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Marwa Alnaal

Clark University, malnaal@clarku.edu

Matthew L. Anderson

Clark University

Hannah Brier

Clark University, hbrier@clarku.edu

Mollie Campbell

Clark University, mocampbell@clarku.edu

Rose Wine

Clark University, rwine@clarku.edu

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Recommended Citation

Alnaal, Marwa; Anderson, Matthew L.; Brier, Hannah; Campbell, Mollie; and Wine, Rose, "Transparency and Yielding of Law Officers Reform (TAYLOR) Act of 2020: Proposal for Police Reform" (2020). *School of Professional Studies*. 55.

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Transparency and Yielding of Law Officers Reform (TAYLOR) Act of 2020:

Proposal for Police Reform

Marwa Alnaal, Matthew L. Anderson, Hannah Brier, Mollie Campbell, Rose Wine

School of Professional Studies, Clark University

Fall 2020

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Abstract

The Transparency and Yielding of Law Officers Reform Act of 2020 (TAYLOR) proposes an example bill for law enforcement reform. During the summer of 2020, the United States witnessed civilian demonstrations nationwide calling for a change to policing. Our proposal is hoping to heed that call, offering a foundation for change that police forces and localities across the United States can utilize to rebuild trust and accountability.

The goal of the TAYLOR Act is not to defund the police; but rather, TAYLOR rethinks the priorities of the police. There can be no denying that the relationship of trust and security between the public and law enforcement has been damaged over time. As with any damaged relationship, identifying the problems and searching for viable solutions, is essential. TAYLOR aims to repair this important relationship by providing best-practice policy ideas and budgetary procedures.

TAYLOR begins with the historical framework, serving as a preamble to the current state of affairs. We then dive into several key aspects for reform including but not limited to training, school resource officers, response to incidents, and budgetary procedures. We also thought critically about our word choice; we wanted to appeal to all ends of the spectrum while still remaining honest about the realities of the relationship between the police and the public in the U.S.

The use of force is the most serious action a government can do to its citizens; and force has become central to policing. We propose a seed for rethinking traditional approaches to crime--a path toward encouraging society to look at other options to solve crime. Policing in the United States has formed the culture of using force *now*, then asking questions and getting the details of the crime *later*. We want to change the narrative. We want to move away from the use

of force and to look for other, viable options to maintain peace and order while also respecting and honoring human lives.

I. INTRODUCTION

With the increased presence and use of smartphones and social media within the past decade, the world has gained more opportunities and access to document moments of conflict as well as happiness. At the fingertips of many throughout the world, people document smiles, laughter and celebration, while others document brutality, war, and oppression. Technology has simultaneously evolved into a catalyst for division and a force of unity. The United States prides itself in the system of democratic accountability and transparency that this nation was based on, but “when it comes to policing and its governance, [the] much-admired system of democratic accountability and transparency is largely cast aside (Friedman, 2017, p. 16)”. Police brutality, violence, and misconduct in the United States is not a phenomenon uncovered in recent months or years. Rather, the reality that many people, especially Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC), experience, has been all the more exposed. Torture, brutality, and murder have more chances of being recorded. There is little debate about whether or not an event occurred; but there is more debate over why an event occurred and how to respond.

The increased awareness of police brutality has placed many practices of the police under scrutiny. American civilians have demanded police accountability and reform following the murder of George Floyd, a resident of Minneapolis, who lost his life to police brutality. Nugent and Perrigo (2020) reported protests in “more than 140 U.S. cities in the week since the death of George Floyd.” Between May and October 2020, U.S. civilians recorded “at least 950 instances of police brutality” (Thomas et al., 2020). The independent journalism collective Bellingcat collaborated with the London-based research team Forensic Architecture to analyze each case. Together, the two groups discovered “more than 1,000 violations” (Thomas et al., 2020) among the videos. The violations include but are not limited to “pepper spray and tear gas . . . [and]

using unlawful assembly to arrest protestors” (Thomas et al., 2020). Instead of contributing to law and order, the use of violent force by the police has merely fueled the fire.

One of the most prominent symbols in the United States is Lady Justice (Appendix A). According to Hayes (2020), each component of Lady Justice is symbolic and a common symbol in U.S. courthouses, where the administration of the law is handled. She holds scales, which represent the weighing of evidence on its own merit. At her feet lie two objects: a snake and a book. The snake represents evil. Her foot atop the book represents the Constitution, or the foundation and origins of the U.S. judicial system. She holds a sword for punishment and balance; the sword sits lower than the scales because punishment can only happen *after* evidence is weighed. Arguably, the most striking symbol is the blindfold on Lady Justice’s eyes. The blindfold represents the American justice system being blind to a person’s wealth, power, gender, and race. As Americans are forced to face the realities of the American justice system, many have discovered that Lady Justice removes her blindfold for police officers and chooses to turn a blind eye to those in uniform, despite evidence and violations of the law. The American justice system was developed on the concepts of ensuring equality and justice for all. The justice system and the representation of Lady Justice is meant to be a promise to the American people that equality and evidence will be the determinants of justice. Unfortunately, what history has proven, is that a uniform protects from justice (i.e. qualified immunity).

The justice system is a faction of the American government, and policing is another function within and of the American government. Policing is considered a special aspect of the government because police officials are granted remarkable powers that the ordinary citizen does not legally have. The powers that are granted to police officials that are not granted to civilians is the ability to use force and to conduct surveillance on civilians. The issue of policing and police brutality exploded primarily in the summer of 2014. That summer, the world saw an explosion of national

consciousness in regards to the issues of policing and race. This sudden national consciousness has also brought to surface the continued struggles of minorities and people of color. It is important to recognize that “policing often falls hardest on racial minorities, on the lower classes. Study after careful study confirms this” (Friedman, 2017, p. 12). From these studies, there is a harsh reality that must be faced: unconscious and conscious racial bias played and continues to play a role in policing. The historical struggles of these groups did not end following the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and these communities are still experiencing struggles and violence from fellow civilians and undeniably, from those that hold power. For the past few years, correlating with the rise of and speed of technology and social media, the misuse of policing power has been the highlight of national news consistently. This constant reminder of police misuse of power, has highlighted the claims of the persistence of racial injustice and inequity. There is a clear injustice in society that has been created by over-policing and violent policing.

The problems of the police organization did not develop overnight. Rather, they are problems that can be attributed to the foundation of the organization. For many years, members of society, particularly the BIPOC community, expressed the woes of police brutality towards them. After seeing the videos, images and hearing of the stories of those affected by police misuse of power, it becomes difficult to understand that this all remains by the tip of the iceberg. We can no longer look at the issue as a battle but as an opportunity for unity and improvement.

A. HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

While the roots of the U.S. police lie in the colonial British model, the present-day model, presence, and behavior of the U.S. police stems from early, informal, and regional patrol groups.

The patrol groups arose in the 1600s out of a desire for community policing and protection. Well known in American history, the early colonizers from Britain mirrored many of

the same policing developments occurring in Britain. Historical records prove that the “early colonies policing took two forms. It was both informal and communal, which is referred to as the ‘Watch,’ or private-for-profit policing, which is called ‘The Big Stick’ (Spitzer, 1979)” (Potter, 2013). In towns, watchmen spent the night patrolling. They looked for “fellow colonists engaging in prostitution or gambling” (Waxman, 2017). However, watchmen held a reputation for “sleep[ing] and drink[ing] on duty” (Olito, 2020). Aspiring to join the patrol groups did not hold the same weight seen today; people did not want to be associated with the watchmen’s poor reputation. For other forms of protection, some people could afford to hire others (Waxman, 2017; Olito, 2020). A national, formal group of protection did not yet exist.

The rising population across the U.S. created more needs for protection, inspiring different responses in the regions. In Northern U.S. states, urban areas inspired a need for a police force. Cities became so large, “render[ing] the night-watch system completely useless” (Waxman, 2017). Merchants continued hiring people to protect their goods in transport. Eventually, in 1838, merchants in Boston banded together to create “the first publicly funded, organized police force with officers on duty full-time” (Waxman, 2017). The Boston-inspired police force existed to serve everyone.

