directors of the Public Health Institute, the Public Health Trust, the Prevention Institute and Jobs For The Future. Dr. Iton's primary focus includes health of disadvantaged populations and the contributions of race, class, wealth, education, geography and employment to health status. His awards include the Champion of Children Award from the United Way and the National Association of City and County Health Officials Award of Excellence for the use of information technology in public health. In February 2010, Dr. Iton was recognized by the California Legislative Black Caucus with the Black History Month Legends Award and presented on the floor of the California State Assembly with a resolution memorializing his life's work and achievements.

Christy E. Lopez, JD, is a Professor from Practice at the Georgetown University Law Center in Washington D.C. She teaches courses on policing and criminal procedure and co-directs Georgetown's Innovative Policing Program, including the Police for Tomorrow Fellowship and the ABLE (Active Bystandership in Law Enforcement) Project. She currently is co-chair of the Washington D.C. Police Reform Commission. She also is a Fellow on the American Law Institute (ALI) Principles of Law, Policing, Project and a contributing columnist to the Washington Post opinions page. From 2010 to 2017, Professor Lopez served as a Deputy Chief in the Special Litigation Section of the Civil Rights Division at the U.S. Department of Justice. She led the Division's group conducting pattern-or-practice investigations of police departments and other law enforcement agencies, including litigating, negotiating, and implementing consent decrees. Professor Lopez directly led the team that investigated the Ferguson Police Department and was a primary drafter of the Ferguson Report and negotiator of the Ferguson consent decree. Professor Lopez also helped coordinate the Department's broader efforts to ensure constitutional policing. Professor Lopez was a Senior Trial Attorney in the Civil Rights Division from 1995 to 2000. From 2003 to 2010, Professor Lopez served as a federal court monitor of the Oakland (California) Police Department for Senior District Judge Thelton E. Henderson of the Northern District of California. Professor Lopez holds a juris doctor from the Yale Law School and a Bachelor of Arts from the University of California at Riverside.

Regina Luttrell, Ph.D., is an assistant professor of Public Relations and Social Media at Syracuse University where she researches, publishes, and discusses public relations, social media for strategic communication, Gen Z, and the Millennial generation, and the intersection of social media within society. As an emerging researcher in social analytics and public relations, Luttrell has authored multiple books, presented at numerous domestic and international conferences, delivered invited speeches, and published in academic and professional journals. She specializes in qualitative research methods.

Barbara L. McQuade, JD, is a former US Attorney for the Eastern District of Michigan and is currently a professor of law at the University of Michigan Law School. Appointed by President Barack Obama, she was the first woman to serve in her position. Professor McQuade also served as vice chair of the Attorney General's Advisory Committee and co-chaired its Terrorism and National Security Subcommittee. Professor McQuade also served as a legal analyst for NBC News and MSNBC. Her work has appeared in The Washington Post, Foreign Policy, Lawfare, Just Security, Slate, and National Public Radio, and she has been quoted in The New York Times, Time, Newsweek, Politico, and other publications. Professor McQuade was recently selected to serve on President-elect Joe Biden's agency review team responsible for "evaluating the operations of the federal agencies so that the incoming Biden-Harris administration is prepared to lead our country on Day One."

Dr. Juliette Roddy (Economist) serves as the NARBHA Institute James Wurgler, MD endowed Chair in Criminal Justice and Behavioral Health and Transformational Fellow at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, AZ. She has been working in the fields of criminal justice and behavioral health for the past 21 years. Dr. Roddy developed the University of Michigan Dearborn's first Addiction Studies Certificate and was the program director for the first 10 cohorts of the Alternatives to Violent Force (AVF) program. She served on the Board of Directors of Detroit's Self-Help Addiction Rehabilitation (SHAR) House and worked with the Michigan Department of Health and Human Services on substance use policy. She reviews for the nation's Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Association (SAMHSA) annually. She is an enrolled member of the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians. Her community work currently includes service as a member of the Executive Board (Treasurer) for the Native Americans for Community Action (NACA), as board member of the Indigenous Peoples' Advisory Council and Flagstaff Shelter Services in Flagstaff, AZ.

Charles W. Schoder, serves as a Civil Rights Specialist within the Community Engagement Division of the Michigan Department of Civil Rights. Mr. Schoder's responsibilities include: building and maintaining relationships across Michigan as a proactive approach to voluntary compliance with civil rights laws; providing educational presentations and training to various audiences in topics including cultural competence, implicit bias and procedural justice; serving as the lead of MDCR's Crisis Response Team, which coordinates prompt response to reported incidents of hate and bias; serving as the Arab and Middle Eastern Affairs liaison between the community, MDCR and its Commission. Mr. Schoder previously worked as a Civil Rights Investigator within MDCR's Enforcement Division, investigating alleged violations of law. Mr. Schoder earned a bachelor's degree from Central Michigan University and a Master of Public Administration from the University of Michigan-Dearborn.

