Labor-Management Relations in Policing: Looking to the Future and Finding Common Ground
CRITICAL ISSUES IN POLICING SERIES

Labor-Management Relations in Policing: Looking to the Future and Finding Common Ground

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Acknowledgments

This report, the 18th in PERF’s “Critical Issues in Policing” series produced with the support of the Motorola Solutions Foundation, delves into the intricacies of the relationship between labor and management in policing. Interactions between police unions and police executives impact nearly every aspect of law enforcement, including discipline, policy issues, the public image of policing, and managing budgets. A civil working relationship between labor leaders and police chiefs is necessary to make progress on these issues, but it can be a challenge to cultivate and maintain such a relationship. This report looks into the ways that police chiefs and labor officials have worked together to advance the interests of the police department and the community, despite their different roles and perspectives.

As always, PERF is grateful to all the members of the law enforcement community whose contributions are detailed in this report. Our initial interviews helped shape the direction of this project, and the key findings and insights came from the police executives and labor officials who participated in a one-day Summit we convened here in Washington in May 2011. Once again, our members are essential to all aspects of our work at PERF.

PERF also owes a great deal of gratitude to the Motorola Solutions Foundation for its continuing support for the Critical Issues series. In particular, thanks go to Greg Brown, Chairman and CEO of Motorola Solutions; Mark Moon, Senior Vice President, Sales and Field Operations; Karen Tandy, Senior Vice President of Public Affairs; Jim Welch, Senior Vice President, North America Sales; Rick Neal, Vice President, Government Strategy and Business Development; and Matt Blakely, Director of the Motorola Solutions Foundation.

And I would like to thank the PERF staff members who contributed to this project. My Chief of Staff, Andrea Luna, once again provided exceptionally thoughtful management and oversight of the entire project. Our brilliant and unflappable Research Associate, Shannon McFadden, deserves a great deal of credit for helping to plan everything leading up to the Summit, and for keeping track of the hundred puzzle pieces that, assembled correctly, resulted in a successful meeting. PERF’s Visiting Fellow, Lieutenant Molly Bartley of the Newport News, Va. Police Department, conducted research and helped on the day of the Summit, as did Research Assistant Jacob Berman. Project Assistant James McGinty displayed great skill in drafting this report and organizing the quotations made by the Summit participants, with the guidance of Communications Director Craig Fischer. Craig did his usual exceptional job of pulling it all together into a coherent document. Tam Vieth took the photographs in this report, and Dave Williams contributed his graphic design expertise and close attention to detail in finalizing the report.

We hope that the information included in this report will help law enforcement leaders learn from each other to improve their approaches to labor/management relations.

Chick Wesler
Executive Director
Police Executive Research Forum
Washington, D.C.
Foreword

By Chuck Wexler

Many of the reports we have released through the “Critical Issues in Policing” series have addressed law enforcement responses to events that originate outside their departments—spikes in crime, gang violence, gun crime, mass demonstrations, and so on. In this report, we have turned our focus inward, to the interactions that happen within police departments between labor unions and police management. These internal relationships can affect all aspects of policing, from managing budgets and applying discipline to developing policies that will be used in the field.

This is a broad topic, and there is certainly room to explore many of the ideas presented here in greater detail. But as with previous Critical Issues reports, our approach is to convene a meeting of today’s leading police chiefs, and in this case leading labor leaders, and ask them to discuss the most difficult and important issues they are facing in police-labor relations today. Our goal is to “cut to the chase” and share the wisdom of today’s leaders about the challenges they consider most significant.

We worked to bring in a wide range of law enforcement officials from all over the country. Approximately half the participants were leaders of police unions, while police executives made up the other half, allowing this relationship to be explored from both sides.

Not all police departments have police unions, but since the founding of the first police unions nearly 100 years ago, many police departments across the country have operated in a collective bargaining environment. In practice, the relationship between labor and management varies greatly by department. Some police chiefs and labor leaders say they enjoy an “open door” relationship in which they may disagree about many issues, but are able to have candid discussions without personal acrimony. Others say they have heated arguments over nearly every issue, and in some cases do not even trust each other enough to speak freely about their disagreements. Many departments fall somewhere in between these two extremes.

Lately, circumstances have changed. The widespread recent economic cutbacks have brought disputes between labor and management to the forefront. Personnel costs typically account for 90 percent or more of a police department’s budget. So when police chiefs are told by their mayors or city councils to cut their budgets, they often have no choice but to consider layoffs and/or cuts in pay or benefits. As several union leaders mention in the following pages, the previous generation of police union leaders generally made significant gains in raising pay and benefits for their members. But the legacies of today’s union leaders will be measured in terms of benefits they were able to maintain, not in terms of major increases in benefits. Navigating these negotiations can be a challenge for even the most experienced leaders in the field.

On the other hand, quite a few police chiefs and union leaders told us that the economic crisis has brought them closer together, because to a certain extent they are now working together to grapple with budget-cutting in police agencies. And in any case, a number of police chiefs say that budgetary decisions have never been their most contentious issue with labor unions. Rather, these chiefs are more concerned about labor agreements that limit a chief’s authority to apply discipline, to deploy officers when and where they see fit, or to set policy and run the department.

I hope you will find this report interesting and useful. I believe that the quotations of police executives and labor leaders offer tremendous insights that will be applicable to many police agencies across the country.
IN THE WAKE OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND cuts in government funding since 2008, police departments have found themselves reevaluating the way they operate. Many police chiefs do not see the budget cuts of the last few years as a temporary inconvenience. Rather, some chiefs believe that a “new normal” may be developing in policing.

In the past, police agencies in many jurisdictions were immune to budget-cutting even when other government agencies were being cut, because no elected official wanted to be seen as the politician who fired police officers. But in the “new normal,” police department budgets are no longer considered bulletproof. And in many cities, police departments account for the largest share of municipal spending. So when the 2008 economic crisis hit, politicians realized that there was no way that police budgets could be taken off the table.

Many police chiefs, faced with significant cuts in funding, have decided that keeping officers out on patrol is the top priority, so they have been forced to cut what some consider “special programs,” such as community policing initiatives and special police units that focus on gangs or drug crime. But others resist that trend, believing that the huge gains in crime fighting that occurred during the 1990s and 2000s were a direct result of community policing and problem-oriented policing. This is one of the types of decisions that must be made in developing a “new normal.”

Some police chiefs also are looking at the state of policing from a broader perspective, and are asking whether police are “pricing themselves out of the market.” In other words, are the services traditionally provided by police agencies increasingly being taken over by the private security industry, at a lower cost?

Other police chiefs are trying to cope with budget cuts by making their departments more efficient—using technology as a force-multiplier, for example, or consolidating small departments into larger agencies. And others are discussing possible changes in the entire mission of police agencies.

Thus, the current situation is being seen as a critical transition period. The budget crisis is resulting in a good deal of new thinking about what the police should do and how they should do it. Managers are carefully analyzing every dollar that is spent, and there is a greater sense of urgency about ensuring that police resources are being allocated efficiently.

Labor-management relations figure centrally in many of these discussions. Many of the police managers and union officials at the PERF Summit expressed the view that the economic crisis in some ways has brought them closer together. Today, chiefs and union officials understand that they share the common goal of protecting the public and wanting officers to be as effective as possible. At the same time, collective bargaining agreements have established benefits and working conditions that may be problematic in today’s economic landscape.

For example, when a mayor or city council instructs a police chief to start making plans for a 5- or 10-percent budget cut, the chief may try to convince the police union to help achieve the savings...
by contributing more to their retirement fund or otherwise reducing pay or benefits. In this way, the chief can avoid making layoffs and can maintain the strength of the workforce. But the union may see it differently. From the union’s point of view, management is asking workers to give back benefits that they worked hard to obtain. So a majority of union members, especially those with seniority, may prefer to insist on keeping all benefits that have been negotiated, even if the result is that the chief must lay off recently hired officers.

Similarly, a chief facing budget cutbacks may wish to reassign employees from one unit to another, or change their shifts, or make other decisions that the chief believes are in the best interest of the department’s overall effectiveness and efficiency. But a union may cling to work rules negotiated in the past.

Following are comments made at the PERF Summit on labor-management relations with regard to the economic cutbacks in policing:

Frank Straub, Director, Indianapolis Department of Public Safety:

*We Are in a Critical Transition Period, and Must Define Our Role in Society*

We’re at a very critical transition period in policing. Community policing is evolving and changing, and we’re dealing with fewer resources. Despite this, we’re still trying to provide social services. How do we deal with young people, with the elderly, with poverty? How do we deal with all these social issues that, in many ways, community policing might have gotten us overly involved in? Now we’re finding we don’t have the resources to expend on these issues, and we’re pulling back into a more traditional policing concept. We’re dealing with the tension of the economy while we’re still trying to develop as a profession. I think we have a greater obligation as labor and management to make sure that we define what our role is in society—in both urban and rural environments, depending on what we police—and not lose sight of that even in the face of the current economic issues.

Los Angeles Assistant Chief Michel Moore:

*You Can’t Eliminate 800 Employees and Be as Effective as You Were Before*

I think that the future of policing hinges on the types of conversations that are happening here. We, as a group, have a responsibility to recognize that policing is changing, and these conversations are how we plan together to find shared values and priorities. We need to be thoughtful about implementing an agenda that serves the needs of both labor and management.

In Los Angeles, we have eight bargaining units—the primary one for officers and separate unions for groups like our command officers and our civilian work force, which has taken a huge hit during the economic downturn. About two and a half years ago, we had 3,600 civilians, and we’re now down to 2,800. And those 800 positions were not just vacant positions that hadn’t been filled. So our civilian side of the house has actually faced greater difficulties than our sworn officers during these economic pullbacks.