However, the South created a police force not focused on protecting merchants’ goods. Worth noting, the first formal group of policing in the South did not exist to provide safety. In a sense, they protected values. Their force existed for “the preservation of the slavery system” (Waxman, 2017). The South’s “slave patrol” (Olito, 2020), which started in 1704, ensured that the institution of slavery remained intact. What did the South use for law enforcement by the time Boston created their police force? During the Civil War, which lasted from about 1861 to 1865, the South relied on the military (Waxman, 2017). After the Civil War and during

Reconstruction, which took place from about 1865 to 1877, the South created forces mirroring the earlier slave patrols; they focused on “enforcing segregation and the disenfranchisement of freed slaves” (Waxman, 2017). The definition of a “police officer” varied by culture and location in the U.S. In the South of the U.S., modern police forces were created from these militia slave patrols, and in the North, police forces were created from the men hired to break union strikes.

The presence of police officers filled the United States. Waxman (2017) notes that “by the late 1880s, all major U.S. cities had police forces . . . [due to] fears of labor-union organizers and of large waves of Catholic, Irish, Italian, German, and Eastern European immigrants.” The model for electing police officers arose, but not from valuing democracy and representation but rather out of political leaders’ desires to “intimidat[e] voters[.]. . . harass opponents of that particular party, or provide payoffs for officers to turn a blind eye to allow illegal drinking, gambling and prostitution” (Waxman, 2017). Organized crime continued to paint life in the U.S.

Prohibition, also called the Volstead Act, was signed into place in the U.S. in 1920. The sale and production of alcohol was criminalized, and it fell onto the police forces of the U.S. to monitor and regulate the new guidelines. This led to the creation of groups like the “T-Men,” which was the first federal police agency, who were responsible for enforcing the Volstead Act. These groups acted more like military organizations than previous state and local policing agencies, disciplined and organized. State agencies would often come into local communities to control strikes or respond to unions in ways that local police would not (Folsom, 2010). These unions were often made up of working-class, immigrant Americans, at the bottom of the totem pole in American society.

The rise of Prohibition and its complications contributed to a negative perception about the police that continued on through the early 1900s. The public’s confidence in the police was

diminished (Fanonne, 2000), with police being generally seen as corrupt, and August Vollmer emerged as the founder of the professional policing reform movement. Vollmer focused on expanding the definition of what a police officer should be, creating the first college-level police education program at the University of California, Berkeley. The program incorporated psychology, sociology, social work, and other concepts that would move policing beyond the traditional sense of order and justice in policing. Vollmer and others like him also wanted to rid the police force of the corruption permeating their ranks, in cases such as the NYPD. The morality and unconstitutional nature of various police actions were questioned by these programs, such as the arrests of juveniles. Vollmer argued juveniles who broke the law should be handled by juvenile-specific organizations and channels, which were eventually produced. Vollmer also believed strongly in police as communicators and links to their neighborhoods and communities for the state, and created some of the first community-based police work.

The community-based policing model was not put into action on a national level for some 50 to 60 years later. In 1924, J. Edgar Hoover was appointed as the head of what would one day become the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the ‘professional’ era of policing began. Some of his adjustments to the national policing model included standardized training, and a thorough dismantling of corrupt departments in the Bureau. This model did not include the incorporation of social work, psychology, or community involvement. It was successful for the national perception of the police, which became more positive with the national publicizing of acts like stopping bank robberies (Walsh, 2020), and dealing with more localized street crime. Hoover became known as the “G-Man” (Gentry, 2001), which stands for “government man,” as police are representatives of and work for the state, or the government. “The basic strategy of policing shifted to what became known as the “three Rs”: random preventive patrols, rapid response to

calls for service, and reactive criminal investigation (Walsh, 2020).” These police agencies resembled those like the T-Men, and forces continued to be aligned more with the military than community resources. Responsibilities of police agencies were narrowed to fighting crime, and officers were cut off from their neighborhoods, patrolling in cars instead. Car patrols were consistent, and existed to deter potential crime from happening. The idea was that police would be more readily available for any emergencies in different locations, with an added bonus that the police would seem ever-present.

The public perception of police was higher than it had been previously, but tensions only continued to grow, especially in primarily Black communities. These patrols were just one example of the fraying relationship, as citizens were now less involved in general in taking care of their communities and getting involved in keeping their friends and families safe. Shorter emergency wait-time meant less need for citizen involvement, and more black-and-white area. When police responded to a call, this could mean more bias on who the “good guys” and the “bad guys” might be. Under the professional model, police departments tended to become inflexible and more concerned with their own needs than with those of the communities they served (Walsh, 2020). Any interactions that police had with the general public while on duty became mainly negative. Race relations were also at a low, as $\frac{2}{3}$ of the country believed in the necessity of segregation (Lee, 2011). Police officers as private citizens were also reflective of this percentage. Racial profiling and police brutality was a perpetual reminder to People of Color in the United States that the state saw them as lesser than White people, especially since police are agents of the state.

President Hoover responded to the critiques and fears of the police officers by appointing the Wickersham Commission in 1929. The Commission’s investigations especially tuned into the

effectiveness of Prohibition, which seemed to increase rather than decrease crime. The turmoil following Prohibition sparked an opportunity to analyze and critique the foundation “of criminal law enforcement” (Wright, 2013, p. 1199). The Commission noted the commonality: local control over a nationally occurring institution. This common denominator influenced the Commission’s preference for and recommendation to move from local toward state control “of criminal prosecution” (Wright, 2013, p. 1200). The Commission ultimately made police precincts independent of the power of local political party ward leaders (Waxman, 2017).

Unfortunately, the complicated relationship between the general public and the police did not end with the Wickersham Commission. While the Commission provided an in-depth report and assessment, the Commission also lacked unity, much like today’s public view toward criminal justice. After the Commission, police forces moved toward “professionalism” (Waxman, 2017). Samuel Walker argues that the movement did not necessarily benefit officers. Instead, the movement expanded the gap between the public and law enforcement, “exacerbating tensions between police and the communities they watch over” (Waxman, 2017). The Commission highlighted the early signs of unrest between police officers and some members of the public.

The relationship has continued to experience a rocky foundation. On May 29th, 2020, Former President Donald Trump posted a Tweet that stated “when the looting starts, the shooting starts,” referring to protests against police brutality in Minneapolis. The phrase perhaps rings familiar bells; the phrase has origins from 1967. Miami police Chief Walter Headley referred to protests and uprisings in the civil rights movement using this phrase (Sprunt, 2020), and it was later used in a campaign speech by the Segregationist presidential candidate George Wallace that same year (Nelson, 1967). The casual justification for deadly force is not new. Police brutality

persisted throughout the 1900s, and into the present day under conditions that have allowed it to thrive. An accident? No. Law enforcement continues to use aggressive force as a method to keep order.

The 1960s were a turning point for policing in the United States. The civil rights movement brought the fraught relationships between Black communities and the police. Protests, strikes, riots, and demonstrations borne from centuries of oppression shook the nation, and police were tasked with controlling any and all situations that the local, state, or federal government deemed fit. Police in the professional era were undoubtedly the protectors of the status quo, in this case meaning segregation and eventually counterculture, with protests surrounding the Vietnam war and the Gay Rights Movement. Incredibly harsh and violent tactics were used, classified as deadly force, and were often televised nationally. This included beatings, tear gas, attack dogs, and high-pressure water hoses (Siemaszko, 2012). Police actions were often at the core of riots, with demonstrations occurring in response to deadly force and oppression. The summer of 1967 saw 26 dead after residents in Newark (*History.com* Editors, 2019) protested the deadly beating of a Black taxi driver, and in the Detroit riots, 43 people died, 342 were injured, and 1,400 buildings had been burned. The early 1960s also brought the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson, a politician who is remembered for coining the phrase a “war on crime.” In response to protests and demonstrations, Johnson believed in ‘keeping order’ by continuing the trend of using force, often sending in military troops to cities and towns where local police forces were unable to shut down protests. This was some of the first true militarization of the police that our society had seen, as they were used to genuinely fight in the streets.

