

STATEMENT OF LYNDA GARCIA POLICING CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE EDUCATION FUND THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS

U.S. HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY OVERSIGHT HEARING ON POLICING PRACTICES

SEPTEMBER 19, 2019

Chairman Nadler, Ranking Member Collins, and members of the Committee: I am Lynda Garcia, Director of the Policing Campaign at The Leadership Conference Education Fund (The Education Fund), which was founded in 1969 as the education and research arm of The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (The Leadership Conference), a coalition of more than 200 national organizations working to build an America as good as its ideals. The Leadership Conference has coordinated national advocacy efforts on behalf of every major civil rights law since 1957. Thank you for the opportunity to submit this written testimony regarding the need for federal support of policing best practices that promote public safety, build community-police trust, and respect the dignity of all people.

All people deserve to feel safe in their homes and their communities. Safety is a civil and human right, without which society cannot thrive and democracy cannot function. And yet in recent years, tragic events have deepened distrust in law enforcement, especially within communities of color. These events have reopened old wounds and cut new ones, making people feel less safe and forcing our nation to reconcile its historically fraught relationship with a profession that swears to serve and protect.

In 2014, the killing of Michael Brown by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri, set off waves of protest that renewed long-standing questions around the proper role of law enforcement. Brown's death, and the unrest that followed, prompted reflection in communities, law enforcement, and among our nation's leaders, including up to the president.

That year, President Barack Obama convened a task force to identify best policing practices to increase trust between police and the communities they protect and serve while effectively addressing crime. Released in 2015, the Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century makes recommendations to police departments to ensure fair, safe, and effective policing. As a result, some police departments

¹ President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing*. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. 2015. https://cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/taskforce/taskforce finalreport.pdf.



across America have begun the work of implementing changes to increase trust, fairness, justice, and mutual respect.²

Many departments, however, have yet to reach the report's aspirations. Police officer shootings of unarmed Black men are disproportionately high; and Black and Latinx people are overrepresented in other enforcement activities, including pedestrian and vehicle stops.³ Recently, we have seen the improper exercise of discretion in police interactions with people of color, from arrests of people sitting in a coffee shop to questioning and frisking teenagers visiting a college campus.⁴

It is time to rethink antiquated approaches to public safety that rely on arrests and incarceration, which disproportionately affect Black and Brown people and fail to address the public health issues that contribute to crime. When police practices harm communities, it sows mistrust and hinders community engagement — which is critical for realizing public safety. Congress must pass legislation that promotes transparency and accountability and use grant funding to incentivize police departments large and small, urban and rural, to move toward a policing model that puts communities first and offers a transformative vision for fair, safe, and effective policing.

The Historical Role of the Federal Government in Addressing Unconstitutional Police Practices

Following the beating of Rodney King by four white officers in Los Angeles in 1991, and the uprising that ensued, Congress held a series of hearings regarding police misconduct across the country. At the time, no federal mechanism existed for holding law enforcement agencies accountable for civil rights violations. Two years later, Congress passed 42 U.S.C. §14141 (re-codified at 34 U.S.C. §12601), authorizing the attorney general to investigate cases of police misconduct and excessive force involving "a pattern or practice by law enforcement officers" that violate people's constitutional or civil rights.⁵

² See COPS Office. The Pillars of 21st Century Youth-focused Policing. Apr. 2016. https://cops.usdoj.gov/html/dispatch/04-2016/plliars_of_21st_century.asp; The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing Implementation Guidebook; Moving from Recommendations to Action. 2015. https://noblenational.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/President-Barack-Obama-Task-Force-on-21st-Century-Policing-Implementation-Guide.pdf.

³ See, e.g., Jeffrey A. Fagan et al., Street Stops and Broken Windows Revisited: The Demography and Logic of Proactive Policing in a Safe and Changing City, in Race, Ethnicity, and Policing: New and Essential Readings 309-10 (Stephen K. Rice & Michael D. White eds., N.Y. Univ. Press 2010) (describing the origins of the NYPD's stop-and-frisk program and its disproportionate effects on people of color); U.S. Dep't of Justice, Civil Rights Div., Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department 63 (2015). ("Despite making up 67% of the population, African Americans accounted for 85% of FPD's traffic stops, 90% of FPD's citations, and 93% of FPD's arrests from 2012 to 2014."). https://www.courts.mo.gov/file.jsp?id=95274.

⁴ See, e.g. Philadelphia Starbucks Arrests, Outrageous to Some, Are Everyday Life for Others. New York Times. Apr. 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/17/us/starbucks-arrest-philadelphia.html; Bill Chappel, College Apologizes After Native American Students' Visit Is Sidelined By Police, NPR. May 2018. https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/05/04/608533284/college-apologizes-after-native-american-students-visit-is-sidelined-by-police.

⁵ 42 U.S.C. §14141 (re-codified at 34 U.S.C. §12601).



In the 25 years since, the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice has opened 69 formal investigations of police departments across the country. Twenty of those investigations resulted in a court-enforceable consent decree to implement reforms to enhance transparency and accountability in agencies where it found systemic civil rights violations. Consent decrees have been implemented to vindicate the civil rights of communities plagued with excessive force and discriminatory policing, including in New Orleans, Ferguson, and Baltimore.

The current administration has severely curtailed the Department of Justice's use of consent decrees to address police civil rights abuses. It has also abandoned collaborative reform efforts of the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, under which police departments voluntarily sought audits and recommendations to improve trust between the public and police from the Department of Justice. This does a disservice both to communities suffering from systemic misconduct and police officers who are left without the tools to police safely. High-profile police shootings of unarmed Black men and other incidents of police misconduct, coupled with heavy enforcement of low-level offenses, have eroded trust in law enforcement in many communities — and especially in communities of color. This lack of trust strains police-community relationships and undermines public safety. Where people perceive the criminal-legal system to be arbitrary, biased, and unfair, they are less likely to cooperate with police, making us all less safe.

During my time in the Department of Justice, I had the opportunity to meet with community members and officers alike. I found a simple but profound common interest in every city I visited: safety. And what most impedes public safety is the severe mistrust between communities and police that grows out of broken systems that allow police misconduct to go unaddressed, eroding the ability of police to effectively address crime. ¹¹ Consent decrees, and the principles of transparency and accountability they embody, promote fair and unbiased policing practices that equip officers with the tools to do their jobs more effectively, reducing the need to use force and increasing community trust.