We know we can’t eliminate 800 people and be as efficient and effective today as we were before. Backlogs are developing and service delays are...
being encountered. Service curtailment is something we're looking at and have been looking at the last couple of years. We will continue to strategize about which police services are the first we can cut. We have to operate with a “new normal” in terms of the type of work that we can provide to the city.

Columbus, OH Deputy Chief Tim Becker:
We Have Cut Civilian Jobs, and Have Been Forced to Move Officers into Those Roles

With all the agencies being downsized, I think we need to look at what part of our job we can afford to cut. We're trying to do as much as we were doing a year ago, but we have 120 – 130 fewer officers today than we had this time last year. So assuming we were being efficient last year, we can't be carrying out all our responsibilities as well as we were doing them in the past. If we were not being efficient in the past, then maybe we've corrected for that with the cuts. But if we were being efficient, then we need to identify what we are not doing today or are doing half-heartedly, that maybe we could cut out of the plan.

We also have cut a lot of civilians. This discussion focused on sworn officers because politicians generally like to keep the numbers of sworn officers up. Politicians don't talk about keeping the number of civilians up, even though many civilians are performing very crucial roles within our agencies. We've had to move sworn officers to these roles, but they're probably less efficient at these tasks, they cost more, and it leaves fewer officers to act in an enforcement capacity.

Kristopher Baumann, Executive Committee Chairman, Washington, DC FOP:
We Waste Money Training Officers If We Don't Offer Competitive Salaries and Benefits to Keep Them

Our biggest issue is manpower. We're authorized to have 4,200 police officers right now. We're already down to 3,800, and assuming very conservative attrition rates, we're going to dip into the 3,600
range in the next 12 to 18 months. Right now, we’re not hiring and we’re budgeting properly for the situation. We have another thousand people who are going to be eligible to retire by 2015, so the train is approaching very quickly. We’ve worked very hard to make this situation clear to everybody out there, including the public and the politicians here in D.C.

The other challenge is that once we are able to start hiring officers, we have to be competitive to keep them. Prince George’s County, Maryland, on our eastern border, is hiring, and they have a better benefits package than we do. Baltimore is hiring. I think that every jurisdiction around us, with the exception of one county, is hiring right now. When

**Camden, NJ Police Chief Uses Technology To Minimize Impact of Budget Cuts, As Talks Continue for Possible County Police Department**

Probably no police agency in the United States suffered a larger percentage budget cut this year than Camden, NJ, which laid off nearly half of its officers in January 2011.

Mayor Dana Redd told reporters that she was unable to reach agreement with police and firefighter unions that would have been needed to avoid the officer layoffs.

The layoffs resulted in a great deal of concern in Camden, which for years has struggled with some of the highest crime rates in the nation.

Police Chief Scott Thomson responded with a number of forward-thinking initiatives to deal with the crisis, including:

- Using asset forfeiture funds to lease office space so he could bring together county, state, and federal law enforcement officials (from the FBI, DEA, ATF, U.S. Marshals Service, New Jersey State Police, the county prosecutor’s office, and other agencies), who worked with Camden police officers to discuss crime patterns and plan countermeasures.

- Using technology, such as automated license plate readers and gunshot detection equipment, to help offset the reduction in officer strength. For example, GPS devices in police vehicles help commanders direct a fast response to serious crimes, and hold officers accountable for patrolling the neighborhoods in greatest need of a visible police presence.

- Revising rules on police response to non-injury traffic accidents and minor offenses, in order to give officers some discretionary time for proactive police work, such as problem-oriented policing, rather than constantly being tied up with calls for service, some of which may not require an in-person response.

Chief Thomson received PERF’s 2011 Gary P. Hayes Award in recognition of his innovative measures to manage the impact of budget cuts in his department.

In August 2011, city, county, and state officials announced another proposal that could result in significant cost savings for Camden and other cities: a Camden County regional police agency. Under the proposal, Camden and other municipalities could choose to make use of a county department rather than maintaining their own police agencies. Backers of the approach said that a larger department could bring economies of scale and provide a higher level of police service than individual cities could afford on their own.
other agencies are hiring, including the federal government, our attrition rate gets up into the 20- to 25-a-month range. If we cannot hold onto our officers, if we cannot keep them here, we’re throwing money out the door in hiring them.

I think the estimate of the cost to recruit and train a new police officer is $90,000. If we lose a thousand officers every four or five years, that’s $90 million lost, and another $90 million to replace them. That’s just not sustainable.

**Madison, WI Chief Noble Wray:**

*Are Police Officers Worth More than People Realize?*

Have we really made the case nationally of what our fair market value is? Who else besides the police provide 24-hour service? A police officer has to serve as a living, breathing enforcer of the U.S. Constitution, a mental health worker, a social worker, and someone who does all these things all day, responding to one call after another. Firefighters also provide 24-hour service, but I can walk into a firehouse right now in Madison, Wisconsin and see firefighters just sitting waiting for a call. This would be totally unacceptable for law enforcement.

**Camden, NJ Deputy Chief Mike Lynch:**

*We Are Operating in Crisis Mode Every Single Day, But Are Finding Ways to Be Smarter about What We Do*

We are in difficult times financially, and I’m going to spare you the details about our problems in Camden. We must focus on the positive side of these difficulties, because they give us a unique opportunity to take a close look at our organizations, to become better, to become stronger, to become more effective.

I think one of the encouraging things I’ve heard in the conversations today is that we’re standing on common ground. It’s very clear that we all face similar issues and share similar goals. And when we set our egos aside and take a close look at ourselves, labor and management have a common interest.

As practitioners, we are facing an absolute crisis. We are in crisis mode. That has become our norm in Camden. We operate in crisis mode every single day. Whether it’s because of workforce reductions or the state of crime, that is our reality. It is critical that we stay focused and continue to do everything we can to be effective on a day-to-day basis.

But when we operate in this crisis mode, we sometimes become blinded and forget to take a

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Camden, NJ Deputy Chief Mike Lynch
look at what’s going on in the lane to our left or the lane to our right. I think that’s where management and labor sometimes go astray. We start to focus on what’s important to us at that moment, and lose sight of the bigger picture about the direction that we’re headed.

It’s easy to say, “Do more with less,” but in reality you cannot do more with less. However, we have learned that you definitely can be smarter at what you do. You can use things like new technologies to increase the capability of each officer. We also need to increase accountability. I’m not just talking about disciplinary accountability, but also having systems in place to ensure that you’re operating as efficiently as possible. In the city of Camden, we’ve brought back almost 75 officers, but we still have 120 fewer officers than we had before January 18th. I think every chief in this room would agree that we would all like to have as many officers as possible. The sky would be the limit if we had unlimited resources. However, we can accomplish our goals with fewer resources; we just need to do it smarter.

Philadelphia Commissioner and PERF President Chuck Ramsey:

*Budget Cuts May Be Imposed, But We Still Must Get the Job Done*

I’m not anti-union at all. But I do think that we have to find some common ground in this climate of a significant economic downturn. The labor issue that probably is most problematic and of concern to me is operational flexibility—the ability to deploy people as you need them, at the time that you need them. People will tell you, “Sure, you can do that”—but at time-and-a-half, at double-time-and-a-half, at these premium pay levels that you can’t afford. Ninety-seven percent of the police budget in Philadelphia is for personnel. That leaves me 3% to do everything else.

When budgets are tightened, there will be cuts in certain categories. Overtime is one area; we take tremendous hits in overtime budgets. But when you have a smaller force to work with, the only way you can keep up is through overtime. It puts you in a terrible position when you have to make these cuts and then still get the job done.

Having said all that, I’ll add that I would still rather have a small, well-trained, well-equipped police force than a very large, ill-equipped and poorly-trained police department.

Boston Commissioner Ed Davis:

*We Need to Consider How Police Compete with Private Security*

We have always looked at our business as a taxpayer-based business. But in the last 10 or 15 years that I’ve been running police departments, I’ve recognized that there are other sources of funding. The first funding that we accessed was from the COPS Office, and it was tremendous to take over a police department at that time because there was federal money flowing. We then went on and obtained funding from the National Institute of Justice and other federal grants.

I’ve also had a lot of good luck in bringing in funding through foundations. We have the Boston Police Foundation, which is flourishing right now. Our Police Athletic League has also done an enormous amount of fundraising. It is very helpful.
to us in putting special programs together out on the streets. These private funds are available if you access them properly.

The one thing we have not addressed yet is the whole conversation about capitalism and entrepreneurial proposals that could be made. There are about 600,000 cops in the United States. In the 1960s, there were few private security people. Now there are over two million security people in the United States. So there is now business money being dedicated to our field.

We’ve been losing “market share” over the last 20 years, even though we are the best people to do these types of jobs. The argument can be made that if private-sector employers hire us, they could save money by not having to pay for the retirement benefits and health care that we get by being part of the city government. If we move into this market somehow by getting competitive with the current private-sector workers, we could actually increase our numbers and not need to be looking at decreasing them all the time.

It would require a very close relationship between union and management to pound out these contracts. We just have never looked at the free enterprise issue before, as a possibility to expand our limited resources instead of decreasing them.

**Minneapolis Chief Tim Dolan:**

*We Are Competing with Private Security Companies*

Minneapolis, like most places in Minnesota, hasn’t done much hiring recently, but we do see private security in the city. There are many Minnesota colleges with law enforcement programs that are producing qualified graduates every year. They’re sharp, energetic kids with law enforcement degrees, and if we aren’t hiring, they end up taking these private security jobs. They work part-time jobs, doing a lot of what we do with a smile on their face at a fraction of the cost. This means we have real competition out there. There’s a new private security group that’s hired by private businesses to work downtown, and they have guns and actually work beats on the north side of the city.