President Johnson, in response to vast civil unrest, put together the President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (also known as the Katzenbach

commission). This commission continued to endorse programs like patrols in cars, but for the first time, the negative impact in historically minoritized communities was also recognized. The causes of urban riots were studied by the commission, and it was concluded that the main cause was racism (Waegel, 1984), supported by the unwarranted use of deadly force by police. This concept and theory of policing was not effective, and it was not working.

It was at this point in time that programs like CPOPs (Community & Problem-Oriented Policing) began to be utilized, and the 'Community Policing' era began. (Spitzer 1979) One example of the new changes was surrounding the usage of patrols as community outreach instead of using them as, say, intimidation tactics. Studies had shown that the public was unsatisfied with car patrols (Kelling et al., 1974), which made for negative relations. These initiatives included placing police in patrols for neighborhoods that they lived in or were from, and focused on helping police to overcome their prejudice in policing. Foot patrols became a part of daily life rather than car patrols, and officers were expected to concentrate on building relationships with the people they served. Studies showed that the professional era, or crime-fighting theory, was insufficient because of the way that attention was not paid to the community issues and conditions that created crime (Goldstein, 1990). The theory of community policing was paid special attention in the 90s, when 100,000 community police officers were hired to be placed in cities across the United States. The Office of Community-Oriented Policing Services was also created within the Department of Justice. In the 1990s, crime rates began to decline (Olito, 2020; Lind 2015), although whether it was a result of CPOP, having an increased number of police officers (Eisen, 2015), or new technologies, is debated.

In April 1999, 13 students at Columbine High School were murdered by two of their classmates. The response time of the police took longer than community members had expected

or wanted, and many departments began to develop mass shooting protocol (Sanchez, 2018). An increased number of police were placed in schools, and SRO (school resource officer) programs were created. Just two years later, on September 11th, 2001, 2,977 people lost their lives and over 6,000 were injured in a coordinated terrorist attack on New York City, the Pentagon, and Washington, DC. This was a period of mourning for the country that led to a boosted sense of nationalism and patriotism. First responders such as police and fire-fighters were rightly hailed as heroes, and public opinion of the police was incredibly high. However, although the events of 9/11 led to a more positive perception of the police for the general public, minoritized communities often suffered under new counterterrorism initiatives, and concerns about private rights and property developed. The localized sense of these attacks made terrorism a law enforcement problem as well as a military problem. As a result, counterterrorism efforts often gave police more emergency and militarized powers, such as tanks, or the ability to detain suspects for longer than had always been legal. This also pulled money from reform efforts and community policing programs into more militarized areas.

During the development of more counterterrorism programs, racial and ethnic profiling, although something that had always existed, had a rise in popularity. In 2009, the American Civil Liberties Union wrote in a report that, “The practice of racial profiling by members of law enforcement at the federal, state, and local levels remains a widespread and pervasive problem throughout the United States, impacting the lives of millions of people in African American, Asian, Latino, South Asian, Arab and Muslim communities.” This report was submitted to the U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Policies like stop and frisk, which rely on making snap judgements about people and utilizing stereotypes, contributed to higher

tensions in low-income and Black and Brown communities, as a disproportionately higher number of Latinx and Black men were affected by it (Southall & Gold, 2019).

This tension continued to grow into the early 2010s, and in July 2014, a man named Eric Garner was killed by a police officer in New York City when placed in a chokehold. The altercation was filmed by a bystander and posted online. Outrage was widespread, and discussion of police brutality and deadly force was had on a national level. Eric Garner was also not the first, was by no means the last individual killed by police, and was especially not the last Black man killed by police. “1 in every 1,000 Black men can expect to be killed by police (Edwards et al., 2019).” A new social movement arose to bring awareness to these events called Black Lives Matter. The mass outrage at the lack of due process for individuals killed by police, and the disproportionate rate of Black and Latinx individuals killed by police, have led to various new reforms. These reforms include body cameras, which have had a conflicting success rate (Van Ness, 2020), bias training, and other various training initiatives.

The Black Lives Matter protests are not unfounded. In a 2018 study conducted by Hetey & Eberhardt (2018), 60% of all police stops in Oakland, CA were involving Black people, despite the fact that Black people only make up 28% of the city’s population. The study used a control of more than two dozen factors for police decisions to perform a stop, which found consistency for racial disparity (Hetey & Eberhardt, 2018). These patterns were similarly found in cities such as Boston, Greensboro, NC, Los Angeles, and New York City (American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Massachusetts, 2014; Ayres & Borowsky, 2008; Dunn, 2013; Goel, Rao, & Shroff, 2016; LaFraniere & Lehren, 2015).

A 2014 study by Epp, Maynard-Moody, and Haider-Markel, it was found that police treated Black people more harshly than White people (Epp et al., 2014). Using body-cam

footage, Hetey and Eberhardt found that police conduct included significantly harsher language, as opposed to White people who were spoken to with respectful language. This occurred regardless of the race of the police officer, location, or the severity of the infraction (Hetey & Eberhardt, 2018). Further, despite accounting for 13% of the national population, Black people accounted for 40% of all incarcerations in the United States, at six times the rate of White men (Guerino et al., 2012).

These incidents and occurrences are not by chance, and it is the responsibility of the police force to correct these wide disparities. Protests have not ended in 2020, and issues with policing have persisted as protests are responded to with force that we have seen for generations. This is partially due to the lack of true reform and reconstruction that policing as a whole has experienced. Policing has only experienced three separate eras of policing theory, and the last two, the professional / crime-fighting era and community policing era, are both in place in different parts of the country. New theory and the implementation of new and daring reforms is necessary for the survival of policing. Some of the policies that we are proposing we hope will begin to change the culture surrounding race and policing.

When discussing policing policy, it is also important to note the influence of police unions and organizations in the United States. Police unions are especially powerful in the northeast of the U.S. and west coast, where salaries for police are higher than anywhere in the country (Appendix C). Police unions provide legal representation for their members and fight for contractual benefits. However, police unions have also been one of the biggest blocks to police reform (Finnegan, 2020). They have opposed reforms from civilian complaint review or oversight boards (Barkan, 2020), to body cams, to being able to expunge disciplinary records and making citizen complaints public record. Many reforms in the past 50 years have been

successfully blocked by police unions, aided by millions spent lobbying to politicians and the public. During the professional / crime fighting era, discord was sown into the hearts of millions as crime rates rose. Police unions perpetuated the notion that they were the “lone safeguard against further disorder and anarchy (Barkan, 2020). Any reforms that police would be subject to suddenly meant an impediment to order for the country. Unfortunately, studies have shown that a lack of reforms and increased strength of police unions also means increased complaints of police violence against citizens, as shown in a recent University of Oxford study (Rad, 2018), and a University of Chicago Law School study (Dharmapala, 2019). In this way, the collective bargaining rights of police are being used as a license to justify violence. Current disciplinary methods for police that are approved by unions are also very weak. One example of this is in Minneapolis, where twenty-six hundred misconduct complaints have been filed since 2012, but only twelve officers have ever been disciplined (Dewan & Covaleski, 2020). The most serious discipline procedures included a forty-hour suspension (Greenhouse, 2020).