Congress must ensure that the Department of Justice is fulfilling its duty to investigate systemic police misconduct and that the department has the needed tools — including the use of consent decrees — to correct constitutional violations.

⁶ Civil Rights Division, The Civil Rights Division's Pattern and Practice Police Reform Work: 1994-Present, Department of Justice. Jan. 2017. https://www.justice.gov/crt/file/922421/download.

⁷ *Ibid.* Another 20 investigations resulted in settlement agreements, or memoranda of agreement, between the Department of Justice and local jurisdiction.

⁸ See Department of Justice. An Interactive Guide to the Civil Rights Division's Police Reforms. Jan. 2017. https://www.justice.gov/crt/page/file/922456/download.

⁹ Department of Justice. Principles and Procedures for Civil Consent Decree Agreements with State and Local Governments. Nov. 2018. https://www.justice.gov/opa/press-release/file/1109681/download.

¹⁰ See Department of Justice. An Interactive Guide to the Civil Rights Division's Police Reforms. Jan. 2017. https://www.justice.gov/crt/page/file/922456/download.

¹¹ See e.g., Department of Justice. Investigation of the Chicago Police Department. Jan. 2017. https://www.justice.gov/opa/file/925846/download; Department of Justice, Investigation of the Baltimore City Police Department. Aug. 2016. https://www.justice.gov/crt/file/883296/download.



<u>Congress Must Support a New Era of Public Safety that Enhances Accountability and Promotes</u> <u>21st Century Best Practices in Policing</u>

In March of 2019, The Education Fund launched the New Era of Public Safety initiative and report to help build trust between communities and police departments, restore confidence, and reimagine a new paradigm of public safety.

The report, *New Era of Public Safety: A Guide to Fair, Safe, and Effective Community Policing*, provides communities, police departments, and lawmakers with policy recommendations for best practices to enhance accountability, build trust, and improve public and officer safety. ¹² The recommendations are adaptable to every department, in every community across the nation. The goals are to advance policing practices that respect and protect human life and ensure safety for all. It is critically important that police departments across the country implement policies and practices that are fair, equitable, procedurally just, and increase transparency and accountability — values that build community trust, improve confidence, and ultimately heal wounds. To do so, they must engage and work with communities to collaboratively develop solutions to the public health problems that for so long have fallen to police to answer.

While much of the reform must happen at the state and local levels, success will require the leadership, support, and commitment of the federal government, including members of Congress. Every year, Congress provides millions of dollars to law enforcement agencies through federal grant programs to support police. This creates a duty for Congress to conduct oversight to ensure that funds are not supporting policing practices that harm public safety and erode community trust. Additionally, this responsibility empowers Congress to incentivize police departments to adopt 21st century best practices in community policing that reduce the use of force and other misconduct, promote transparency, and ensure accountability. By conditioning grant funding on adopting these best practices, Congress can redirect government dollars away from policing practices rooted in the criminal-legal system and carceral state and toward practices that reflect a vision of public safety that promotes community health and rebuilds trust.

Recommendations

To improve community-police relationships, enhance police accountability, and improve public and officer safety, we must transform the way that police interact with communities and emphasize their role as keepers of the peace. The Leadership Conference offers the following recommendations to the Committee as areas where Congress can support local efforts through federal law, which are described in greater detail below:

- Reduce the use of excessive force by passing the Police Exercising Absolute Care with Everyone Act of 2019 (PEACE Act of 2019);
- Prohibit discriminatory policing by passing the End Racial and Religious Profiling Act;

¹² New Era of Public Safety, A Guide to Fair, Safe, and Effective Community Policing, The Leadership Conference. 2019. https://policing.civilrights.org/report/Policing Full Report.pdf.



- Mandate robust data collection;
- End the militarization of law enforcement agencies by passing the Stop Militarizing Law Enforcement Act:
- Promote officer health and wellbeing by redirecting grant monies toward officer support programs and services;
- Invest in non-police responses to crises by expanding community-based mental health and substance use services; and,
- Strengthen accountability systems and hold officers accountable for constitutional violations and criminal conduct.

Reduce the Use of Excessive Force

Police officers are vested with the authority and power to use force, including lethal force, within constitutional bounds. Misusing this power undermines police legitimacy. Indeed, the use — and misuse — of police force is, and has long been, the source of distrust and discord between police and communities, especially communities of color. Thus, force should not be used because it is more convenient or expedient, to punish or retaliate, or because it has traditionally been perceived as integral to maintaining public safety. It should only be used when community members or officers are in danger and no reasonable alternatives exist.

The Leadership Conference recommends that Congress require local law enforcement agencies receiving federal grants to adopt use of force policies and trainings that instruct officers to use force only if necessary under the circumstances and proportional to the threat, and after all other reasonable alternatives, including de-escalation tactics, have been exhausted. De-escalation tactics include taking action or communicating verbally or nonverbally during the potential force encounter in an attempt to stabilize the situation and reduce the immediacy of the threat so that more time, options, and resources can be called upon to resolve the situation without the use of force or with a reduction in the force necessary.

Practices in Seattle, Washington, show that such a standard can reduce use of force incidents by police, without compromising safety. After implementing a policy that instructs officers to use force only when necessary, an independent monitor found a 60 percent decrease in the use of moderate- to high-level use of force incidents from 2014 to 2016, with no increase in officer injuries and crime. ¹³ Congress should also adopt a federal use-of-force standard that emphasizes de-escalation and permits the use of force only when necessary, by passing the PEACE Act of 2019. ¹⁴

¹³ United States v. City of Seattle, No. 2:12-cv-01282-JLR, Apr.2017 at 6-7. https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3538083-Assessment-Use-of-Force.html.

¹⁴ 116th Congress (2019-2020), Police Exercising Absolute Care With Everyone Act of 2019. https://khanna.house.gov/sites/khanna.house.gov/files/Khanna%20Clay%20Police%20Exercising%20Absolute%20 Care%20with%20Everyone%20PEACE%20Act.pdfhttps://khanna.house.gov/sites/khanna.house.gov/files/Khanna%20Clay%20Police%20Exercising%20Absolute%20Care%20with%20Everyone%20PEACE%20Act.pdf.