When a private security company gets a call about a guy sitting near the front door of a business, they won’t complain about handling the call, while
a cop might show up and say, “This is not what we do.” When I talk to my officers, I emphasize that we usually get the first call for these services, and we need to make sure that we handle service calls properly and in a pleasant way. If we don’t, calls will go to a private security company. Eventually that will impact the number of positions needed on the police force. I think this competition with private companies is a challenge that more and more of us are going to face.

**Louisville, KY Deputy Chief Vincent Robison:**

_Civilians Take the Brunt of Cutbacks_

We’ve done everything we could to shield the officers from the budget cuts. We’ve taken cuts for five years, sold a helicopter, delayed fleet purchases, and laid off about 10 percent of our civilians. I think that there are a lot of progressive ideas involving civilians we could utilize to offer better public service, but we are reluctant to hire any civilians because we know that next year we might have to lay them off again.

Unfortunately, the civilians feel and have always felt like second-class citizens. There’s a perception that the sworn officers, who are about 70% of our staff, are the backbone of the organization and they come first, and the civilians have always been treated somewhat differently. We try to avoid that, but they seem to take the brunt of any cutbacks that are made.

**Robert Cherry Jr.,
President, Baltimore FOP Lodge #3:**

_As the Economy Rebounds,
We Need to Invest in Policing_

Our union’s biggest concern is not where we are today, but where we are going to be five to ten years from now. We are in the biggest recession since the Great Depression, and our city leaders and governors are quick to point that out. But one of the things that they’re not discussing is that we will pull out of it. I’m concerned about what type of investment we are making for the future, and whether these cities and towns will come back and reinvest in what should be a professional police department. I think that we’re going to be concerned about the outsourcing of policing.

**Darryl Clodt, Sergeant at Arms,
Las Vegas Police Protective Association:**

_Labor and Management Must Come Together to Fight for Funding_

I think one measure of our success is being able to help elect people in government who are going to vote for our needs and be there for our issues.
Our economy is weak and our property taxes are down almost 25%. The lost tax revenue takes away a quarter of our operating budget. It’s difficult and we’ve recognized that. Over the last several years, we’ve had to make some concessions.

The prior union leaders are going to be remembered for the agreements they reached that have given us what we have today. I’ll be remembered—and every union leader sitting at the table today is going to be remembered—for what we’ll be able to hang on to for our membership.

I think we may have to change our thinking and not view our interactions as a battle between labor and management. This is a battle in which labor and management must stand together.

San Jose Chief Chris Moore:

*I’m Concerned that Police Layoffs Are Resulting in More Crime*

We’re a city of about a million people, and at our high point in 2005, we had 1,403 officers. Currently, we have about 1,262, and the cuts that could...
potentially occur will bring us down to 920. That's a 34% reduction in our workforce from the high point. We're already very thinly staffed and always have been, in part because we operate out of one complex in the city and have to cover almost 190 square miles. When I took the job, I never thought I'd have to deal with numbers like this. But it's my job to work with the city to try to come up with a solution.

I've said to them, “Listen, I can't in good conscience say that we will be able to do what we always have done with 920 officers for a city of a million people.” We've been very successful over the years, but already the homicide rate, although it is very low compared to other cities, is rising. We had 20 homicides in the city last year, which is remarkably low for a city of a million. This year, through the middle of May, we have 21. But I'm not going to be a fear-monger, because the public won't be happy if they think I'm pounding the drum and saying the city's not going to be safe just to try to get more funding.

We have had discussions about consolidation of police agencies. I've seen it done elsewhere, and I'm really starting to push the idea with my council. If we have consolidation rather than layoffs, we can spend money more efficiently in some of these areas.

I also want to talk about outsourcing. We just finished a beautiful airport, but the problem is that they have so much debt on it that they're looking for ways to cut their budget. The airport directors came to me and said, “You're too expensive. We're going to outsource.”

They were spending $11.5 million for our service. We have figured out a way to reduce that by about $5 million, which is a huge reduction. The only way that I can do it is by subsidizing it with my own staff during their off-hours. The airport still wants to proceed and outsource the work to the sheriffs, who I know cannot do what we can do. I'm not just being protective; I just know what their capabilities are. It's going to become a battle. It's a city airport, and I think it's the wrong public safety decision to bring the sheriff’s department in there instead of the police.

Philadelphia Commissioner Chuck Ramsey:
We Must Keep Pensions Sustainable
If you've been in an organization for any length of time, you are looking forward to a pension. Any change in that system affects those of us in management just as much as it affects the rank and file. It's certainly something that we all have to be very concerned about. I think we do need to look at pension systems to make sure that they're sustainable. What are you protecting if, 10 years from now, it's bankrupt, and then you have absolutely nothing?
Having said that and wanting to fight to secure pension benefits, I think we all have to be very realistic in terms of what those benefits are, what they cost, and what you’re going to need when you reach your retirement age. You want to have these ideas solidly in place. I think we all need to be very concerned about these issues.

Sean Smoot, Treasurer, National Association of Police Organizations
Police and Firefighter Unions Are Joining Forces With Teachers and Other Unions

About eight months ago, we changed the pension system for new hires in Illinois, which proved to be a very venomous battle in the state legislature and from a public relations standpoint. The dispute was between mayors and managers versus policemen and firemen. Those were the battle lines. We ultimately arrived at this two-tier plan, but it didn’t stop there. Now we’re battling legislation that will freeze benefits.

In response, we’re seeing some very interesting allegiances. In Illinois, we have a website called weareoneillinois.org, which is a campaign in which the police and fire have joined with the teachers, laborers, and other public employees to push back against this attack on our pensions.

Dan Frei, President, Madison Professional Police Officers Association
Most Police Unions in Wisconsin Joined Other Unions in Protesting Governor’s Attack on Government Employees

Our approach locally and with our state union has been to let everyone know that an attack on one union is an attack on all the unions. Just because something isn’t happening to our union right this minute doesn’t mean it won’t happen next week. We came out very early on and publicly supported the other unions in the battle with Governor Scott Walker, and we’ve been demonstrating with them.

BART Deputy Chief Ben Fairow:
We Need to Focus on the Public’s Expectations of the Police

Clearly relationships and communications are key issues. But I think we also have to take a close look at our expectations. Sometimes both management and labor have to get a wider perspective about the implications of what they’re asking for. Labor can’t be so focused on, “What can you give me now?” They have to look toward the future a little bit. Management needs to get a better feeling for what labor really wants and what’s important to them. The final aspect of expectations comes from the community, and all the people who we serve. It’s hard to get
anywhere if we don’t have support from them. What we’ve seen from the public in California lately isn’t what we thought it was going to be. When Oakland laid off 80 officers, we expected a public response. But it wasn’t there from the citizens. In fact, they expected the same level of service that they were receiving the day before 80 officers were laid off. This showed us that we need to pay attention to the expectations of our citizens.

Minneapolis Chief Tim Dolan:
Police Unions and Management Are Under the Public’s Microscope

Our legislature is going after the bargaining rights of our labor unions and is looking to cut pensions. Fighting that has actually brought our administration and the union closer together. It hasn’t been a completely smooth relationship between the management and the union. I’ve never had the endorsement of the union—which is a reason why I’m still chief today. Neither our mayor nor any of our council members would look at a labor union endorsement of me as a positive thing.

One of the things we talk about is being under the public microscope right now. Minneapolis and St. Paul are both doing very well right now with their pensions and salaries, but these two cities make up only 25% of the population of Minnesota. Outside of these cities, unemployment is much higher, and gas prices and the economy in general are hurting everybody. When they see what we have and what they don’t have, some people tend to be resentful of public safety employees. Because of this, one of the things labor and management are working together on is how we need to act while we’re under this public microscope.

Richmond, CA Chief Chris Magnus:
Our Union Has Focused on Building Community Support

Compared to other cities, Richmond got a head start dealing with some of these unpleasant economic realities, not because of the bad economy but because poor management of our city government caused us to nearly go bankrupt about seven years ago. At that point, it was really a crisis. We were down to one of the lowest staffing levels we’ve ever had as a department. It looked very, very bleak.

At that point the union really did step up. They had to start making a 9-percent contribution towards their pension, which they viewed as the end of the world. Much of the membership was very bitter and angry about it, but they made an important decision. The union, under the direction of its leadership, decided that they weren’t going to hold this against the community, which, by and large, wasn’t really engaged with these specific budget-cut decisions. The union made an effort to go on a “community-friendly offensive” and to some degree bypass the city council and the mayor. The community is now incredibly favorable to public safety.

The change is that there’s been an unspoken, informal partnership between the union and management to encourage more interaction with the community. We wanted to provide professionalism, accountability, and responsiveness to the community at a level that they hadn’t seen before. We now have a community that feels they have a relationship with their police officers. So there’s no way that they’re going to let politicians compromise that.
So now, even as we’re going through a really tough economic period, the community has been supportive of our officers. The union has continually done things like giving out scholarships, working with non-profits, and promoting a true community policing model. It’s interesting to see a community with a poor history with the police department now coming forward at meetings with city council members saying, “Whatever you do, don’t cut the police. These are our folks. We’re not going to stand for that.” That message has resonated among the city council. Are we going to come out of this unscathed economically? No. But it would be a lot worse if these relationships hadn’t been established. Our union decided that they were not going to be bitter about that 9-percent contribution, and the payoff for them has been huge.

**Mike Helle, President, San Antonio Police Officers Association**

*Showing the Community the Importance of Policing Before Contract Negotiations Occur*

While we were doing things that made our department a better place to work, I also wanted to develop an atmosphere that creates a “win-win-win” situation, meaning it’s a win for our members, a win for management, and a win for the community that we serve.