In 1897, the Cleveland police force, like many other work forces at the time, petitioned for the right to unionize, and were rejected. This was at the same time that the state was using police forces to break local strikes, and the American Federation of Labor stated that, “It is not within the province of the trade union movement to especially organize policemen, no more than to organize militiamen, as both policemen and militiamen are often controlled by forces inimical to the labor movement (Heusen, 1958).” Rejection of the police’s request to unionize continued until the 1960s in New York City, when police were given the right to collectively bargain by the city.. It was no coincidence that this finally happened at the height of the Civil Rights Movement in 1964. Mayor Robert Wagner feared a strike from police at this time when the police were being used to control protests and protect the status quo (Greenhouse, 2020), and the new police

unions capitalized on the fears of White people. The president of the collective bargaining unit at the time, John Cassese, was quoted as saying that “I’m sick and tired of giving in to minority groups with their whims and their gripes and shouting,” referring to reforms on the police wanted by the general public (Houtman, 2016). The police unions (given formal union status in the 1970s) were successful in their blocking of reforms for decades to follow. Unions originally also focused on increasing wages and benefits, but as the years passed, union contracts in many cities included measure upon measure to protect police from criticism, and eventually, accountability. Many cities and localities have adopted policies such as the expunging of records after a certain period of time, anywhere from 2 years to 10 years (Levinson, 2017).

The existence of police unions can be looked at as a contradiction to general labor unions. Police unions are inherently in opposition to organized labor, as police forces are often militarized to break strikes and arrest protestors. The reality is that the no militarized group in this country should have this kind of unchecked power, especially a group that exists to serve the people, or the state. Many of these policies will need to be looked at with the mindset that reform is something positive, and exists to create unity between the police and the public. Demilitarization of the police is included in these reforms. None of these policies attempt to check the power of police unions, although we recognize that this is something necessary in many situations to have any kind of reformation.

B. A MILITARIZED POLICE FORCE

Over time, the American police force has evolved from an urban watch force into another branch of the United States military. Greenwald (2014) defines militarization of the police according to Peter Kraska’s definition: “the process whereby civilian police increasingly draw from, and pattern themselves around, the tenets of militarism and the military model.” The police

experience little shock using tanks, helicopters, and officers dressed in full tactical gear and ready for forceful intervention. We encourage the public, which includes both civilians and officers, to step back and look at the full picture. Police officers have clashed with protestors -- the same protestors who denounce and condemn police brutality. The ACLU Foundation (2014) argues that “American policing has become unnecessarily and dangerously militarized, in large part through federal programs that have armed state and local law enforcement agencies with the weapons and tactics of war, with almost no public discussion of oversight.” Protestors calling for change in response to police brutality standing opposite of police officers in riot gear and tanks on standby paints the picture of a warzone.

A section of the police force known as the SWAT teams carries the most tactical equipment. SWAT teams use equipment including but not limited to the “battering ram . . . [and] flashbang grenade” (ACLU Foundation, 2014, p. 21). Do we truly need the militarized SWAT team? The ACLU Foundation (2014) found that 62% of SWAT deployments consist of “drug searches” (p. 2). Many residencies turned up without any drugs (ACLU, 2014. P. 2-4.). The SWAT team has disproportionately impacted the BIPOC communities. SWAT teams cost individual towns as much as “\$100,000 per year or more” (Grabianowski, n.d.).

For some, they picture the SWAT team as the only militarized component of the U.S. police force. However, the militarized nature exists throughout the police force. According to Radley Balko (2013), from the inception of the police forces in the mid-19th centuries in various American cities, the police force had a paramilitary ethos. Paramilitary policing refers to “the enforcement activities of armed groups that, while organized on military lines, possessing military-style capabilities or missions, and behaving or looking like soldiers, are not part of a regular military” (Wakefield & Fleming, 2009). The foundation of the police force slowly

morphed into the military. According to some data, “currently, almost 20 percent of police officers are military veterans, although veterans make up just 6 percent of the general population”

(<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/police-academies-paramilitary/612859/>) The police adopted military vocabulary to distinguish rank, and the police uniform began to mirror the style of military uniforms. As mentioned previously, police officers did not initially begin to carry weapons. Weapons were introduced into the police forces in the 20th century.

Additionally, statistically speaking, based on studies of over 9,000 law enforcement agencies across the United States of America, the presence of militarized units neither reduces crime rates nor reduces the death and injury rates of police officers. Furthermore, militarization can be harmful to public trust and arouse unrest, and peaceful, *unarmed* protestors are often brought up against full military force from which they cannot defend themselves (Akpan, 2018). Between 1997 and 2014, the Department of Defense gave \$4.3 Billion worth of military equipment to municipal law agencies (Akpan, 2018).

The militarization of police officers does not equate to threat prevention but rather an anticipation of extreme violence from civilians. Militarized officers normalize the potential threat from *any* civilian. This does not mean that police are explicitly out to get civilians, but the presence of militarized police symbolizes authoritarianism and intimidation, thus leading to mistrust (Lieblich, 2018). These tanks, helicopters, and gear have a hefty price tag -- an invoice given to American taxpayers and civilians. Supporters argue that the gear and militarized response proves necessary to combat well-armed criminals and the threat of 21st century terrorism. Critics argue that the military and the police force operate as two distinct institutions possessing fundamentally different roles; blending the two institutions poses a greater threat than

what remains unseen. As police budgets increase to accommodate the militarization of police departments, and the number of protests against the police rise, we must beg the question -- how can the police repair its reputation and rebuild trust with civilians?

The status quo is no longer sufficient and now is the time for reform. Our recommendations draw inspiration from research, police officers, activists, and an unbiased desire for progress. We recognize that laws vary by state and city. Additionally, some of the policies outlined below have already been implemented in some states and cities. Our recommendations strive to ease tensions between the public and the police out of an interest to increase mutual respect, transparency, and trust.

II. PROPOSAL

Any provision of this Act held to be invalid or unenforceable by its terms, or as applied to any person or circumstance, shall be construed so as to give it the maximum effect permitted by law, unless such holding shall be one of utter invalidity or unenforceability, in which event such provision shall be deemed [*276] severable from this Act and shall not affect the remainder thereof or the application of such provision to other persons not similarly situated or to other, dissimilar circumstances.

A. TRAINING

Throughout the United States there are big discrepancies in training programs for police officers. In comparison to the rest of the world, training is relatively small and tedious, ranging from 10 to 36 weeks for basic training (Kates, 2020), and may involve a lot of sitting and listening depending on the municipality. Action training is performed in a controlled environment and does little to translate into real-world experience. In 1989, Leland R. Devore wrote that as early as the 1950's there was a resistance to civilianization (recruiting civilians to

law enforcement) in training and cadets were instead assigned menial tasks, calling for a reform plan by 2000 (Devore, 1989). To this day, building community relationships is not widely taught, and civilianization has barely taken off. Much of the information taught at police academy is lost within 16 weeks, except for, according to Seth Stoughton in an interview with NPR, use of force, of which the majority of training is spent on, with an average of 120 hours. For comparison, de-escalation and conflict avoidance receive about eight hours of training time (Martin, 2016; Denmark, 2020).

In many European countries, including Norway and Finland, the individual must study to become an officer for three years at a university. The use of force is not introduced into the curriculum for several months, and even then barely even scratches the surface of physical force until later. Officers are taught to be citizens first and build relationships with constituents, and are taught to use de-escalation techniques long before employing use of force. Even then, the permitted use of force is far more limited than in the United States. For example, in Finland, applying pressure to the neck and throats of a suspect is forbidden by law and disparaged in training (Kates, 2020).

There is an urgent need for training reform across the board in the United States, and a reform that remains consistent from town to town, state to state. Police need to be taught to be protectors of peace and the people, a friend of the people, not militaristic warriors out to fight the people. When the officer violates protocol, where viable (other violations may result in termination or unpaid leave), training must immediately take place once more before being released back into the force.

In many U.S. states, the Attorney General holds the power to revise and confirm the training provisions. Those responsible, such as the Attorney Generals, should use their role to implement better training.

101. BASIC TRAINING PROTOCOL

1. State-Level Standardization.-- Minimum training parameters will be set by the State government, Attorney General, and all counties and municipalities within the state must meet these minimum guidelines.
 - A. Counties and municipalities may expand upon the parameters set by the State as they see fit for their communities, but may not diminish from the State standard.
2. Minimum Requirements.-- Although the states will design their full curriculum, the following recommendations are expected to be adhered to. These protocols are similar to European models of training, particularly that of the European Union Agency for law Enforcement Training (CEPOL).
 - A. Officers should enter the role with the following prerequisites: a bachelor's degree and a specialized master's degree from an accredited college or university. While the bachelor's degree may have a general focus, the master's degree should tailor and benefit the officer's position accordingly.
 - a. Obtaining higher education prior to appointment to the police force should be viewed and treated as a career investment. The education received will benefit the force and society, as it will expand the skills of future law enforcement officers. With these advanced and expanded skills, officers will have new methods of approaching members of society, and thus, can rebuild trust between society and the police force.