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Prohibit Discriminatory Policing

The equal treatment of all people, regardless of background, class, or characteristic, protects and preserves public safety and builds trust and confidence in policing. Discriminatory policing, which targets people of color more often than others, has serious consequences not only for individuals and communities but also for law enforcement and society. Indeed, it fosters distrust and a lack of confidence in law enforcement. For example, a Department of Justice investigation of the Baltimore Police Department found that Black residents of the city were stopped at a disproportionate rate to White residents and that these disparities eroded community trust and thus impeded the department's ability to police effectively. ¹⁵

Police department policies should prohibit profiling based on actual or perceived personal characteristics, including race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, disability, proficiency with the English language, immigration status, and housing status. Congress should pass legislation that protects against profiling, including the End Racial and Religious Profiling Act of 2019. Through training, policy, and practice, departments can prevent discriminatory policing and reduce and mitigate its disparate impact on marginalized communities.

Mandate Robust Data Collection

Data collection and reporting are important steps toward transparency because it allows communities and departments to analyze the effects of policies and practices, and to change them if they are ineffective or disproportionately affect particular communities or groups of people. It is critical that police departments have accurate data to monitor efficacy and disparate impacts — you cannot measure what you do not know.

Congress should pass legislation that mandates data collection and reporting of all enforcement-focused police-community interactions, including data about officer-involved shootings, use of force incidents, stops, searches, and arrests. Departments should ensure that all data collection is disaggregated by race, ethnicity, gender, disability, and other demographic characteristics and made publicly available.

End the Militarization of Our Police Forces

The police response to the protests following the fatal shooting of Michael Brown by a police officer in 2014, showed officers in mine-resistant ambush protected (MRAPs), body armor, and gas masks confronting protesters and of snipers perched on top of tactical vehicles. This type of equipment is designed to withstand explosive ambushes in combat zones. The Department of Justice launched an investigation into the Ferguson Police Department's response to the protests, and President Obama issued an executive order directing a working group to review programs that supply military equipment to

¹⁵ Department of Justice. Investigation of the Baltimore City Police Department. Aug. 2016. https://www.justice.gov/crt/file/883296/download.



police.¹⁶ In 2015, the working group concluded that the heavily armed, militarized response was disproportionate to the threat posed by the protestors and deployed in a manner that intimidated the community, and recommended prohibiting acquisition of military equipment including tracked armored and weaponized vehicles, bayonets, grenade launchers, and high-caliber firearms and ammunition.¹⁷

In 2017, the current administration revoked the order and disavowed the recommendations, ¹⁸ yet they nonetheless serve as a guide and confirm that the significant risk of misusing or overusing military weapons, which undermines community trust, warrants their prohibition. ¹⁹ Congress should end federal programs that provide military equipment such as the U.S. Department of Defense 1033 program and pass the Stop Militarizing Law Enforcement Act. ²⁰

Promote Officer Health and Wellbeing

Police officers often respond to violent situations and crises, and many work in communities with high levels of gun violence and regularly bear witness to human tragedy. This puts them under great physical and mental stress, which can undermine their health and wellbeing. These effects go beyond officers themselves; they also affect loved ones and family members — and entire communities. Officers who are equipped to handle stress at work and at home are more likely to make better decisions on the job and have positive interactions with community members.

Congress should redirect current funding toward programs that promote officer health, wellbeing, and safety, including employee assistance programs and resources for equipment such as first aid kits, bulletproof vests, and computers. One such example is the Bulletproof Vest Partnership Grant Program.²¹

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¹⁶ Exec. Order No. 13,688, Federal Support for Local Law Enforcement Equipment Acquisition, 80 Fed. Reg. 3451 Jan 16, 2015, https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/FR-2015-01-22/pdf/2015-01255.pdf.

¹⁷ Department of Justice. COPS Office. After Action Assessment of the Police Response to the August 2014 Demonstrations in Ferguson Missouri. 2015. https://ric-zai-inc.com/Publications/cops-p317-pub.pdf; see also Niraj Chokshi, Militarized Police in Ferguson Unsettles Some, Pentagon Gives Cities Equipment. Washington Post. Aug. 14, 2014. https://www.bia.gov/publications-unsettles-some-pentagon-gives-cities-equipment/2014/08/14/4651f670-2401-11e4-86ca-6f03cbd15c1a_story.html; Law Enforcement Equipment Working Group. Recommendations Pursuant to Executive Order 13688: Federal Support for Local Law Enforcement Equipment Acquisition. 2015. https://www.bja.gov/publications/LEEWG_Report_Final.pdf. https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/FR-2017-08-31/pdf/2017-18679.pdf. https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/FR-2017-08-31/pdf/2017-18679.pdf.

¹⁹ Law Enforcement Equipment Working Group. Recommendations Pursuant to Executive Order 13688: Federal Support for Local Law Enforcement Equipment Acquisition. 2015. https://www.bja.gov/publications/LEEWG Report Final.pdf.

²⁰ 115th Congress (2017-2018) H.R.1556 - Stop Militarizing Law Enforcement Act. Mar. 2017. https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/1556.

²¹ Public Law No: 116-18.

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Invest in Non-Police Responses to Crises

Many factors contribute to crises relating to mental health and developmental disabilities and substance use disorders, such as inadequate social services and supports, high rates of poverty, income inequality, housing insecurity, and an ongoing opioid epidemic. Society should aim for the least "police-involved" responses to crises. By providing adequate prevention, support, and referral services, communities and departments can divert people with mental health and developmental disabilities from the criminal-legal system. Indeed, these crises should be handled by professionals with expertise in mental health, developmental disability, and substance use disorders — not police officers. Officers are not the answer to public health matters.

The federal government should redirect grant money to public health responses to people with disabilities or in crisis and invest in community services that better promote public safety. This includes creating crisis hotlines, walk-in centers, mobile crisis teams, peer crisis support services, and crisis stabilization units. By investing in community-based support systems to prevent crises and developing the services to respond to crises, Congress can reduce police interventions and reduce entry into the criminal-legal system for people with unmet public health needs.