Traditionally, most unions would just sit back and say, “We’re talking about pay and benefits, and then we’ll let management decide how they’re going to run the department.” Our union identified particular problem areas within our department that needed to be resolved, such as things like response times, shift allocation, and evidence collections. We developed these programs and put these ideas on the table. We pushed for a lot of these things and were able to get them done.

We felt that we needed to be a little bit more aggressive, especially because we had already predicted that this type of horrific economic downturn was on its way. We did not want to get caught in a pinch between our city manager and council where they leveraged our benefits against us in public, because once you lose the public, you lose everything. We created that “win-win-win”, and, actually, we kept that mantra going so much that we even had the mayor and city council using that terminology themselves.

We ingrained ourselves in the community issues, and showed them the importance of our contractual initiatives which kept the city from targeting us directly. They had no other option but to embrace us because we showed how we could improve the community issues and needs. We’re supposed to be making these improvements together, except this time we carried the water for them up hill. Because of all this, we have decent salaries, pension benefits, and rank structure, so we’re very solid.

**The Downside of a Two-Tier Benefit System**

I’m concerned about the future hires. I’ve already heard the city manager mention wanting to start a two-tiered system. I’ve already pledged to my membership that we will feel the pain together, and not sell out the unborn. Not knowing what the future economic outlook will be for our city, I don’t know if I can always deliver on that pledge. But, I certainly do not want to be the guy who sells out those coming on.
If you sell off the unborn who will have more reductions in benefits than we do, they’re eventually going to become the majority, and we’ll become the minority. And then, there’s going to be a day of reckoning. They’re going to strip our benefits to make them equal.

Baltimore Commissioner Fred Bealefield:
Police Must Convey Their Value to the Community

I think one problem is that we’ve cultivated the wrong audience as police officers and police leaders. I think that politicians have become our constituency, and we have forgotten the general public, who should be seen as the people that we actually serve. I’ll give an example of this.

In Toronto, Ontario, a budget crisis put Police Chief William Blair and Police Association President Mike McCormack on the same side of an important issue: whether the Police Service could absorb layoffs of as many as 1,000 officers without damaging public safety. As of September 2011, the city was facing a budget deficit of $774 million for 2012, according to press accounts, and the Police Service was being included in plans for funding reductions.

Chief Blair warned that a loss of 1,000 officers in a department that currently has approximately 5,600 officers would have “a very significant impact on public safety.”

The process for setting police budgets in Toronto is unlike that of U.S. cities; an Ontario law requires police agencies to maintain “adequate and effective” levels of policing. For budget cuts to take effect, the city council, the Toronto Police Services Board, and Chief Blair must agree that the cuts would not result in inadequate public safety. Even if such an agreement were reached, the police union could appeal budget cuts to the Ontario Civilian Police Commission.

Like Chief Blair, Police Association President Mike McCormack expressed concerns about the impact of laying off hundreds of officers. Also being discussed by elected officials: contracting out administrative tasks such as payroll services and background checks, offering severance packages to officers who resign, and reducing the number of management positions in the Police Service.
The city commissioned two public surveys about the quality of government services. The number one concern for the residents of Baltimore is public safety. But the lowest-rated service provider in the city is the police force.

The disconnect is that the cops seem to believe that because the community is afraid of crime, that means they must hold the cops in high esteem. But it's not necessarily so. The union leaders and I are trying to break down the idea inside the organization that more crime equals job security.

**Philadelphia FOP Vice President Jim Wheeler:**
*A Bad Economy Can Bring Resentment of Public Workers*

We've been sitting in Philadelphia over the last year watching this tsunami of change and political rhetoric across the country—in Ohio, Wisconsin, California, Massachusetts, and other states—about the pensions, salaries and benefits that unions spent a lot of time and energy to get for their members. It seems that it only takes the stroke of a pen to lose these things. We're trying to prepare ourselves for the same thing coming to Pennsylvania.

The prevailing attitude in the media is that they're finally able to say something about "these greedy municipal employees who are feeding from this trough.” And that message is resonating with the public because there's a lot of people who are hurting—people who have been laid off and are trying to figure out when their checks are coming, or whether they will receive their next check. They're looking at the municipal employees—and the standard bearers of municipal employees are the police and firefighters—and they think, “They have theirs; why aren't they suffering like us?” When we negotiate favorable terms on an aspect of our contract, it's painted as almost bordering on theft. And often there are politicians who see this as an issue they can use to turn the attention away from themselves and their mismanagement of government over the last 20 years.

**Dave Mutchler, President, River City FOP Lodge #614, Louisville, KY:**
*With Public Sector Workers, You Get What You Pay For*

There seems to be a feeling that public sector workers are to blame for budget deficits. I think those feelings are misguided. Often we forget that the
primary responsibility of cities and mayors is public safety. If you're going to have folks working as firemen and policemen, you have to pay them. And if you want good folks doing these jobs, you only get what you pay for.

Las Vegas Deputy Chief Gary Schofield:
The News Media Are Revealing Abuses of the System

In most communities, firefighters have always been seen as heroes, without a doubt. I never thought I would see the day that would change. But in Las Vegas, the local news media reported that some firefighters were manipulating the overtime system and were making $200,000 to $300,000 a year. The continuing public outcry tarnished the reputation of the firefighters and their unions. It has resulted in resignations, retirements, and terminations of firefighters. Politicians who once actively courted the endorsements from the firefighters’ unions no longer did so. This has shown us the impact of the news media on public opinion. In our community, people then looked at police pay. It was found that we were not doing the same thing, which boosted our reputation.

Camden, NJ Deputy Chief Mike Lynch:
We Need to Remember that We Are Public Servants Working for the Community

To overcome some of the challenges we are facing, I think it’s important to have a discussion about the “market value” of the police, how we market to our constituency, and who that constituency is. We are clearly losing the battle of public perception, particularly when it comes to issues like pension reform. Immediately after 9/11, there was no doubt that public opinion of police officers spiked upward, but that has subsided. The fact is that we are being viewed as greedy public servants who want more and want to give less. So our conversations about this need to continue. The good news is that if we put our heads together as a team, we can develop a clear, defined message that transforms the public perception into something that will benefit everyone.

In other words, we can’t lose focus of why we’re here. We’ve talked a lot about contracts, salaries, pensions, and benefits, all of which are very important issues that affect everybody from a Commissioner on down to the newest officer in your organization. We need to make sure we don’t lose focus of why we’re here to begin with, which is to work as police officers, as public servants, serving the community.
Over the last three years, the economic crisis has resulted in a new sense of urgency about labor relations issues in police departments, because significant budget cuts in many departments have forced police managers to make tough choices about every sub-bureau and unit, every program and function, and every aspect of how a department defines its mission and goals.

But the police executives and union officials at PERF’s conference also addressed many of the issues that crop up in their day-to-day discussions with each other, regardless of whether budget cuts are on the table—issues like disciplinary procedures, hiring standards, officer safety rules, and policy issues like gun control, where line officers may generally have a different point of view than the chief’s perspective.

The participants at the PERF meeting offered important advice on how to approach the management-labor relationship, in order to ensure that differences can be aired in an atmosphere of mutual respect. There was strong agreement that no one wins if the relationship breaks down into one of mistrust, because it can become impossible to reach agreement on any issue if a police chief and union leader do not trust each other enough to communicate openly.

It is more important than ever that police managers and union officials be able to function together as smoothly as possible. To foster this type of relationship, both sides must be willing to maintain an open dialogue, discuss issues transparently, and work together towards a solution. Negotiators must emphasize the points that they consider most important, not present a long list of unrealistic demands. And labor and management need to remember that many of their goals can be compatible with each other. Chiefs aim to hold officers to a high standard, and union leaders fight for fair treatment of officers, but these two concepts are not mutually exclusive.

Participants at the PERF Summit agreed that when the labor/management relationship is marked by mutual respect, the likelihood of successful outcomes improves.

Communication and Personal Relationships

Dave Mutchler, President, River City
FOP Lodge #614, Louisville, KY:

A Personal Relationship Between Labor and Management Leaders Can Make Compromise Possible

I think it’s important to have personal relationships with the people you are working with. We all know that in the relationship between management and labor, there are going to be bumps in the road. Problems occur when you let those bumps define the relationship, which happened to us for a long time under a previous mayor. But when management knows you individually, you can build some trust. Issues in the “grey area” can sometimes go the way they need to go, because you believe in the person who’s selling it to you and can believe what they’re telling you.
Philadelphia Commissioner Chuck Ramsey:  
Don’t Let Disagreements Become Personal

Having a good personal relationship is probably the most important point out of everything we’ve discussed. The head of the department and the head of the union need to have a relationship where they can at least talk to one another. If the door isn’t open and you can’t make a phone call, you’ve got nothing but problems. It’s inevitable that you won’t agree on a lot of things, but at least you need to be able to find out where you may have some common ground, so you can work hard in those areas.

And if you disagree about something, you should just disagree on it. It doesn’t have to become personal. When it becomes personal, it becomes difficult to deal with the issues that you do agree on, because you just don’t like each other.

We see things through different lenses, because we’re sitting in different positions within the organization and we have different responsibilities. But that doesn’t mean that we aren’t aligned a lot closer than we think sometimes.

Scott LeRoy, Columbus, OH  
Police Grievance Chairman:  
Labor and Management Can Unite When Their Goals Align

Under Ohio’s newly-elected Governor Kasich, there has been legislation introduced to limit union activity by public employees that will dramatically impact management and labor. From my perspective, this has united us with management on many of the issues that this new legislation will impact. From labor’s point of view, the governor did us a favor because he brought us together.