- B. Trainers can include former law enforcement officers, social workers, academics, or government agents.
- C. Training will be conducted in several different settings, including lectures, exercise practices, assignments, group work, discussion, and role-playing. The goal will be to provide not only the typical instruction trainees would receive, but to provide a near-realistic, practical exercise for trainees that is not in a fully-controlled environment. Training should also include opportunities for live, in-person teaching and discussion as opposed to pre-recorded and pre-made videos.
- D. One aspect of training will focus extensively on building public relationships and trust within the community. Officers are supposed to be protectors of peace, but not warriors. This can be accomplished through teaching theory and practices of interpersonal and human communication, based on the established curriculum of Communication, Psychology, and Sociology programs at state universities.
 - a. Verbal abuse will be recognized as abuse, and must be taught as such and banned. Too often, calls or stops involve using profane and abusive language against the opposition. This can be damaging to community relationships, especially when used against protestors exercising their right to make their voices heard.
 - b. Alternatively, training will prioritize professionalism. This includes during traffic stops, responding to mental health and substance abuse calls, or any situation that is not a high-pressure, life-or-death situation. Such approaches will contribute to the demilitarization of the police force,

re-presenting the police force as members of the community serving the community.

E. Development of communication skills within training will lead into de-escalation techniques. While the goal is to pass off some of the de-escalation duties to other professional areas to alleviate the duties of officers, this will take time to transition to this goal, and these skills are still important for a police officer to have in circumstances that cannot be handled by professional areas like social work.

- a. An important element to recognize with de-escalation and communication is having a sense of emotional intelligence. To some, this already comes naturally, but it is a skill that should be continually developed. As part of this training, cadets will hone in on the five key elements of emotional intelligence: self awareness, self-regulation, internal motivation, empathy and social skills. This training should be developed and led by individuals with experience in social work/psychology and law enforcement. Note that training on emotional intelligence for police is available on the internet.
- b. De-escalating a situation should also include learning proper communication and mediation techniques to be able to talk someone down from their heightened emotional state. This will be taught through existing curricula for therapy and social work.
- c. Regarding cases of self-defense or defending a colleague/civilian, training will teach officers an instinct for nonlethal approaches. Training will also include social workers who will accompany the officers, teaching them

how to use nonlethal approaches and understanding the protocols for officers.

- d. Require officers to give a verbal warning in all situations before using deadly force.

F. Weapons training will be saved for last, during the second half of the third year.

Likewise, weapon usage must be universally taught to be used as a *last resort*. All documented uses of weapons (melee, firearm, explosive ordinance, or otherwise) will be reviewed heavily by the Oversight Committee (see below).

- a. Firearms: The access to firearms should be largely limited to pistols, although advanced units (such as SWAT) would have access to long rifles where appropriate. Additionally, target practices should focus on nonlethal methods as much as possible.
 - i. As a Disclaimer, this Act recognizes that accuracy with firearms is incredibly difficult to achieve, and that mistakes do happen. Failure to avoid a nonlethal shot will not result in immediate termination, but will be reviewed for malicious intent.
 - ii. Nonlethal methods are defined in this Act as shots that do not result in death, are directed towards non-vital areas of the body, and shots that do not result in permanent disability and injury, which is possible with shots along the spine or the kneecaps.

- iii. While the Act suggests avoiding nonlethal methods, the use of weapons, whether a firearm or blunt-force melee weapon, should still be used with extreme caution so as to avoid injury. Injuries are still likely to bring forth complaints and lawsuits (Bulman, 2010).
- b. Use of Rubber Bullets: Should rubber bullets be deemed absolutely necessary for riot control, officers will shoot the bullets at the ground and allow them to bounce at the target. Direct impact on the target could result in permanent injury or even death. Aiming directly at the target will result in termination. Trainees must focus on achieving an effective but nonlethal trajectory with a high level of accuracy (90%) in order to pass this training.
- G. Melee/Blunt-Force Weapons: Melee weapons should never be used to strike an individual in the skull or spine. Training should focus on emphasizing this, and can be practiced in a practical way through subjects wearing protective gear that would prevent harm from the trainee.
 - A. Explosives/Chemical Weapons
 - a. Tear Gas: A chemical weapon, tear gas has been banned in many nations across the globe by the Geneva Convention. Tear Gas may never be used again, and may never be taught to be used.
 - b. Flashbang and Stun Grenades: Flashbangs and Stun Grenades may only be used for riot control or fighting against invasion. These

weapons may not be used on peaceful protestors, even those who may be in distress, and must be taught as such.

102. PLACEMENT AND ADVANCED TRAINING

1. Upon completion of basic training, the trainees will be assigned their roles based on results of their “Big 5” personality test. This test measures extraversion, neuroticism, agreeableness, conscientiousness and openness to experience, is peer-reviewed and known as a reliable metric in measuring consistent personality traits in individuals (Goldberg, 1992).
 - A. If a candidate shows great agreeableness, de-escalation communication techniques and low neuroticism they may be placed in a unit that specializes in distress call response.
 - B. Candidates who possess a tougher, more aggressive style and personality would be assigned to a SWAT unit or equivalent. These units must only be deployed *as needed*.
 - C. Candidates who possess strong intuition and investigative skills and are conscientious would be placed as detectives.
2. More advanced units, such as bomb squads and SWAT, would require additional training, as appropriate. Trainees and officers of these squads must still maintain a professional, non-hostile demeanor.

103. TRAINING RENEWAL

1. Every three years, officers must go through retraining efforts. This is to both ensure that officers are still conducting themselves properly, as well as to teach any new standards that have been passed by the state.
2. Should no new mandates be passed, training will occur over a period of two months.
3. If new mandates or practices are put into place, the officers may be subjected to longer training periods, to be defined by the state.

104. DISCIPLINARY RE-EDUCATION

1. Should an officer be in violation of the policies and practices set forth by this Act, they will be placed on unpaid administrative leave and will be required to go through one year of retraining.
2. Should the investigation into the officer's incident be determined to have been within protocol, they will be reinstated to the force immediately.
3. After one violation and one round of retraining, if the officer commits another violation, they will be terminated, effective immediately.
4. Any violation will be marked on the officer's record and will remain there throughout their time on the force.
5. Any officer who witnesses misconduct must report it to their superior, or the next highest-ranking officer if their superior commits the misconduct.
 - A. Training on how to properly intervene will be mandatory as part of basic training and a skill required to be renewed.
 - B. Intervention in the moment should focus on verbally calling out the officer and getting them to see the error in their actions. If they are acting inappropriately in a

physical and harmful manner, the witnessing officer must restrain the offending officer.

B. POLICE IN SCHOOLS

Up until the late 1990's, having law enforcement in schools was an uncommon phenomenon with only 1% of schools reporting having a school sanctioned law enforcement officer in the 1970's (National Institute of Education, 1978). By 1997, 22% of public schools had an armed law enforcement present (Heaviside et. al., 1998). That number has since steadily increased with 43% of public schools reporting having an armed officer at their school at least once a week in the 2015-2016 year (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017). Police in schools increased in the 1990's as a direct response to juvenile crime in the community and a fear that it may spill over into school (McKenna et. al., 2014). Along with this came federal legislation such as the Gun Free Act of 1994 that allowed schools to have "zero tolerance" towards weapons at schools. This was later broadened to include drugs and alcohol. Police were seen as the obvious people to enforce that law. Police presence in schools was also increased largely due to extra funding following the Sandy Hook tragedy in 2012.