Strengthen Accountability Systems

Accountability is central to fair, safe, and effective policing; it deters misconduct and heals communities if officers violate law or policy. Officers and departments should be held accountable for performing in a way that complies with federal, state, and local laws, departmental policies, and community values. Doing so sends a message to communities that unjust and unconstitutional conduct is not tolerated and will receive swift discipline. It builds public trust and, in turn, strengthens the legitimacy of police departments and the criminal-legal system at large. A lack of accountability, in contrast, weakens the relationship between police and the people they serve, undermining departments' efforts — and the ability of the entire justice system — to protect and preserve public safety.

Strong accountability systems also strengthen departments from within. Police departments, like all professional organizations, flourish when employees know what is expected of them and understand the consequences if they fail to meet expectations. Officers are also more likely — and more motivated — to consistently make good decisions if they know that leaders and colleagues are also accountable for their actions. In other words, accountability deters misconduct, and encourages good conduct.

When a law enforcement agent engages in misconduct that violates a person's civil rights, the federal government can prosecute them under 18 U.S.C. Section 242.²² The statute sets a difficult bar for prosecutors to meet: it requires that an officer have "willfully" deprived the person of their rights. The Department of Justice often will decline to prosecute officers who killed someone because of the high

²² Department of Justice. Deprivation of Rights Under Color of Law. Updated Aug. 2015. https://www.justice.gov/crt/deprivation-rights-under-color-law.



standard.²³ Congress must amend Section 242 to include a lower *mens rea* to ensure accountability for civil rights violations that result from police misconduct. It should also restrict the qualified immunity defense, which shields police from civil liability under Section 1983.

Conclusion

The current administration has retreated from using the tools it has to enforce civil rights laws — but Congress has the power to bring about transformative policing that benefits communities and officers. It can provide the support and funding for jurisdictions to implement 21st century policies and practices that are fair, safe, and effective.

To realize a vision for public safety that respects and protects human life and ensures safety for all, communities and police departments must rebuild trust. This new era of public safety will require community-driven solutions. And that starts by welcoming community voices and ensuring police departments have the policies and trainings in place that reduce the use of force, prohibit discrimination, promote accountability, and require data collection. To view the entire report, *New Era of Public Safety*, please visit: https://policing.civilrights.org/report. I have also appended the executive summary of our report, which outlines additional policy recommendations for achieving this shared goal of public safety.

Public safety needs vary across communities large and small; urban, rural, and suburban; homogenous and diverse. Nevertheless, the principles of fairness, equity, procedural justice, legitimacy, transparency, and accountability apply to every department.

By working together, communities and police departments can articulate a vision for a new era of policing that respects the dignity and humanity of all people — and can ultimately ensure that all people, of all backgrounds, are truly safe in America.

Thank you for your leadership on this critical issue.

²³ See e.g., Gurman, Sadie and Ramey, Corrine. Justice Department Won't Bring Federal Charges Against Police Officer in Eric Garner Case. Wall Street Journal. Jul.2019. https://www.wsj.com/articles/justice-department-wont-bring-federal-charges-against-police-officer-in-eric-garner-case-11563285249.

NEW ERA PUBLIC SAFETY

A GUIDE TO FAIR, SAFE, AND EFFECTIVE COMMUNITY POLICING

New Era of Public Safety: A Guide to Fair, Safe, and Effective Community Policing © 2019

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The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights is a coalition charged by its diverse membership of more than 200 national organizations to promote and protect the civil and human rights of all people in the United States. Through advocacy and outreach to targeted constituencies, The Leadership Conference works toward the goal of a more open and just society — an America as good as its ideals.

The Leadership Conference is a 501(c)(4) organization that engages in legislative advocacy. It was founded in 1950 and has coordinated national lobbying efforts on behalf of every major civil rights law since 1957.

The Leadership Education Fund is a 501(c)(3) organization that builds public will for laws and policies that promote and protect civil and human rights of every person in the United States. The issues the Education Fund works on have deep roots in its organizational history and across the communities it represents.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2014, the death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri set off waves of protest that renewed the long-standing question around the proper role of law enforcement. It prompted reflection in communities, across law enforcement, and up to the president of the United States.

That year, President Barack Obama convened a task force to identify best policing practices to increase trust between police and the communities they protect and serve while effectively addressing crime. Released in 2015, the Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (the President's Task Force Report) makes recommendations to police departments to ensure fair, safe, and effective policing. It has inspired hope in the prospect of change, as police departments across America have wrestled with how to increase trust, fairness, justice, and mutual respect and put its recommendations into policy and practice.

Many departments, however, have yet to reach the report's aspirations, and communities continue to struggle with how to ensure fair, safe, and effective policing. Police officer shootings of unarmed Black men comprise a disproportionately high number of police officer shootings; and Blacks and Latinx are overrepresented in other enforcement activities, including pedestrian and vehicle stops. Recently, we have seen the improper exercise of discretion in police interactions, from arrests of people sitting in a coffee shop to questioning and frisking teenagers visiting a college campus.

These events have deepened distrust in the nation's police force, especially in communities of color. They have reopened old wounds and cut new ones, and they remind us of our historically fraught relationship with a profession that swears to serve and protect. They remind us of violence against activists during the civil rights movement, of the enforcement of segregation and Jim Crow laws during the 19th and 20th centuries, and of fugitive slave laws in centuries past.

We know that hundreds of thousands of police officers report for duty every day, with a mission to keep us safe and protect us from harm. And we are grateful to the majority of these officers who carry out their mission with dignity and honor, and especially to those who give their lives to the cause. They respond to violent crime, mental health and developmental disability crises, people with substance use disorders,

interpersonal conflicts and intimate partner violence, mass shootings, terrorist attacks, and other tragedies that afflict our nation. We also recognize that there is no panacea to problematic police practices. Indeed, police officers work at some 18,000 departments in every type of community across America: large and small; urban, rural, and suburban; homogenous and diverse. We know that each department faces its own challenges and must create its own solutions to meet community needs and interests.

Nevertheless, we also believe that all departments should follow emerging best practices when protecting the public and preserving public safety. Police departments should develop policies and practices that support fairness, equity, procedural justice, legitimacy, transparency, and accountability — the values that build trust in policing, restore confidence in police, and, ultimately, heal wounds. More work is needed to achieve this goal.