Mike McCormack, President,  
Toronto Police Association:  
In Toronto, We Understand that Management and Labor Have the Same Essential Goals

In my department, there’s no blindsiding. There’s communication. This is really important in allowing labor and management to coexist. Basically, we both have the same interests; it’s just that management and the union achieve these goals through a different path. Everybody should have the interests of the membership and the community as the cornerstone of where you want to go. It’s just a question of how we get there.

Bob McNeilly, Chief,  
Elizabeth Township, PA Police Department  
The Need for Cooperation Is Even Greater During a Time of Crisis

When I took over the Pittsburgh Police in 1996, the department had a lot of problems. More than half the officers had less than three years on the job. As a result, there was an increase in lawsuits, citizens’
complaints, community dissatisfaction, and demonstrations. Changes were needed. I took over at the same time as a new union president.

The week before I took over, a series of lawsuits had led to a Department of Justice investigation. I met with the FOP president to talk about making changes in the department, but he didn’t want to discuss changes for another year. As a new chief with all those problems, I couldn’t wait a year. The Department of Justice was not only knocking at the door; it was searching our records. We entered into a consent decree with the Department of Justice, and every one of my initiatives was in the consent decree. I ended up getting what I needed to reform the department. Of course that created some union issues and there was conflict for many years. To prevent those problems, it takes the willingness to work together, trust, communication, and the ability to disagree without being disagreeable.

Mike McCormack, President, Toronto Police Association

A Problem in One Part of a Police Department Can Damage The Entire Organization

What we all need to understand is that the media and the general public don’t view our problems in the same way we do. We can break down a problem and attribute it to the police union, or the police association, or the police service, or the chief, or an individual member of the organization. But the average member of the public is not going to see that divide. So when a negative incident is revealed, it can make us all look unprofessional, even if it was not a matter that was under our control. The public just sees it as a police problem. We’re all part of the policing family, and negative publicity damages the reputation of all police officers and the work that we do. It can take a long time to regain public confidence and get back to the point where the public will see us as a professional organization again.

Columbus, OH Deputy Chief Tim Becker:
Consider How the Other Side Feels during Negotiations

We’ve had a roller coaster ride in the negotiations with our union in the past couple of years. First, we aligned with the union against layoffs. We were able to generate citizen support and a subsequent tax increase, which averted the layoffs. Then we had major restructuring of our Patrol Staffing Plan, which the union opposed. It ended up in the courts, where it was dragged out for several months before ultimately being resolved in favor of the city. Now we are aligned again on the debate about Senate Bill 5 [legislation limiting collective bargaining rights for public employees, including police officers, which was approved and signed into law by Gov. John Kasich in March] and a pension fight. I think
this has been a lot to deal with, especially for the new officers.

To keep morale up, I think management has been focused on achieving its goals, and the union’s been focused on achieving its goals. But maybe we don’t really have a finger on the pulse as to what the other side is feeling. We need to ask ourselves, “Do they feel expendable? Do they feel that they’re truly a part of the organization and the future?” In this time of widespread change I believe that it is important for the union and management to communicate more effectively with each other and for the employees to minimize the damage done by rumors based on incorrect information.

**Detroit Chief Ralph Godbee:**

*A Chief’s Negotiator Must Be on the Same Page as the Chief*

We’ve talked a lot about the relationship between the chief and the union, but if the chief chooses someone to negotiate on their behalf, it can be an equally important decision. Problems can occur if the chief selects someone who does one thing during negotiations while the chief is saying something completely different in public. This can make the chief look good in public while the negotiator is being much tougher, which destroys any trust the union might have in you.

**Washington, DC Assistant Chief Al Durham:**

*We Emphasize that Managers Were Once Rank-and-File Officers*

We try to convey to our personnel that there isn’t such a division between labor and management. Before we were managers and put on that bleached shirt, we came up through ranks within the departments. We try to stress to the rank-and-file members that, “Hey, this isn’t ‘all of us versus all of you’ or ‘you versus me.’ We’re all in this together, because times are tough and the budgets are hard.”

**Camden, NJ Deputy Chief Mike Lynch:**

*Remind Your Managers Why They Originally Got into Policing*

We recently did a retreat with our entire management team. At the end, we showed the photos of our management team at their police academy graduations. We challenged them to remember how they felt that day; to think of the first time they put their uniform on and the first time that they walked into roll call. We had them remember what it felt like at graduation and the sense of pride and honor that they had in front of their families on that day. If you remind yourself why you’re here to begin with, I think the challenges become a little bit easier to overcome.

**Toronto Chief Bill Blair:**

*Labor Leaders Can Help Convince Officers to Cooperate*

I had a situation where 125 of my officers were photographed after having removed their personal identifiers at the G20 summit. We wear name tags and badge numbers, but they took them off. It became national news and I testified before a Parliamentary committee about it. I set a penalty for the officers that was fairly significant, but it wasn't
excessive. There was immediate pushback from the news media, who wanted me to throw the officers under the bus. Fortunately, my labor leaders covered my back with the individual officers, so I didn’t have to fight the battle on the union front as well. Our union leader went around to every one of my divisions and detachments and spoke to the officers who were impacted, and they all agreed to take the penalty, because the union came to them and asked them to do so.

Dave Mutchler, President, River City FOP Lodge #614, Louisville, KY

Unions Must Be Careful about Supporting Political Candidates for the Wrong Reasons

Often we make the mistake of supporting politicians who don’t work for us, because we personally think like they do, even though their political views are bad for labor. I’m trying to correct that, because I have to do the right thing for the membership, regardless of what I personally think about a certain candidate.

Madison, WI Chief Noble Wray:

Realize that the Other Side May Not Be Trying to Manipulate You; They’re Just Doing Their Job

We’ve all talked about the importance and value of trust within these personal relationships, but I’d like to be a little more specific. The relationship is often just about the interaction between labor and management. At times the relationship is one of coexistence, but at other times there is a need for an adversarial relationship, whether perceived or real.

When I reflect on the times when I’ve faced challenges with a union president, I realize it’s often been because I’ve misunderstood the intention of their statements. For example, when a union president comes to me and says, “Chief, there’s low morale in the department,” I may initially wonder if I’m only being told this because the union wants something. But when I take a step back, I realize that I’m hearing this because they’ve received phone calls from officers, and this has been placed on their plate as something to bring to me. I’m the one they have to come to. So I’ve come to understand that they are not trying to manipulate me. I just need to take a minute to see these issues from their perspective. And I would hope that the union president will take a step back and do the same for me.
Richmond, CA Chief Chris Magnus:  
*Fixing A Damaged Labor-Management Relationship*

*Conflicts with Labor Feel like Family Fights*

I think that we, as chiefs, understand that when we deal with elected officials or community leaders, sometimes there are going to be communications breakdowns and hurt feelings, and we have to get over it and continue to work together.

But I think having a fight with the union is a little bit like having a fight with your own family. And it’s harder to keep a “this is just business” perspective when people within your own home are being critical of what you’re saying or doing. If you’re a parent and your kids are particularly unhappy with you about something even though you feel you’ve done the best that you can, it stings more than when it’s an argument with somebody outside the family. The damage can last much longer and be more difficult to get over.

We really have to maintain the ability to reach out when things get particularly tough, because often the small issues do more damage to our relationship than the major ones. We generally agree that the bad economy is bringing us together right now and that professionalism is essential. But something like a minor disciplinary dispute can create a major rift between a chief and the union. As a chief, you feel that you’re doing the best that you can, even when it’s not popular. But that’s not always something the membership within the department notices and appreciates. That’s when communication has to be immediate, so that these smaller issues don’t take on a life of their own and cause more problems than they should. I think once you get a handle on the small things, the big things come together much more easily.

Los Angeles Assistant Chief Michel Moore:  
*A Bad Labor Relationship Hurts Management*

We had a poor labor-management relationship for a while in Los Angeles. I think at first it was just an issue of people having different styles, but then it became very adversarial. And eventually it became a battle of strategy, and at times labor was trying to undermine and seek the removal of the chief of police. The department and senior managers chose to respond to that with pushback rather than by extending an olive branch. It went back and forth, and when this happens between management and labor, management is going to lose.

To have integrity, what we say in public should match up with the reality of our situation, because the union leaders are hearing what we say in public. So they will be really confused if they hear something from us in private and something different in public.

Boston Commissioner Ed Davis:  
*Personal Attacks Can Make a Relationship Unsalvageable*

Whether or not a bad labor/management relationship can be fixed depends on the individual situation. I tend to be optimistic and I think that the majority of problems can be fixed, but some things can get really ugly, especially when there are attempts to go after individual people and get them
fired. Once it gets that bad, I don’t think there is a solution to it.

Once a community activist came up to me and said, “You know Eddie, I really like what you’re doing. But I can’t say it in public, because if I tell people that you’re doing the right thing and I look like I’m on your side all the time, I’ll lose my job.” I think that same dynamic occurs in labor organizations, and sometimes during negotiations the union members just want a hard-line response from their leadership.

Sean Smoot, Treasurer, National Association of Police Organizations

The Labor/Management Relationship Is Like an Arranged Marriage

I really think Chief Magnus’s family analogy is fitting. In fact, sometimes it feels like an arranged marriage between the police chief and the union leaders. And like any relationship, it takes work. As a union leader, I don’t think that we always put enough work into the relationship. From my experience in Illinois, I know that some administrations put a lot of work into communication with the leaders of the local union. Chiefs eventually realize that their success is almost inextricably linked to their relationship with their officers. If a chief wants to move the department in a new direction or toward a different philosophy, he or she won’t succeed if the people who represent the rank and file don’t buy into it.