As we move forward it is becoming more and more apparent that we are expecting police officers in schools (or school resource officers) to do too much, often things they are not trained for. Many job descriptions for school-based officers expect them to:

1. Create safety protocol and oversee drills.
2. Conduct internal dispute mediation between students.
3. Investigate and assist in prosecution of violations of school policy or the law occurring on school grounds.
4. Conduct personal or property searches for stolen items.

5. Patrol school grounds, ensure everyone in the building is safe.
6. Patrol after school events open to the public.
7. Serve as a resource for students, creating relationships and supporting students.
8. Meet with staff, faculty, parents and/or students regarding specific issues related to delinquency prevention.
9. Provide mental and emotional support when needed. Make appropriate referrals for students who may be a risk to themselves or others.
10. Maintain control of emergency situations while waiting for the fire department, more officers, ambulances etc.
11. Document all actions taken.

The list continues with an additional five expectations. In truth, we are expecting school-based officers to do too much and take on roles they are not properly trained for such as mental health counselors. Studies show that this leads to officers becoming overwhelmed, and often will lead to the disproportionate targeting of BIPOC children. Furthermore, this leads to an arrest rate of 3.5 times the rate of schools that do not use school resource officers, which builds a mindset that the children will be criminalized and may contribute to the school-to-prison pipeline (Lerner, 2020).

By removing police from schools so that they may develop elsewhere, we can provide more appropriate professionals who specialize in child psychology and mediation. Additional training and guidance can be provided to teachers to handle minor disputes within the classroom or hallways, until the appropriate personnel are able to arrive. Rather than criminalizing inappropriate behavior, these specialists will work to rehabilitate and nurture students, help them develop positive and compassionate relationships, and be mindful of others as well. They will

teach students that mistakes happen, forgiveness exists, and they can grow to be the best version of themselves. Our societal goal should not be to punish children for their behavior, but rather, to work collectively to help all children reach their full potential. Providing proper funding for teachers, counselors and for schools to access proper resources, will ensure the success of students.

201. REMOVING POLICE OFFICERS FROM SCHOOLS

1. Effective three months from the passing of this act, all school resource officers must transition out of the school system and back into the main police force, assigned to a unit based on the above training protocols.
2. The disciplinary, counseling, and de-escalation duties of the officers will be taken up by faculty and staff thereafter, at least during the interim.
 - A. School administrators will hold professional development hours to train staff and faculty in the proper techniques regarding these areas.
 - B. The school administration can choose to self-train their employees, or they may choose to hire an outside organization to help achieve training goals.
3. Should schools believe that it is better in the long term to hire specialists to absorb the counseling and de-escalation duties, they may do so as well within the period of one academic year after the passing of this act.
 - A. Should they choose to go this route immediately, they may relax faculty and staff training, but must meet the one academic year deadline once they elect to do so. If the school fails to hire specialists by the deadline, they must resort to training their staff and faculty.

- B. If the school initially chooses not to hire a specialist, but decides to do so later after faculty and staff training, they may do so without a deadline.

202. ALTERNATIVES TO SCHOOL SECURITY PERSONNEL

1. Aside from the police officers, there are a number professional fields that can be tapped into for discipline, de-escalation, and counseling.
2. Schools are recommended to hire psychologists and/or licensed therapists, with a specialty in child development, to fill these roles.
3. Funding previously going towards SRO's shall be redirected to hiring an adequate number of school social workers and psychologists for school size.

- A. We define adequate by the recommended professional standard ratio of no more than 250 students per 1 school social worker and no more than 500 students per school psychologist. The ACLU found that in 2016, the average student to social worker ratio in the United States was 2,106:1, a stark difference from the recommended 250:1 (ACLU, 2019).

203. STAFF AND FACULTY RETRAINING PROTOCOL

1. If schools decide not to hire specialists, they will be expected to train their staff in the weeks before the start of every academic year, in addition to when the act is passed, as both a refresher and re-education.
2. The administration will be expected to make changes to the training courses each year, in order to keep training fresh and accommodate for new research relevant to these areas.

C. RESPONSE TO INCIDENTS

In the wake of mass police brutality, protests and the subsequent calls to defund, it is imperative that we reexamine the way in which law enforcement responds to incidents. The only way in which to alleviate some of the tension and mistrust between the public and law enforcement offices is to work to create universal set rules and procedures that dictate how different incidents should be handled. Having such a protocol will create transparency for the public and clear and concise understanding of expectations for law enforcement officials. Ultimately, these protocols should be taken as a means of rebuilding trust with the community.

As “Guardians of Peace,” police officers should be conducting themselves in peaceful ways. When responding to calls, police officers should try to act in a calm and respectful manner to help resolve a situation as much as possible. For callers and victims, the officers should greet them upon arrival, listen, and show some compassion and solidarity. They should also keep short-term contact to check in and make sure that they are doing fine. If no law has been broken, the officers should not invalidate the worry of the caller, but gently talk them down to get them to understand and show that the officer still cares about their well-being.

When officers are dealing with distressed individuals or (alleged) criminals, the approach is most likely not going to be as civil. In cases of shootings and terrorism, as well as any major life-or-death situation, being calm would be a difficult reality to achieve. However, there are still different types of calls that can elicit a more civil response, and thus reduce backlash to how an incident was handled.

301. PREVENTATIVE MAINTENANCE

While calls may take unexpected turns, this Act aims to provide steps to be taken for different types of calls. These steps are designed to help prevent backlash to how incidents are

handled, prevent unnecessary injury or death to both the officers and the civilians involved, and overall improve quality of life and trust within American society.

1. Mental Health Calls

- A. While these calls will largely be handled by social workers going forward, there may be times where police involvement is necessary to assist in de-escalation.
- B. When assisting on these types of calls, when the individual is yelling loudly or acting strangely, the officer should not handcuff or use “legal violence, but rather just try to talk the individual down and help them since they have not done anything wrong.
- C. Social workers assigned to these calls must be required to have physical de-escalation training to assist an officer if necessary.
- D. If the individual begins to violently attack, the officer may use necessary restraint to subdue the individual, but not through excessive or lethal force.

2. Traffic Stops

- A. The Golden Rule here, and in general, is for officers to conduct themselves in a formal manner. Many people may not be aware of why they are being pulled over, especially with driver manuals being updated manually. The idea is to be calm and educate people, and (depending on the reason for the stop) leave them with a warning if it is a first offense. Officers should not verbally assault or act in a condescending manner to the vehicle operator (i.e., “Next time, we will have no mercy on your soul” to a minor who passed in the breakdown lane), but should rather conduct themselves in a professional, peaceful manner.

- B. The officer must not draw their weapons unless the vehicle operator draws first, and should exercise caution and their best judgement in how they use the weapon.

3. Substance-Related Call

- A. Rather than taking substance-users to prison, this Act proposes that police officers instead check the individual into a rehabilitation facility to help them achieve long-term sobriety.
- B. The individual will be required to complete the program, and will continue to be placed on probation under normal laws.
- C. If the individual commits another offense, they would continue to be brought to rehabilitation facilities. The goal is to help these individuals be healthy, productive members of society, not criminalized for how they treat their own bodies due to an external factor that jail time doesn't address.

4. Miscellaneous Misdemeanors

- A. In any cases where a fineable misdemeanor occurs, police officers should again not use hostile language and demeanors toward the offender. Rather, the officer should use the time to educate the offender on why their actions were wrong, and why they are being fined as such.
- B. In cases where the offender is unable to pay outstanding fines for reasons beyond their control, and the evidence for this is clear, officers should not act hostile when taking further action.
 - a. This Act further proposes that misdemeanor fines lead to a sentence of community service in cases where a fine is unable to be paid, so as to

avoid imprisoning lower-class individuals who may not be able to pay the fines presented to them.

302. REPORTING INCIDENTS

1. Regulation:

A. As of now, the way incidents with the public are reported is widely unregulated.

This Act aims to rectify that issue.

2. Officers are required to intervene and report unethical behavior they witness.

A. Failure to report will lead to the suspension, investigation of all officers present at the incident, and the revocation of their state certification.