Police departments can be resistant to change. Indeed, the warrior culture, which emphasizes police as enforcers of law rather than keepers of the peace, is deeply embedded in many police departments. This mindset heightens tension and widens the separation between departments and communities by propagating an "us-versus-them" mentality.

Yet, all sides should come to realize that law enforcement and the public share the same general goal: to live in safe communities. Reframing the narrative of police-community interaction away from opposition and around a shared set of goals will promote a healthier policing culture and create a stronger society, one where communities and police work together to coproduce public safety. Indeed, policing reform **depends** on community engagement. Those who know and understand their public safety needs are best positioned to help police departments develop policies and practices to meet those needs.

This report was developed to give individuals, communities, activists, advocacy organizations, law makers, and police departments the knowledge to carry out this important work. Its accompanying toolkit is intended to empower communities to hold police departments accountable by working together to address problems and to find the best way forward to coproduce public safety. The best practices recommended here are adaptable to every department, in every community across the nation; the ultimate goal is fair, safe, and effective policing that respects and protects human life and ensures safety for all.

The good news is that change is possible, and indeed is already well underway. We hope these resources spread these best practices farther, and faster, so that all people, of all backgrounds and all characteristics, are truly safe in America.



POLICING REFORM FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

The Leadership Conference Education Fund advocates for communities impacted by unconstitutional practices by federal, state, and local governments. Police misconduct and abuse of power are antithetical to our country's ideals of justice and equality for all. All people deserve to feel safe in their homes, in their communities, and in their country. Safety is a civil and human right without which society cannot thrive and democracy cannot function.

We must rethink what public safety means and engage in collaborative reform to ensure that every person is safe, and every person **feels** safe, regardless of race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, disability, familial status, immigration status, veteran status, health status, housing status, economic status, occupation, proficiency with the English language, or other personal characteristic. By integrating community voices into police policies and practices, developing a shared language to build trust between departments and communities, bringing people with diverse perspectives to the decision-making table, and harnessing the power of data to identify and address problems, police departments and communities can coproduce public safety.

This report serves as a starting point for communities and police departments to work together to achieve policing reform in the 21st century. It covers best practices in a dozen areas that are fundamental to fair, safe, and effective policing. To be sure, more work is needed to bridge the divide between departments and communities impacted by harmful police practices. Together, through mutual respect and understanding, communities and police departments can coproduce public safety in a way that serves community interests as defined by the community — not the department that serves it.

The President's Task Force Report establishes six pillars as the foundation for police practices that effectively reduce crime while building trust with the community. The best practices presented here build on those recommendations and are aimed at communities, advocacy organizations, police departments, and lawmakers who are interested in moving toward 21st-century policing, addressing the proper role of police in crime and social problems, and advocating for community-based responses to noncriminal matters.

This guide provides **specific** policy recommendations for achieving the principles laid out in the President's Task Force Report. We believe that by working together and using data to understand when policies and practices are not working, communities and police departments can realize fair, safe, and effective policing that protects and serves all members of the public, including police officers. For each chapter, we surveyed the field for best policies and practices; consulted with advocates, members of impacted communities, and subject-matter experts; and reviewed reports and publications from leading police organizations, such as the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the Police Executive Research Forum; national advocacy organizations, such as the American Civil Liberties Union; and government agencies, such as the U.S. Department of Justice Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) and Civil Rights Division. This report offers best practices that are grounded in research and provides examples of model policies, practices, and programs at departments around the country.





SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDED BEST PRACTICES

Recognizing problems with policing is the easy part; fixing them is less so. This report aims to help. It draws from the policies and practices of departments across the country that have adopted innovative reforms, informed by experience, community feedback, and expert advice, to address long-standing challenges. In total, we provide over 100 recommendations to reform policing, many of which include additional sub-recommendations that address specific topics in detail. The topline recommendations that follow lay out a roadmap to 21st-century policing.

Community Policing

Community trust and confidence in police are foundational to community policing. The absence of trust and confidence arises from police tactics that disproportionately and negatively affect certain communities, especially those of color. These tactics fray relationships and impede criminal investigations, making everyone less safe.

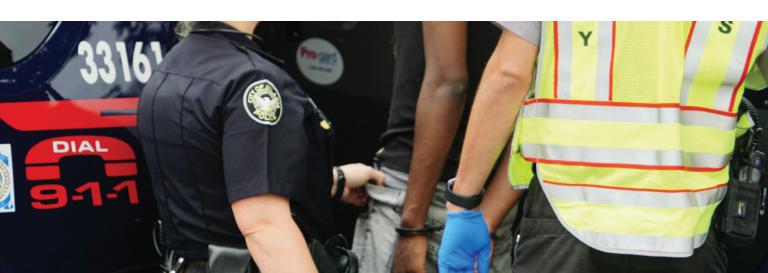
Police officers should understand that they earn trust — and can restore it — through actions that reflect the principles of community policing. A large body of evidence shows that people in communities that have collaborative partnerships with police departments feel safer in their communities and that positive police-community relationships encourage cooperation. To practice community policing, departments should work with communities to:



Bias-Free Policing

People experience discrimination based on a wide range of factors. Discriminatory police practices have sowed a deep distrust of law enforcement across our nation, especially in communities of color, and sparked outrage over systemic injustice and discrimination. To build trust, engage communities, and improve public safety, police leaders should make clear that discriminatory and biased-based policing have no place in police departments. To achieve this goal, they should develop policies and training programs that explain how officers can carry out law enforcement duties without bias, and they should specify prohibited conduct and behavior to ensure policing is fair, safe, and effective. To practice bias-free policing, departments should work with communities to:

- **2.1** Adopt comprehensive bias-free policies.
- **2.2** Ensure officers are trained in bias-free policing.
- 2.3 Supervise, monitor, and hold officers accountable for policy violations.
- **2.4** Take corrective action when data indicate bias-based policing.
- 2.5 Address complaints and calls for service based on racial and ethnic profiling.
- 2.6 Identify and investigate hate crimes.
- 2.7 Collect, analyze, and publicly report data relating to bias-based policing.
- **2.8** Create cultures of inclusivity and accountability and diverse workplaces.
- **2.9** Work for broad social change.