The management/labor relationship is also like a marriage in that it’s a difficult relationship to repair. When a spouse is caught cheating, it’s pretty hard to put things back together again. But we know it’s possible, because people do it all the time. I think one way to do that is to work through some crisis, economic problem, or other big issue that you share common ground on. Somebody has to take the first step by acknowledging that the relationship has been bad, and suggesting that everyone move forward together on the common ground.

Toronto Chief Bill Blair:
I’ve Had a Fresh Start with a New Union President

Two years ago, at a meeting like this one, the president of my union and I would have been sitting in opposite corners. It was so bad that all communications had to be formal. Everything had to be in writing so we could keep a record of everything that was said. The strained relationship created a bad bargaining environment for the association and a bad discipline environment for the service. There was an enormous amount of money spent on civil litigation, including the union suing me. The association had increased their dues about 30 percent just to pay for the lawyers.

Eventually, that union president left and Mike McCormack, the new president who I’ve known pretty well throughout his career, came in, and everything changed. To fix a bad situation, both sides have to recognize that what was going on before was dysfunctional. It wasn’t good for the members, it wasn’t good for the city, and it was expensive. But regular communications help Mike and me work through these things.
Detroit Chief Ralph Godbee:
Police Issues Are Important, So There’s No Time to Waste

When union leaders and management don’t get along, the officers and the community are the ones who lose. At some point, somebody has to be the adult and decide to make this work. It’s not easy even when you have a decent relationship. But when the relationship is bad, someone has to take the first step on that journey. There’s no time to waste. If you delay, people could lose jobs, there could be officer safety issues, or a variety of other problems could occur. These issues are critical, so waiting isn’t an option.

Minneapolis Chief Tim Dolan:
Take Your Message Directly to The Rank-and-File Officers, Not Merely to the Union Leaders

It’s important to realize that you can’t burn any bridges completely, because there will always be a new issue for you to deal with tomorrow.

And remember that the heart of the union is the rank-and-file members. Whenever I have an unpopular decision to make and am being criticized in the media, I go straight to the officers to explain my decision. That has given me the support of the rank-and-file officers, which frustrated the union for years. It’s meant that even when I’m arguing with a board member or president of the union, I’ve had the support of the officers themselves, who are the heart of the union.

Ventura, CA Chief Ken Corney:
Sometimes the Union Leaders Cooperate, But the Union Members Remain Upset

The public outcry over pension costs is definitely the noose that keeps tightening around our necks. I applaud San Jose POA’s leadership for having town hall meetings to discuss the underlying issues with their union members. Often you find that the majority of the police association members aren’t engaged enough to understand the reality of the impact of escalating pension costs. All they know is that they have been asked to give up or change a benefit, and they’ve never been asked to give up anything before. The natural reaction is to not stand for it, which gets everybody all fired up and creates an atmosphere where you just can’t move forward. When the
association leadership understands and takes the opportunity to communicate the core issues with their members, it can lower the temperature of the debate. There isn’t always a problem between management and association leadership agreeing on the reality of a tough issue. More frequently, the real challenge is for the association leadership to work with their members to create a better understanding and acceptance of the reality of issues like the pension costs.

**Hiring, Promotions, and Work Rules**

**Minneapolis Chief Tim Dolan:**

*We Are Working to Allow Employees To Do a Wider Range of Tasks*

I’d like to talk a little bit about expanding the role of officers, and to do that we need help from the unions. We have a lot of contracts, a lot of rules, and a lot of divisions between what officers, sergeants, lieutenants, and investigators can do. We need to change a lot of that. Responding officers need to be able to do a wide variety of tasks and be able to do it well. We know they can do these things, because they’re smart, adept kids who are very capable, especially when it comes to using all the technology. We need to allow them to do more, but we need help from our unions to be able to do that. We need to get past these divisions, and fortunately my union and I are on the same page with this issue.

**Camden, NJ Deputy Chief Mike Lynch:**

*Putting the Best People In Leadership Positions, Regardless of Rank*

Leadership is the key to getting over this hump and getting through our economic crisis. We’ve experienced a number of commanders who have forgotten why they’re here to begin with or what their role is. They take on a union role or a labor mindset, even though they’re a commanding officer, and they have a difficult time juggling both roles. Their popularity among their peers and subordinates begins to trump their responsibilities as bosses.

That has been one of the most difficult challenges for us as an organization. In some ways, it has limited our ability to accomplish our mission and our goals. Getting past that comes down to leadership. The top leaders must have the fortitude to say to commanders, “If you’re not going to lead, after we’ve given you every opportunity and we’ve done everything we can do to support you, then we are going to put individuals in place who will lead, regardless of their rank.” That was an important part of our reorganization and flattening of our organization.

The units into which these new leaders have been injected have exceeded our expectations in terms of morale, motivation, and productivity. It is remarkable how much self-motivated individuals can accomplish if given the opportunity. Sometimes our promotion processes, such as civil service testing, can hold back growth and opportunities. It was also surprising that the former managers aren’t complaining. They have conceded their roles as leaders to people of lesser rank, because they didn't have the fortitude to do what needed to be done.
Kristopher Baumann, Executive Committee  
Chairman, Washington, DC FOP

Tougher Hiring Standards Can Be In the Best Interest of the Department

We’ve proposed tougher standards not just to be hired, but also to move up. Historically, I don’t think you would have ever seen this type of proposal coming from a union, but our position is that we are tired of people coming in, causing problems, and then leaving. We want officers who won’t cause problems, and we want them to stay with us forever.

Having said that, we’re opposed to a current requirement that officers have 60 college credits, because college doesn’t suit some people. Once you come on board, there should be opportunities for education and training to meet those requirements. If we want educated officers, and we do, we need to pay for it through reimbursements and incentives. We should also require obligated service from those we train and educate. We’d like to expand our hiring base so that we don’t exclude military veterans who lack the college credits. There would be testing and these recruits would take an aptitude test. There are military veterans who have great training records but may not have gone to college or graduate school.

Dave Mutchler, President, River City  
FOP Lodge #614, Louisville, KY

I Think Requiring Work Experience Is Better than an Education Requirement

We have something similar to the two-year college requirement in Louisville, but prior military service can be used to meet that requirement. I am not so sure that it’s a good idea to have the 60 hours of college requirement. I have nothing against education; I think it’s great and officers should continue their education throughout their career. However, I’ve known people who I wasn’t aware could even read and then I found out they had two years of college education. [laughter] I’d prefer a requirement that recruits have a full-time job for two years before becoming a police officer. When you hire a 21-year-old whose first job ever is being a police officer, they don’t have much life experience to use out on the street.

Boston Commissioner Ed Davis:  
A College Education May Be Necessary To Justify High Salaries

There are a few national issues that I think we need to talk about at this table. One is the whole issue of our salaries. What kind of salary is appropriate for us to ask for as police officers? I think it goes back to the conversation about whether policing is an occupation or a profession. If we’re bringing in $100,000 salaries, which we are in Massachusetts, is that more appropriate as a professional salary? If it is, should we position ourselves not as an occupation but as a profession? I think this is an important question to talk about.

It’s hard to ask for a $100,000 salary if we don’t have some minimum college requirement in place, although I understand the arguments against that. But I think we have to have a conversation about that and come to a decision so that we can move forward effectively.
Detroit Chief Ralph Godbee:
Policing Is Far More Difficult Than It Was a Generation Ago

It’s very forward-thinking to view policing as a profession and compensate these tremendously talented officers and retain that talent as opposed to diluting the pool. For me this is a zero-sum proposition. In the long run, if you look at it from a cost-benefit standpoint, your lawsuits go up when you have people who are poorly trained, especially regarding use of force.

And policing is not what it was when I joined the force 24 years ago at 19 years old. I think 19 was much too young for me to be a police officer with a gun and a badge. In retrospect, I was fortunate to have good mentors, but it’s a different game now, a much more complex job. We have many federal regulations we need to adhere to, a significant amount of paperwork that we have to fill out, and much more advanced technology to understand and use well. We have to really take a look at raising the standards, which is a conversation we just had in our department. You can be 18 years old with a GED, walk through the door, and minimally qualify to be an officer. Yet an officer has an incredibly high level of responsibility. An officer’s use of deadly force can take a life. Is that decision matrix something you want to trust to an 18-year-old with a GED? Maybe it is, but maybe it’s not. I’m not saying that across the board, 18-year-olds can’t do it.

I’m fortunate that I was given that opportunity at 19. But the reality is we just have a much more complex environment now.

Officer Discipline

George Beattie, President, San Jose Police Officers Association
Labor and Management Often Agree on Everything Except Discipline

I really don’t think there are major differences between what labor wants and what management wants in most areas. We both want professional cops who make the department look good. We want good customer service for our citizens, because at the end of the day, they are the folks who put the money in our wallets. I think what we’re usually going to disagree with chiefs about is discipline and some policy issues.

Mark Magaw, Chief, Prince George’s County, MD Police Department
Working through Labor/Management Disagreements Can Improve the Department

We’re not going to agree on everything, and that’s understood. We have instances when we’ve agreed to disagree. But our labor leader and I discussed this on the way over here and decided that the process of working through these disagreements sometimes helps to improve the department.

Regarding discipline, we must have standards that we agree upon about what’s acceptable and what’s not, particularly with anything relating to integrity. I’m not going to be very flexible about these rules, and they understand that. But we have pretty much the same views of officer professionalism and accountability.
Philadelphia Commissioner Chuck Ramsey:  
**Most Conflicts Come in Administrative Discipline Cases**

I think the conflict between most police chiefs and union leaders regarding officer misconduct is not with criminal cases, it’s with administrative discipline issues. It comes from questions about whether an officer should get a five-day suspension, 10 days, 30 days, a demotion, or dismissal. Sometimes we sit down and come up with an agreement so it doesn’t have to go to arbitration. An officer will agree to take a 10-day suspension or a transfer or whatever is appropriate. And it can’t become a personal thing; when that happens, it doesn’t help anybody.