Hon. Donald E. Shelton, JD, PhD is the Director of the Criminology & Criminal Justice Studies Program at the University of Michigan-Dearborn. Professor Shelton was a Circuit Court Judge in Ann Arbor, Michigan for almost 25 years before joining the University. An alumnus of the University of Michigan Law School, Dr. Shelton also has a Masters of Arts degree in Criminology and Criminal Justice from Eastern Michigan University and a Ph.D. in Judicial Studies from the University of Nevada. A rare combination of active jurist, scholar, writer and academic, one of Dr. Shelton's primary interests is the impact of science and technology on the judicial system, especially on jurors and judges. He has conducted a significant amount of empirical research in this field and has authored two books, several book chapters, and regularly makes presentations around the country. He has extensively studied the so-called "CSI Effect" on jurors resulting in three law journal articles, as well as many other journal articles, discussing his research.

Sean M. Smoot, JD, is Managing Partner at 21CP Solutions – 21st Century Policing, LLC. He also serves as Director and Chief Counsel for the Illinois Police Benevolent & Protective Association and Police Benevolent Labor Committee. A member of the President Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing in 2014, Mr. Smoot is a subject matter expert on teams monitoring federal consent decrees of police departments in Baltimore and Cleveland. He also served as a police and public safety policy advisor to the Obama-Biden Presidential Transition Teams. Mr. Smoot holds a Bachelor of Science degree in Criminal Justice Sciences from Illinois State University and a Juris Doctor degree from the Southern Illinois University School of Law.

Robert Stevenson, retired from the Livonia Police Department as Chief of Police on October 4, 2011 with over 37 years of police experience to join the Michigan Association of Chiefs of Police as Executive Director. Bob has taught for Schoolcraft College, Oakland Community College and is currently an adjunct professor for the University of Madonna. Mr. Stevenson served on the Board of Directors for the Michigan Association of Chiefs of Police, the Board of Directors and past President of the Wayne County Association of Chiefs of Police and the Southeastern Michigan Association of Chiefs of Police. He has also served on the advisory board committee for Michigan Municipal Risk Management Association, Crime Stoppers, and the Western Wayne County Regional Police Academy.

Gina Wilson Steward, is the Publisher of the Telegram, a community newspaper based in Ecorse, Michigan that covers news in Metropolitan Detroit with a focus on the Wayne County communities. Ms. Steward is the President of the Downriver Delta CDC and President of the NAACP Western Wayne County Branch. She has been the recipient of numerous awards and certificates, including the Community Award from The Men's Club of River Rouge in 2008; Image Award for the city of Inkster in 2009; the Michigan Leading Ladies Award in 2013; The Media Award from the Detroit ARC in 2014; the W. A. SCOTT II Award from the National Newspaper Publisher Association in 2015; and the Mentor of the Year Award from the University of Michigan - Dearborn in 2015. She was also recognized as a 2016 Outstanding Woman in Christ by National Christians in Action, and received the Community Leadership Award from RRHS Community Program in 2016 and the Media Award from the Charles Wright Museum in 2016. Mrs. Steward is an alumnus of University of Detroit Mercy where she earned a MBA in Organizational Behavior, and Tuskegee University where she earned a BS in Mechanical Engineering. She is a proud graduate of River Rouge High School.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The purpose of this collaboration has been done to provide communities and police leaders with hope and actionable options for a path forward during these extremely challenging times in our nation's history.

I extend my gratitude to all who contributed courageous insights and unselfish time and energy to this project. To John D. Cohen and Kerry Sleeper, both experts in the field of Homeland Security and Community Engagement, your guidance and support from the beginning was invaluable. Special thanks to Jonathan A. Sanders, JD, for assisting me with long hours of research for this project.

I want to thank the Honorable Donald E. Shelton at the University of Michigan-Dearborn. Without his leadership the Alternative to Violence Force (AVF) training would not have been possible.

Special thanks are due to Paul Draus, Juliette Roddy and Charles Schoder for their guidance in organizing and assembling the manuscript, and to Michelle Rahman for her technical assistance with editing and formatting the final document.

Finally, to my Executive Team-Captain Issa Shahin, Captain Timothy McHale, Captain Andrew Zelazny and Lieutenant Vincent Belloli who not only work hard in service to our community but will step up every time to enhance the security of our region and the nation. For that, I stand forever grateful.

Chief Ronald Haddad
Dearborn Police Department
Dearborn, Michigan
December 2020