Stops Searches and Arrests

Stops, searches, and arrests impose significant costs on liberty, disproportionately affect communities of color, and undermine vital relationships necessary for effective law enforcement. Federal and state constitutions establish the minimum protections — but they are just that: minimum standards that are not necessarily best practices or even common standards. Police departments should adopt best practices that go beyond these standards to better protect individual liberty, communicate performance expectations, and promote safe, bias-free, and respectful interactions between officers and community members. To protect privacy and allow for greater freedom of movement without compromising safety or effectiveness, departments should work with communities to:

3.1	Encourage officers to consider the costs of stops, searches, and arrests.
3.2	Ban formal and informal quotas.
3.3	Ensure officers inform people of their rights to refuse or revoke consent and to document it.
3.4	Limit the use of pretextual stops.
3.5	Seek search warrants whenever possible.
3.6	Integrate procedural justice into all enforcement activities.
3.7	Eliminate discriminatory and bias-based stops, searches, and arrests.
3.8	Safeguard against unconstitutional surveillance.
3.9	Provide comprehensive training on stops, searches, and arrests.
3.10	Require detailed reporting of stops, searches, and arrests.
3.11	Reduce reliance on arrests and incarceration.

The Use of Force

Officers take an oath to uphold the law, their department, and the community they serve, and to hold themselves and their fellow officers accountable for their actions. Yet they do not always do so, particularly when it comes to the use of force. Indeed, the use — and misuse — of police force is and has long been a flash point in American life.

To ensure fair, safe, and effective policing now in the future, community members and police leaders should work together to create clear and specific guidance and expectations on appropriate uses of force and equip officers to meet these expectations through training on implicit bias, procedural justice, de-escalation and harm-reduction tactics, and other areas. Communities that hold departments accountable for meeting expectations set forth in policy will change how departments understand and approach using force — without sacrificing public or officer safety. To protect communities and officers, departments should:



Responding to Crises

Police officers respond to a wide variety of calls, including — increasingly — crises relating to mental health or developmental disabilities and substance use disorders. This places a great burden on officers, who often respond repeatedly to the same people in crisis, and poses significant enforcement challenges. Indeed, police officers are not equipped to fill the role of psychologist, social worker, or behavioral health specialist. As such, our society should aim for the least "police-involved" responses to crises.

By providing adequate prevention, support, and referral services, departments and communities can divert people with mental health and developmental disabilities, physical disabilities, and substance use orders, from the criminal justice system. All departments should develop crisis intervention approaches that connect people in crisis to appropriate health services, and all officers should be trained to identify and handle crises. They should, in other words, see themselves as guardians of public safety. To limit their role in and respond more appropriately to crises, departments should work with and support communities, government officials, and service providers to:





The First Amendment and Free Speech

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution protects some of our most cherished rights: our right to speak and publish freely, to gather publicly in large groups, to petition and lobby our government, and to practice religion. These rights lie at the heart of our democracy, yet they are often a source of tension between police departments and the communities they serve.

Police leaders should implement policies and practices that respect and protect the public's constitutional rights while maintaining public safety. To strike this balance, departments should train officers to serve in a wide range of unpredictable situations. Most importantly, they should create and sustain a culture that understands and respects both keeping the peace and exercising individual freedom. To respect and protect the public's First Amendment rights while ensuring safe public assemblies, departments should:

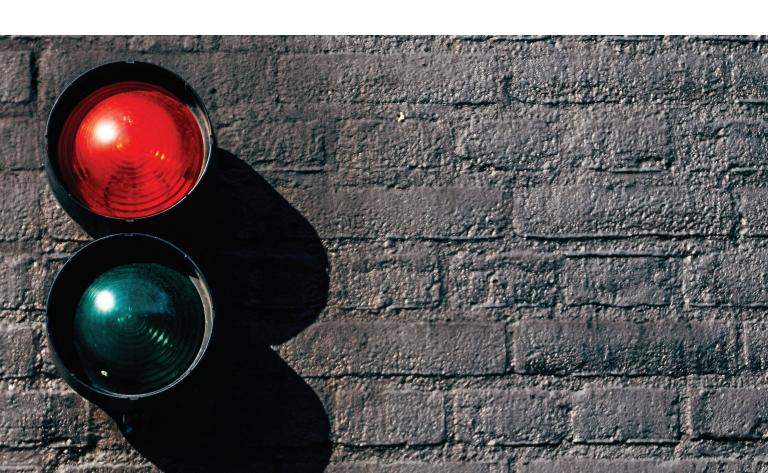
- 6.1 Clearly instruct officers about the public's right to record law enforcement activities.
- 6.2 Limit and closely supervise information-gathering techniques that target activities protected by the First Amendment.
- **6.3** Engage in cooperative and strategic advance planning.
- Demilitarize officers and require them to interact with assemblers in a respectful and positive manner.
- Promote crowd-control tactics that are less likely to cause injury and set clear limits on the use of force.
- Hold officers accountable for their responses to public assemblies.

Accountability

Accountability is central to fair, safe, and effective policing; it deters misconduct and heals communities if and when officers violate law or policy. Officers and departments should be held accountable for performing in a way that complies with federal, state, and local laws, departmental policies, and community values. Doing so sends a message to communities that unjust and unconstitutional conduct is not tolerated and will receive swift discipline. It builds public trust and, in turn, strengthens the legitimacy of police departments and the criminal justice system at large. A lack of accountability, in contrast, weakens the relationship between police and the people they serve, undermining departments' efforts — and the ability of the entire justice system — to protect and preserve public safety.

Strong accountability systems also strengthen departments from within. Police departments, like all professional organizations, flourish when employees know what is expected of them and understand the consequences if they fail to meet expectations. Officers are also more likely — and more motivated — to consistently make good decisions if they know that leaders and colleagues are also accountable for their actions.