Minneapolis Chief Tim Dolan:  
**We Need to Tighten Discipline**

We have to raise the bar with discipline. Our officers need to know that if they lie under oath or on an official statement, we will no longer have a place for them. We don’t feel they can serve in a full capacity in law enforcement any longer. They need to leave if they can’t do the job. If they get a misdemeanor DWI, lose their driver’s license for two years, and therefore can’t drive a squad for two years, they should be finished with the department. If they’re caught and prosecuted for any kind of a theft, they should be finished. As a profession, we need to raise that bar. Problems within our group pull us all down.

Unfortunately, the reality is that we have people who are reinstated because they go to arbitration. There was one recent decision in which an arbitrator acknowledged the officer had lied during an internal investigation but decided that, because the officer had been under a lot of pressure, we had to give him his job back. Where do I put somebody who will forever have it on his disciplinary record that he lied while under investigation?

Mike Helle, President,  
**San Antonio Police Officers Association:**  
**Civilians on Our Disciplinary Board Are Sympathetic to Officers**

Back in 1995 we started an “officer concerns” program that was modeled on some other districts’ programs. It started as an intervention program for officers who were repeatedly getting into trouble. We were trying to correct the behavior of officers with
continuous use-of-force issues. That has evolved into a pretty good program that’s comprised of our own officers who sit the guy down and try to help him out through his situation, so he doesn’t end up in internal affairs all the time.

We also knew the community felt strongly about having civilians on our chief’s disciplinary Advisory Action Board. Initially, our organization felt very strongly against having civilians sit on that board. But as we have looked over the history of civilians on the board since 1995, we’ve actually seen that civilians were less likely to impose harsher punishments than our fellow officers were. Our peers were harder than our citizens. The civilians sympathize with the officers once they understand the issues involved in police work.

**Philadelphia FOP Vice President Jim Wheeler:**

*Dealing with a Perception that “The Union Defends Bad Cops”*

The question for our union is what we believe our role is as the representative of an officer facing disciplinary charges. We drew the line some years back and said that we would represent anyone facing a corruption charge at his first hearing. But if that charge is upheld, he’s on his own. If he ultimately wins, we pay him back for his legal fees.

It’s always a difficult position for the union. No matter what we say, I think in the long run, historically in Philadelphia anyway, people think the FOP always defends bad cops, which is not the case. In many cases, they’re on their own. They get their own attorneys. We’re not letting them besmirch the name of the Philadelphia Police Department if we can help it.

**Tyler Izen, Director, Los Angeles Police Protective League**

*We Ask the Media and the Public to Wait for the Investigation to Be Done*

Los Angeles police officers perform a tough and dangerous job every day and oftentimes need to make split-second, life-or-death decisions. The LAPPL often reminds the media and members of the public about the comprehensive investigations the Department conducts to determine the facts surrounding an incident. In turn, the LAPPL generally withholds comment on actions by police officers until we know all the facts. We only ask that the community refrain from a rush to judgment. It is always important to remember that home video, shot from a distance, from one angle, in the dark, and not starting at the beginning of the incident, seldom tells the whole story.
Two Examples of Difficult Labor-Management Issues: Gun Control and Mandatory Body Armor Rules

One area of labor-management relations that has remained largely unexplored is whether police chiefs and union leaders can find areas of agreement on issues other than salaries and benefits. For example, labor and management can work together on policies designed to protect officers.

Participants at PERF’s Summit spent some time discussing two such issues: gun control, and policies mandating that officers wear body armor while on duty. These discussions illustrate some of the points made earlier in the day, in particular the need for police executives and union officials to present their views and air any differences in opinion in an environment of trust and mutual respect.

Following are a number of comments made by participants:

**Gun Regulations**

**Toronto Chief Bill Blair:**

*Management and Labor in Canada Fought Together for Maintaining Gun Registry*

Even though police chiefs and union leaders position themselves differently on many issues, they can still share common goals. They both want to protect the interests of the officers, continue providing effective service to the public, and ensure that sufficient resources are available for the police force to do their job. The union can be a very effective voice of advocacy for these issues, and I think it’s particularly powerful when police chiefs and labor leaders have a harmony between their messages, even if they’re not singing from exactly the same song sheet. I’ve seen the power of that.

For example, we are very strict on gun control legislation and have a very effective gun registry in Canada. We have mandatory registration for all firearms. So for example, a cop going to an address for domestic assault can check that gun registry and be told if there is a licensed gun owner and how many and what kind of firearms are known to be in that house.
It’s been an effective tool, but the government introduced legislation to get rid of it. In response, the police chiefs and unions across the country came up in a single united voice and said we wanted to retain this. When we first started our advocacy, about 80 percent of the population in Canada was quite content to get rid of the registry. But through the work of the police chiefs and unions, within a few weeks that turned around, to about 60 percent support for maintaining the registry. When it came to a vote in our Parliament, the bill was defeated.

Bobby Cherry, President, Baltimore FOP Lodge #3

We Worked with Police Management To Get Tougher Gun Laws

The Judiciary Committee in our state legislature includes many attorneys who tend to challenge any tightening of the gun laws. So we brought a young officer in who had been shot and put him face-to-face with these legislators, so they could hear a first-hand perspective on the results of gun violence to our citizens and to the young men and women who we ask to put their lives on the line for us.

It made a significant impact, and for the first time in many years, legislation was passed to tighten up these gun laws. This was all a result of police management approaching the FOP and asking the officers to help.

Tyler Izen, Director, Los Angeles Police Protective League

Union Members Often Do Not Support Gun Control

We’ve supported legislation that improves gun laws or increases penalties for gun violence. One challenge we face, though, is that often our members personally have Republican ideals but as officers they have Democratic needs. Just the other day somebody referred to the President of the United States, and one of the other officers said, “He’s not my President; Charlton Heston is my president.” This type of attitude is common. Our officers don’t want to give up guns, and they don’t want to ask someone else to give up their guns, because the officers are afraid the next step will be laws taking away their gun rights.

Sean Smoot, Treasurer, National Association of Police Organizations

Local Unions in Illinois Supported a Concealed Carry Bill

Illinois is one of only two states that have no laws permitting a civilian to carry a concealed weapon, but our Democrat-controlled state could pass a concealed carry law within the next two weeks. The state police organization is neutral about the bill, but the presidents of the three largest local unions, including the Chicago Police Sergeants Association, have come down to Springfield and testify in favor of concealed carry laws.

In the city of Chicago, which has the most restrictive gun laws in the United States, there were five Chicago police officers killed last year. Some officers feel that the bad guys have guns even though Chicago has such tough laws, and they’re going to continue to have the guns no matter what laws are passed. Our officers generally assume the criminals are already armed and think that concealed carry laws will reduce crime in Chicago, because people
might be a little less likely to kick in Grandpa’s front door if they think Grandpa might have a gun.

[The concealed carry bill was defeated in the state House in May 2011.]

Kristopher Baumann, Executive Committee Chairman, Washington, DC FOP

Our Union Expressed Doubt About Gun Laws

DC has had some of the most restrictive gun laws in the nation. I recently did a public debate at a community forum with two of the council members. Our union’s position on the issue was that we waste millions of dollars a year in resources to argue about the degree of restrictions here in DC, and those resources and energy should be poured into combating systematic social problems like youth violence, involving not just guns but other weapons. Neither the pro-gun nor the pro-restriction people like to hear us say that, but that’s where we stand.

After the Heller decision [the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case in 2008 which held that the Second Amendment protects an individual right to possess a firearm unconnected with service in a militia, and to use that arm for traditionally lawful purposes, such as self-defense within the home], I picked three of my guys who had worked for a while in violent districts for a national television interview and told them to say whatever they wanted, to convey how they really felt about it.

All three of them, without talking to each other, said that legal guns are not a problem here in DC; illegal guns are the problem, and someone may think twice about robbing a house if they think the person living in that house may have a gun. Even though we had a gun ban, we did have over 35,000 guns registered in the District over the last 20 years. Not a single one of those registered guns was ever used in a crime. Obviously we have a huge gun problem here in DC, but since we don’t manufacture any guns here, they must come from elsewhere.

Philadelphia Commissioner Chuck Ramsey:
Making Body Armor Policies Mandatory Without Aggressive Discipline

Most departments have a mandatory body armor policy, but what should a chief do if a person won’t wear the body armor, no matter how many times you keep telling them? If we take disciplinary action, will the union have a grievance, claiming that it’s something we shouldn’t make a person do? When cops are shot, their chances of survival are much higher if they are wearing the armor. We’ve had a couple officers who were not wearing it at the time they were killed. Their families received all the benefits and we didn’t make it into a big deal.

You don’t want kill a fly with a sledge hammer, so we’re not talking about punishing a person too severely if he’s seen not wearing armor. But at some point in time, you have to be clear that it’s not optional. We’ve tried several things in Philadelphia to encourage our officers to wear it. We’ve permitted officers to wear their vests over their shirts, because I don’t care how people wear it; they just need to wear it. We’re also starting an internal campaign with officers who have been shot while wearing

New Jersey State Troopers’ Fraternal Association President Dave Jones
their armor. We photograph them with their families to stress to everyone the grave importance of this issue. Focusing on the human aspect has a bigger impact on people than just telling them some statistics.