B. Training on how to properly intervene will be mandatory as part of basic training and a skill required to be renewed.

3. Oversight Committee:

A. All cities/towns are expected to create an oversight committee of five people to handle complaints. The oversight committee will operate on a local level and will be charged with handling all complaints, both from the public and internal.

a. The oversight committee is granted the same powers as the police chief and will be given final say over the outcome of investigations.

B. Prospective members will apply through the city or town council. The five members will be voted on and appointed by their respective city or town council.

C. Role of Oversight Committee Members: For the sake of consistency, this Act provides a sample job description for a member of the local oversight committee.

- a. The starting salary for Oversight Committee Members would be roughly \$80,000 per year and is a full-time position, subject to higher salaries for larger municipalities or state-level committees.
- b. Candidates should ideally have around five to ten years of experience working in the public sector or practicing law in order to qualify.
- c. Candidates for the Oversight Committee must have strong community relationships or public communication skills in order to mediate between law enforcement and the public.
- d. Candidates will be required to be able to perform independent inquiries and legal research into the disputes that they investigate. This will include researching local, county, state, and federal laws, as well as reviewing past cases for legal precedent and social response.
- e. The Candidate will conduct private investigation and interview officers, the civilian filing the complaint, any other potential victims, and witnesses.
- f. The Candidate will help prepare and file annual reports as well as add instances to a public database of complaints.
- g. The Candidate will be able to have an independent voice regarding the cases against law officers, in conjunction with their findings. They will have the power to recommend the termination of police officers found guilty of misconduct. Final decisions on termination will be made using a congressional model of voting within the oversight board and must include the chief of police (unless the case directly involves them).

4. Investigation of Officer:

- A. Law enforcement officers suspected to have partaken in unethical or illegal actions must be investigated thoroughly by the oversight committee.
- B. The Sixth Amendment applies here as well, officers under investigation have the right to a fair and speedy trial.
 - a. Investigations may not take longer than six months.
 - b. The best way to achieve a thorough investigation within the given time limit is to hire a private third-party organization to help cut through bureaucracy and red tape. This will also save police departments and city officials the time and money that goes into internal investigation.
- C. While an officer is under investigation they will not receive leave pay nor be allowed to work.

5. Transparency:

- A. Transparency is expected of public employees. Thus, if you've taken the oath to protect your community as a police officer, any complaints against you should be public information, accessed through municipal databases physically and online depending on municipal standards.
 - a. Databases will include the type of incident (lawsuit, citizen complaint etc.), officer involved, and vague outline of the outcome (ie: administrative leave, no pay during investigation, complaint held merit, officer decertified and suspended from force.)
 - b. Any complaints filed with the city will be thoroughly investigated by the Oversight Committee and will appear on the database, regardless of

severity or time passed. This also allows other law enforcement branches in other cities to look up a candidate before hiring them to ensure they do not have a concerning history.

- c. Officers with more than three complaints of misconduct that were deemed to be guilty will be terminated from the force.

D. BUDGETING PROCEDURES

As mentioned in the training section, this Act seeks to relieve police officers of extra duties such as deescalating tense situations, providing school resources, handling mental health-based concerns or nonviolent issues including drug or alcohol use. A main question that often results from this is “How do we do this?” This section of this Act aims to highlight budgeting procedures and alterations that should be made. The hope is to clarify and again universalize the way in which budgets are distributed and utilized in order to be able to best fund a variety of important services that support the work of law enforcement. The goal is not to dismantle police departments, nor leave them underfunded and unable to complete their assigned duties, but rather the following proposal aims to adjust superfluous costs throughout a municipal budget so all departments and employees receive proper funding for their respective duties.

Given these statistics and sentiments, this Act proposes the following budgetary changes.

401. LEAVE PAY

1. Leave pay will be considered for the following reasons.
 - A. Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA), also based on state laws.
 - B. Maternity and Paternity Leave
 - C. Vacation leave, to be defined by the department.
 - D. Sick leave, to be defined by the department

- E. Bereavement payment for immediate family passings.
 - F. Jury Duty, up to three business days.
 - G. Religious Holidays.
 - H. Military Leave.
 - I. Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA) Leave.
 - J. Personal Leave, to be defined by the department.
2. Leave pay will not be allowed for the following:
- A. Administrative Leave for officers under investigation for unethical or criminal activity.
 - B. Suspension for misconduct.

402. WITHDRAWING FROM MILITARIZATION

1. Spending on military-grade weapons must be cut significantly, and may only consist of up to 2% of departmental budgets, toward trained SWAT units. No other police units may use this equipment.
2. Department of Defense donations are now forbidden under this act. The D.O.D. may not make donations and must keep older weapons in stock or dismantle old weapons for recycled parts. Police departments must make their own investments in this equipment with the 2% budget allocation.
3. Police officers may not use these weapons against unarmed protestors. US citizens have the right to protest, so the police may not incite agitation through militarization when citizens want their voices heard.

- A. A riot is not the same thing as peaceful protest. Police may, through *nonlethal* methods defined above, use these weapons in cases where there is clear evidence of property destruction, mass arson, and looting. Never aim to kill.
 - B. These weapons should only be used on individuals clearly causing physical harm to another or to property. Police must use clear judgement to make sure that they do not attack innocent bystanders, whether they are running from the scene in panic or just simply being present.
 - C. While the Act suggests avoiding nonlethal methods, the use of weapons, whether a firearm or blunt-force melee weapon, should still be used with extreme caution so as to avoid injury. Injuries are still likely to bring forth complaints and lawsuits (Bulman, 2010).
4. When dealing with protests, officers should show respect to the individuals involved. Help them feel safe and comfortable. This Act provides some examples of how to make protestors feel more welcome to exercising their Freedom of Speech.
- A. Officers should keep their weapons holstered until a violent disturbance occurs.
 - B. While the officer does not have to agree with and support the protest movement, they should still act in a formal manner toward their community members.

403. BUDGET ALLOCATION FOR THIRD-PARTY SERVICES

1. Each individual police department must allocate one-eighth of their overall budget to providing compensation for a group of trained crisis counselors to serve on staff and answer incoming police calls concerning individuals who are not a direct threat to others (i.e. mental health concern, disorderly conduct, substance use).

2. On average, two-thirds of a police budget is allocated to payroll and overtime (Auxier, 2020). While this will generally remain the same, it may be possible to reduce this a little depending on the needs of the municipality and if the department needs to hire more or less officers with the allocation of duties to third-party services.
3. Using the Seattle Police Department as an example (Publicola, 2020), this Act aims to increase or decrease certain budget areas. **Disclaimer:** Departments and municipalities can work together to decide what is best for them and do not need to strictly adhere to these exact numbers. However, the Act **strongly** suggests that budgets be within the neighborhood of the numbers presented (Appendix B).
 - A. Based on the statistics stated above, Payroll would account for roughly 72% of the budget, including overtime pay, with 12.5% going toward third-party services such as counselors.
 - B. Travel & Training expenditures should be roughly 3%.
 - C. Interfund Charges (such as for Human Resources, Judgement Claims, ITD, and FAS) will account for about 10% of the budget.
 - D. Professional services performed by police will account for roughly 0.3% of the budget, since most of these activities will now be largely performed elsewhere.
 - E. Discretionary Purchase Accounts, for office supplies and equipment, would account for about 1.2%.
 - F. All other needs will account for 1% of the budget.

III. CONCLUSION

Breonna Taylor. Rayshard Brooks. Daniel Prude. Atatiana Jefferson. Aura Rosser. Stephon Clark. Botham Jean. Philando Castille. Alton Sterling. Michelle Cusseaux. Freddie Gray. Janisha Fonville. Eric Garner. Akai Gurley. Gabrielle Nevarez. Tamir Rice. Michael Brown. Tanisha Anderson. George Floyd.