Accountability systems include internal mechanisms (e.g., rules, policies, and practices that ensure that department members are held responsible for their conduct) and external mechanisms (e.g., civilian oversight boards and independent prosecutors who hold officers accountable for misconduct). To create robust internal and external accountability systems, departments should work with communities to:



7.1	misconduct complaints.
7.2	Create transparent, effective processes to receive and respond to internal misconduct complaints.
7.3	Delineate policies about how and by whom misconduct complaints are investigated.
7.4	Develop policies for investigating and addressing sexual misconduct and intimate partner violence.
7.5	Create transparent, effective processes for conducting misconduct investigations.
7.6	Ensure supervisors address and discipline officer misconduct.
7.7	Integrate the principles of procedural justice into disciplinary processes.
7.8	Use early intervention systems to track officer behavior and address officer needs and deficiencies at the earliest opportunity.
7.9	Investigate misconduct to the extent permissible after statutory or contractual time limitations for discipline have passed.
7.10	Identify, maintain, and share material evidence relating to officer misconduct or credibility with prosecutors in criminal cases.
7.11	Inform officers of their right to file complaints with outside agencies.
7.12	Expand the role of community/civilian review boards and independent monitors in discipline.
7.13	Establish clear protocols for determining who investigates and prosecutes officer-involved crimes and shootings.
7.14	Oppose provisions that weaken accountability systems when negotiating collective bargaining agreements.

Data Information

and Video Footage

Robust data collection allows leaders to evaluate policies and practices and to modify or eliminate those that are ineffective or have unintended negative consequences. Collecting and sharing data are important steps toward achieving transparency, as they allow communities to see what officers and departments are doing and enable community members to hold officers and departments accountable.

When collecting and sharing data, departments should not collect personal information (about personal characteristics, associations, activities, etc.) or use technologies that risk infringing on privacy rights. Body-worn cameras (BWCs) and "dashcams" play a valuable role in policing because they increase accountability and transparency — but they do so only when properly used. Without policies regulating how and when to use them, BWCs and dashcams can result in disproportionate surveillance and enforcement of heavily policed communities, especially communities of color, raising significant privacy concerns. To foster transparency and accountability and protect privacy, departments should work with communities to:

8.1 Collect and publish demographic and enforcement d	ata.
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- 8.2 Make data and information publicly available in accessible and alternative formats.
- **8.3** Procure adequate systems to collect and store data.
- **8.4** Release information about critical events in a timely manner.
- 8.5 Develop clear BWC policies with community input.
- 8.6 Implement storage practices and systems to preserve the integrity of video footage.

Leadership and Culture

Police culture refers to departmental beliefs and processes that influence how officers do their jobs. Culture manifests formally, in policies, procedures, and training programs, and informally, in the decisions and actions of those who are recruited and hired by the department, and in environments that encourage and discourage certain behaviors and attitudes.

Chiefs and other department leaders are uniquely empowered to shape departmental culture and ensure it reflects community values. But they cannot create culture change on their own. To adopt the values of 21st-century policing in their departments, leaders should work closely with colleagues and community members. Chiefs and other department leaders can create buy-in for culture change via procedural justice — that is, through transparency, communication, and opportunities for input — during the decision-making process. To create a culture that promotes and supports community policing, departments should:

9.1	Ensure that core departmental values reflect community values and
7. I	communicate them to all department members.

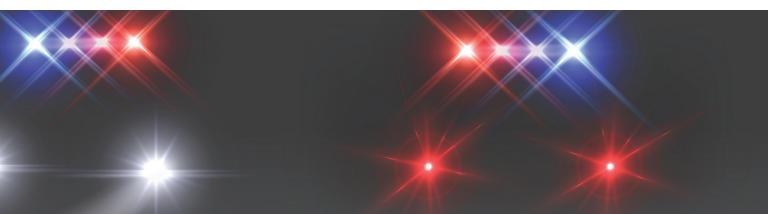
9	.2	Develop specific and actionable strategic plans.
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Create opportunities to actively develop leadership skills for all person	nnel.
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),	•	Develop	performance-	based	requirement	s for	promotion.

9.5	Prioritize diversity and create a culture of equity and inclusion by working to
7.3	eliminate racial, ethnic, and gender bias in the workplace.

9.6 Ensure that field training incorporates core values and communicates them to new officers.



Recruitment Hiring

Promotion and Retention

Police departments should reflect the communities they serve and take a community-centered approach to their work — one that embeds the values and voices of all community members into department policy and practice. Doing so builds community trust and confidence in the vital work of law enforcement.

To achieve these goals, departments should employ and promote officers with community-centered mindsets toward policing; create and maintain transparent processes for recruitment, hiring, promotion, and retention; and assess — and remove — barriers to advancement facing underrepresented groups (e.g., people of color, religious groups, women, LGBTQ and gender non-conforming people, and others); and create and sustain inclusive cultures. To attract and retain officers who reflect the communities they serve and embody the values of equity, fairness, and procedural justice, departments should:

Promote policing as a legitimate, honorable profession, especially to young people from underrepresented groups.

Seek community input when making decisions about hiring and resource allocation.

Develop recruitment plans that reflect departmental missions and community priorities.

10.4 Reevaluate hiring qualifications and testing.

Provide mentoring opportunities and test preparation support to candidates from underrepresented backgrounds in policing.

10.6 Implement transparent policies and practices that are centered on internal procedural justice.

Academy and In-Service Training

Training is the foundation by which departments teach practices and tactics to police officers in a way that reflects and affirms a commitment to community values. It is the most effective way to reduce harm (both physical and psychological), preserve community relations, and protect and preserve public safety.

Training enables departments to ensure that officers have the knowledge and skills they need to engage in fair, safe, and effective policing. To serve communities well, officers should stay up to date on best practices and continually develop their skills. Yet no universal standards for police training exist; each state and jurisdiction has different requirements. To ensure officers understand and carry out departmental requirements and are trained to adhere to community-centered values, departments should:

- Ensure that basic recruit and in-service training covers a wide variety of skills, including crisis response, de-escalation, cultural competency, and leadership.
- Prioritize the development and implementation of rigorous in-service training.
- 11.3 Directly involve community members in the development of training initiatives and curricula.
- 11.4 Use contemporary adult education techniques in training programs.
- Carefully select field training officers (FTOs) and training staff.
- 11.6 Develop robust programs to train officers to serve as FTOs.
- 11.7 Treat service as an FTO as an important career step that factors into decisions about promotion.
- 11.8 Keep complete, accurate, and up-to-date records of training curricula, materials, and attendance.
- Periodically review, audit, and assess training programs.