We're trying everything we can, and I'm not advocating aggressively disciplining people. But we have to come together to find a way to make sure officers always wear their vests, because the situation in which they need their armor could come at any time. This is something that we can accomplish by ourselves, without legislators or any other outside help.

Robert Cherry Jr., President, Baltimore FOP Lodge #3

Unions Worry that Mandatory Vest Policies Could Result in Denial of Death Benefits

I agree that labor and management need to do everything in their power to protect our officers. The only concern I have is what will happen if we make vests mandatory and then an officer not wearing the vest is killed in the line of duty. My fear is that pension boards will try to take away the line-of-duty pension for their family.

As an alternative, we've formed an inspection unit that has the full support of our FOP. Before our officers hit the street, we make sure they're cleanly shaved, wearing their uniform, and have their vest. I think we need to find ways like this to make it mandatory in practice but not mandatory in writing. Because when it's in writing, attorneys for the cities or states could have grounds to take away the death benefits for families.

Philadelphia Commissioner Chuck Ramsey:
We Can Work Together to Protect Death Benefits

As President of PERF and of the Major Cities Chiefs Association, I'm willing to go with you down the street to Capitol Hill and make sure there's something put in federal legislation that would not permit benefits to be taken from any police officer who dies in the line of duty. An officer may be reckless in not wearing it, but if they are shot, their family shouldn't be punished for it. This is the type of thing we can work on together by sitting down and carving out these kinds of exceptions. But we need to do what we can to make armor mandatory. A bullet can still penetrate a vest and hurt you, but the equipment saves lives. I think that if we're smart enough to work together on this, either at the state or federal level, we can make it mandatory while still alleviating those fears.

Dan Frei, President, Madison Professional Police Officers Association

Refusing to Wear Armor Puts Other Officers at Risk

I recently spoke to our chief and asked him to strictly enforce our policy on body armor. We've had a policy requiring it for a while, but we still have cops who just aren't wearing their vests. This wouldn't be the position of most union leaders, but I talked to the chief because management isn't in a position to see it happening as much as I do. I'd prefer our cops get in trouble for a minor issue than have a shooting occur in which a vest could have prevented a serious injury or a death.

I don't see this as an issue that only affects the officer in question. If multiple cops are being shot at, and the first guy goes down because he wasn't wearing his vest, a second cop could be injured trying to save him. If that injury was preventable because you weren't wearing your armor, then this issue should no longer be only your decision.
PERF undertook this project as a “Critical Issue in Policing” because police executives have long identified labor-management relations as one of the most difficult challenges they face. Many police chiefs must consult with union officials on a wide variety of decisions, including wages and benefits, overtime rules, pensions, hiring and promotions, disciplinary procedures, deployment of resources, and working conditions. As a number of officials at the PERF Summit noted, in some agencies there is a long history of labor-management conflicts, which sometimes have become so severe that police executives and labor officials find it difficult even to remain on speaking terms with each other.

Currently, the economic crisis and widespread cutting of police department budgets have given labor-management relations even greater significance as an issue that cannot be avoided. In the past, police department budgets in many jurisdictions were generally considered immune to budget-cutting, because elected officials recognized that public safety had to be their top priority. But the current economic crisis has brought an end to the idea that any government department can be sustained at past funding levels. Every day brings new stories in the news media about layoffs of police officers and other public safety workers.

The PERF Summit highlighted the fact that when labor and management officials have a healthy relationship, despite the differences in their roles, jobs can sometimes be saved and police departments can make the best of a bad situation. But when police executives and union officials lose respect for each other, the result is a net loss for the police department and the community.

Thus, the Summit was designed to identify basic principles or “rules of engagement” that can be followed by police leaders to increase their chances of developing effective ways of working together.

Participants at the Summit agreed to several points of consensus to guide labor-management relations in policing, listed below:

- The keys to effective police labor-management relationships are communication, trust, transparency, mutual respect, and the ability to disagree “agreeably.”
- Police unions and management have comparable goals, and on many points there is not a major difference between what labor and management seek. Unions and management both want professional, well-trained and well-equipped officers who provide excellent customer service to the public.
- It is important to understand the differences in the labor and management perspectives and roles, and to recognize that there will be disagreements. Sometimes what can be said privately cannot be said publicly, but officials on both sides must keep their word. Trust is important to working together.
- The economic crisis has become one of the greatest leadership challenges for police and labor leaders. At the same time, the economic
crisis has created incentives for finding common ground. This will become critical to providing the best possible police services in light of reduced budgets.

- Police management and labor officials must understand local issues and the implications of what they are asking for (e.g., whether current decisions will cause a pension plan to go bankrupt in 10 years). Both sides must also understand the need to continue investing in the future of our officers and police departments.

- Police union and management leaders need to teach officers to be effective ambassadors of policing in the community. We need to communicate the importance of providing the highest service delivery possible even in tough economic times—perhaps especially in tough economic times.

- At the center of labor-management issues are fairness and accountability. From the chief’s perspective, this means holding officers to a high standard. From the labor leader’s perspective, this means ensuring that officers are treated fairly.
THE POLICE EXECUTIVE RESEARCH FORUM (PERF) is a professional organization of progressive chief executives of city, county and state law enforcement agencies. In addition, PERF has established formal relationships with international police executives and law enforcement organizations from around the globe. PERF’s membership includes police chiefs, superintendents, sheriffs, state police directors, university police chiefs, public safety directors, and other law enforcement professionals. Established in 1976 as a nonprofit organization, PERF is unique in its commitment to the application of research in policing and the importance of higher education for police executives.


To learn more about PERF, visit www.policeforum.org.

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APPENDIX
Participants at PERF Summit
May 20, 2011, Washington, D.C.

Assistant Chief Jose Banales
SAN ANTONIO POLICE DEPARTMENT

Lieutenant Molly Bartley (PERF Fellow)
NEWPORT NEWS POLICE DEPARTMENT

Executive Committee Chairman
Kristopher Baumann
THE D.C. POLICE UNION, FOP

Commissioner
Frederick Bealefeld
BALTIMORE POLICE DEPARTMENT

President George Beattie
SAN JOSE POLICE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

Deputy Chief Tim Becker
COLUMBUS, OH DIVISION OF POLICE

Chief William Blair
TORONTO POLICE SERVICE

Publisher Cynthia Brown
AMERICAN POLICE BEAT

Social Science Analyst
Brett Chapman
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE

President Robert Cherry Jr.
BALTIMORE FOP LODGE #3

Sergeant at Arms Darryl Clodt
LAS VEGAS POLICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

Chief Ken Corney
VENTURA, CA POLICE DEPARTMENT

Commissioner Edward Davis
BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT

Chief Charlie Deane
PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY, VA POLICE DEPARTMENT

Chief Tim Dolan
MINNEAPOLIS POLICE DEPARTMENT

Assistant Chief Alfred Durham
WASHINGTON, D.C. METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT

Principal Deputy Director
Joshua Ederheimer
COPS OFFICE

Deputy Chief Benson Fairrow
BART POLICE DEPARTMENT

President Dan Frei
MADISON PROFESSIONAL POLICE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

Chief Ralph Godbee
DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT

President Todd Harrison
COMBINED LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSOCIATIONS OF TEXAS

President Michael Helle
SAN ANTONIO POLICE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

Director of Government Funding
Domingo Herraiz
MOTOROLA

President Andre Hill
RICHMOND, CA POLICE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

Director Tyler Izen
LOS ANGELES POLICE PROTECTIVE LEAGUE

First Vice President Dean Jones
PRINCE GEORGE’S COUNTY, MD FOP LODGE #89

President Dave Jones
STATE TROOPERS’ FRATERNAL ASSOCIATION OF THE NEW JERSEY STATE POLICE

Columbus Police Grievance Chairman
Scott LeRoy
CAPITAL CITY FOP LODGE #9

Chief Frank Limon
NEW HAVEN POLICE DEPARTMENT

Deputy Chief Mike Lynch
CAMDEN POLICE DEPARTMENT

Chief Mark Magaw
PRINCE GEORGE’S COUNTY, MD POLICE DEPARTMENT

Chief Christopher Magnus
RICHMOND, CA POLICE DEPARTMENT

President Mike McCormack
TORONTO POLICE ASSOCIATION

Commander
Catherine McNeilly
PITTSBURGH BUREAU OF POLICE

Chief Robert McNeilly
ELIZABETH TOWNSHIP POLICE DEPARTMENT

Supervisory Policy Analyst
Katherine McQuay
COPS OFFICE

Chief Christopher Moore
SAN JOSE POLICE DEPARTMENT
Assistant Chief Michel Moore
LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT

President David Mutchler
RIVER CITY FOP LODGE #614

Vice President for Government Strategy and Business Development Rick Neal
MOTOROLA

President William Owensby
INDIANAPOLIS FOP LODGE #86

Commissioner Charles Ramsey
PHILADELPHIA POLICE DEPARTMENT

Deputy Chief Vincent Robison
LOUISVILLE METRO POLICE DEPARTMENT

Deputy Chief Gary Schofield
LAS VEGAS METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT

President Jesse Sekhon
BART POLICE OFFICERS’ ASSOCIATION

Treasurer Sean Smoot
NAPO

Program Specialist to the Principal Deputy Director Howard Stone
COPS OFFICE

Director Frank Straub
INDIANAPOLIS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY

Vice President James Wheeler
PHILADELPHIA FOP LODGE #5

President John Williamson
CAMDEN FOP LOCAL #1

Chief Noble Wray
MADISON POLICE DEPARTMENT
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Exploring the Challenges of Police Use of Force
Police Management of Mass Demonstrations
A Gathering Storm—Violent Crime in America
Violent Crime in America: 24 Months of Alarming Trends
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