These are just some of the names of victims of police brutality. Their voices were silenced far too early because of missed training opportunities, discipline, and due to the inherent racism and corruption that exists within the police organization. This reality has been exposed and brought to the surface with the rise of the Age of Technology. The names mentioned above are known because they have been documented. But there are thousands of others who remain faceless, and yet, they exist. Many officers and civilians throughout the country argue that not all police officers are the same and that a ‘few bad apples’ should not be the representation of “697,195 full-time police officers” (Duffin, 2020) throughout the United States. While this holds some truth, the reality remains that the police hold significant power over civilians. It is our duty to recognize the problem, and to work towards a solution that will honor past victims and serve as a promise that police brutality shall never happen again.

Many of the recommendations proposed require further research into the role of police unions and their relationship with policymakers. With the way public sector unions bargain with governments, discipline procedures for use of excessive force, hiring, firing, salaries, budgets, weaponry, hours and schedules, transfers, and so forth are typically covered under union contracts and cannot be anything citizens or politicians simply change.

The suggestion of some groups to defund the police is often labeled as frightening and radical. However, schools, hospitals and other social safety net resources are losing funding

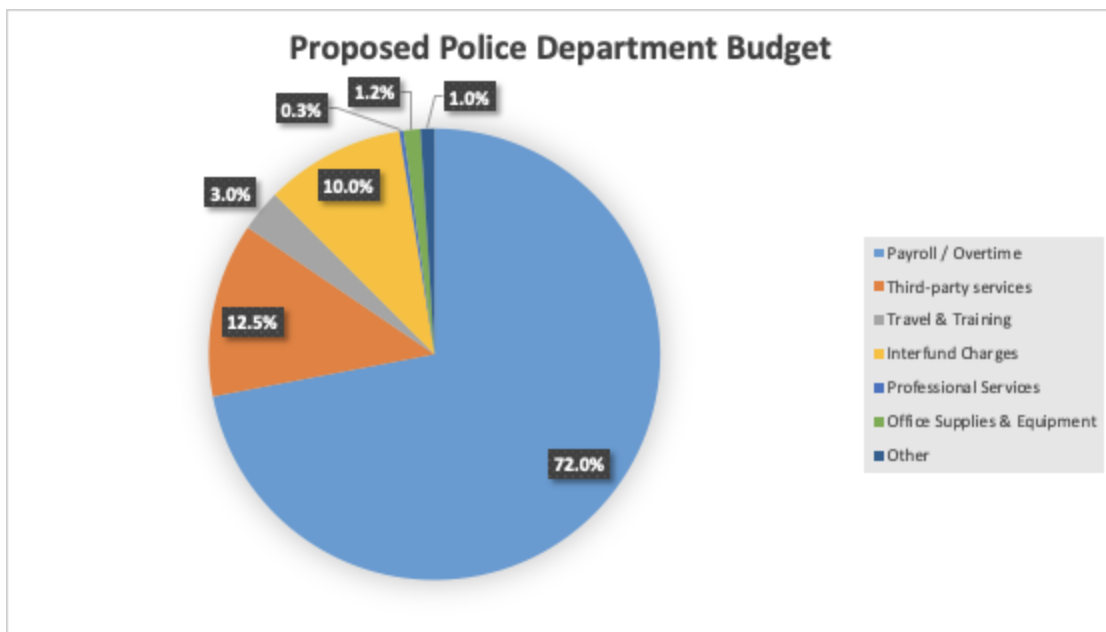
yearly. The task is not to *defund* the police, but rather *refund* the police. Language plays a role in acceptance of change, particularly when it pertains to policy and societal change. When funds are reduced annually from hospitals or schools, policy makers and legislators do not call for defunding schools or hospitals, but word these changes using innocuous phrases like “fiscal responsibility”. Rebranding “Defund the Police” to “Public Safety Choice” may allow for this change to move forward. Change, after living with a status quo for years, may seem radical. But if we look back in history, necessary changes to society were seen as radical, yet they moved forward. There was a point in time when abolishing slavery, outlawing exploitation of child labor, the establishment of the 40 hour work week, dismantling of Jim Crow, extending voting rights to Black people and White women, etc. all seemed “radical.” But, as proposed in the examples, without facing these problems and offering what seemed like “radical solutions” at the time, humanity would never advance. Change is hard, but when change becomes hard because it affects persons in uniform and blinds us to reality, there is a deeper, societal problem that must be addressed. The American police force is funded by American taxpayers and their mission is “to serve and protect”, and although that mission is noble, with the advancement of technology and the willingness to hold difficult conversations, there seems to be a problem with the foundation of the police system in the United States. Engineers ensure that the foundation of the building is secure before moving to continue the building or structure. This is because the foundation is the most essential part of the structure. If the foundation is shaky, the structure will be uneasy and has potentially deadly outcomes, but if the foundation is strong and stable, the structure is secure and the probability of a negative outcome decreases. The same can be said about foundations within society.

There is unanimous agreement that 2020 has been a year filled with challenges and struggles that the world has faced. The United States has also had to come to terms with problems that have been piling up for years. Societal problems exist in the United States that have been brushed into a large mountain, but 2020 proved to be the year to begin facing these problems. We cannot deny the inequality, inequity and systemic racism that remains in the United States. If any good were to come from the year 2020, the year that has shattered many people's lives, let it be that this year becomes the year that the United States' faces these problems. Silence is compliance, and the voices of American taxpayers have shaken cities demanding change. Lady Justice, inspired by the American people, is ready to put her blindfolds on, and ensure fair and equal administration of the law, without corruption, favor, greed or prejudice. This is an opportunity to show good faith and once again, build trust within communities and the police force. The time for change is now.

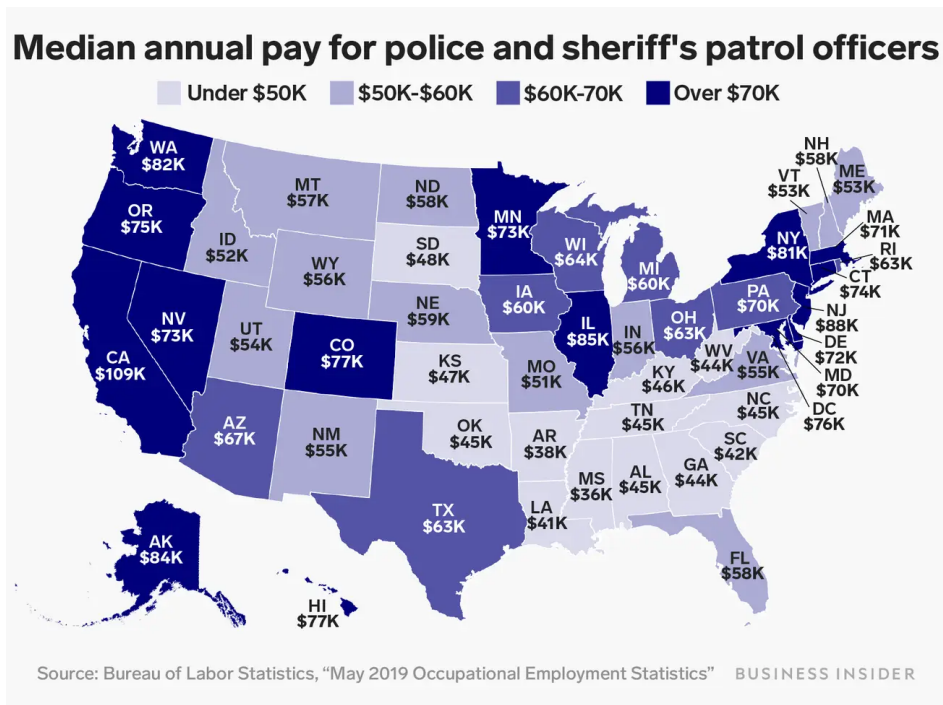
IV. APPENDICES



Appendix A: Lady Justice. Source: Getty Images.



Appendix B: Proposed Police Department Budget, inspired by Seattle Police Department.



Appendix C: U.S. Median Annual Pay for Police and Sheriff's Patrol Officers By State (as of May 2019)

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