Officer Health

Wellbeing and Safety

Police officers often respond to violent situations and crises, and many work in communities with high levels of gun violence and regularly bear witness to human tragedy. This puts them under great physical and mental stress, which can undermine their health and wellbeing and affect other parts of their lives. These effects go beyond officers themselves; they also affect loved ones and family members.

Officers who are equipped to handle stress at work and at home are more likely to make better decisions on the job and have positive interactions with community members. Officer wellbeing has a direct impact on communities, and improved mental health and emotional wellbeing are associated with better outcomes in police encounters. To take a holistic approach to health, wellbeing, and safety and support officers' spouses, partners, and family members, departments should:

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12 .	.	Create a culture that supports and promotes wellbeing.

4	.2	Implement robust employee assistance programs.

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		Create peer support and mentoring programs	:
		create peer support and mentoring programs	٠.

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	5)	Incorporate	officer	health.	wellbeina.	and	safety	into	operations.
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12.6 Establish post-crisis evaluation and treatment protocols.

12.7 Provide officers with appropriate equipment.



IMPORTANT NOTES ABOUT THIS REPORT

The Community. America's 18,000 police departments operate in our nation's smallest hamlets and its largest metropolises, and the populations they serve vary greatly from place to place. In other words, there is no monolithic community or prototypical department.

But there are key principles and emerging best practices that should be embedded in all departments' policies, programs, and practices. All departments should strive to promote the values of fairness, equity, procedural justice, legitimacy, transparency, and accountability. These values apply to every department across the country, whether it serves one large, homogenous community or a collection of micro-communities, each with its own culture, traditions, and language.

Departments that serve multiple constituencies sometimes face conflicting demands. To ensure that policies and practices do not disproportionately impact marginalized groups, departments should analyze data to identify how particular communities are impacted and seek input and collaboration from them when evaluating policy and practice.

Thus, when we speak of "communities" or "marginalized communities" we generally refer to those most impacted by biased or discriminatory police practices. This includes but is not limited to: people of color (inclusive of Black people, Latinx people, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Pacific Islander Americans); people of various religions; LGBTQ and gender-nonconforming people; immigrants; people with disabilities, including mental health and developmental disabilities; people with substance use disorders, Deaf and hard-of-hearing people; people experiencing homelessness; low income people; and people with limited proficiency in English.

Accordingly, community values are defined and articulated by the people living in these communities. Departments should work with communities to listen and understand their specific and unique challenges, needs, and interests. Together, communities and departments should develop a shared vision of public safety and a language that respects and recognizes the perspectives of all people.

Department Diversity. Because departments differ from each other, every recommendation in this report may not be appropriate for every department. But the underlying principles of each recommendation are applicable to all departments and can be adapted accordingly.

For example, if a small department does not have the capacity to purchase and implement a robust electronic intervention system, it can implement a manual system to record data related to officer activities and performance. Regardless of size or place, departments can apply the broad principles laid out in this report as they strive to achieve fair, safe, and effective policing and coproduce public safety with the community.

Rules Governing Police Departments and Officers. It is important to understand how the field of law enforcement is structured in order to advocate for change. Several entities regulate police departments and the rules and laws that govern them. Policing is governed by federal and state constitutions, and police officers are bound to work within the confines of the law.

The federal government is responsible for ensuring that policing meets constitutional standards and can condition federal grants on the adoption of policies and/or training. State governments are responsible for protecting the rights guaranteed by state constitutions. State legislators can also pass laws setting general standards for departments — including certification of police officers; stops, searches, arrests, and uses of force; and investigations of officer misconduct. They can also mandate or incentivize policy change through conditions on state funding.

Mayors usually appoint chiefs of police or superintendents and oversee police departments. Local governments, usually through city councils, also enact laws on policing, approve budget proposals, and create and fund mechanisms to oversee departments. These mechanisms include short-term mechanisms, such as commissions and task forces, and long-term mechanisms, such as inspector generals, independent monitors, and civilian oversight agencies. Local governments can also empower existing city officials, like ombudspeople or public advocates, to monitor department activities and receive complaints.

Independent oversight bodies are established by mayors or legislators as permanent offices that have authority to investigate individual complaints and recommend appropriate discipline. They also review internal administrative investigations as well as department policies and practices.

Police departments (and law enforcement agencies in general) develop and enforce policies, set departmental priorities, and impose discipline for policy violations. They are accountable to the mayor and local legislators, as well as to the community at large.

Police unions also have a great deal of power. They negotiate union contracts that govern wages and conditions of employment, such as requirements to use body-worn cameras, administrative investigation processes, and discipline and accountability processes. Union contracts typically are approved by city councils or similar municipal entities.

Policy Examples. Throughout this report, we provide examples of model policies and programs. We caution that references to a department's particular policy does not mean that the rest of its policies or programs reflect best practices. Likewise, reference to a specific provision within a policy does not mean that the policy as whole is regarded as a best practice.

This is to be expected. Policing is dynamic and fluid. Technologies are developing at a rapid pace, social problems are ever-changing, standards of fairness and justice are constantly evolving, and departments have to keep up. Moreover, department policies and practices are tailored to meet the needs of that department; some policies push boundaries and try new ideas, while others slowly embrace change. Many policies are described in the text of the report. However, many additional examples are included in the endnotes, which should be used when seeking more information.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Everyone in America deserves to live in safe communities. This is one thing that we can all agree on, even in a time of partisanship and polarization. And yet, while we are on common ground, we need a common language to foster better communication and collaboration among those seeking change. We believe that true public safety requires communities and police departments to work together to coproduce it. As such, The Leadership Conference Education Fund's Policing Campaign is proud to partner with all stakeholders, including individuals and communities, activist groups, advocacy organizations, and police departments, to realize this goal.

For guidance on how to implement the solutions recommended in this report, please read the accompanying toolkit, which is available at http://policing.civilrights.org/toolkit. Please also visit our website at www.policing/civilrights.org for information about the campaign and local initiatives. And please sign up for our mailing list at http://policing.civilrights.org/ to receive news and information about our policing work.