Opening Session at PERF Annual Meeting: How Police Can Build Public Trust

By Steve Yanda

A CRITICAL REALITY FACING TODAY’S POLICE EXECUTIVES across the country is the fact that reducing crime rates—even dramatically—carries little weight if not complemented by a manner of policing that engenders public trust.

In other words, doing a good job by one metric—crime rates—is not enough. Police must measure and try to improve their performance in terms of whether citizens trust the police and believe that police treat everyone fairly. In fact, the level of trust can have an impact on crime rates, because trust affects whether people will cooperate with the police on crime reduction measures.

Identifying the primary factors that the public considers when deciding whether to trust local police has been a point of focus for police executives. According to Tom R. Tyler, a professor of law and psychology at Yale Law School and a leading expert on these issues of trust, the public’s central concern is whether the police are exercising their authority fairly.

Reducing crime is still a consideration for members of a community, Tyler said at the opening session of PERF’s Annual Meeting, held May 2–3 in Milwaukee. However, his research has found that fair treatment is a greater factor in building trust.

“I think improving safety has an influence on trust and confidence, but it’s very small,” Professor Tyler said. “Unfair treatment is a much stronger driver of trust and confidence than things like the crime rate. It will hurt you a lot to have perceptions of unfair treatment.”

Tyler said his research showed that when citizens talk about fairness, they’re really talking about four specific elements:

• Do members of the public have opportunities to provide input on policing policies and practices as they’re being developed?
• Do they have the chance to explain their situation when interacting with police officers?
• Do they have concrete evidence that police are being neutral, factual and consistent in applying the law?
• Do they know that police respect the public and will treat citizens with dignity and courtesy?

With that in mind, PERF convened a panel of four police executives during the Annual Meeting to discuss the concept of building public trust, promising efforts that have been made along that front, and barriers to achieving that goal.

DENVER CHIEF R.C. WHITE ADDRESSES CULTURE OF COMPLACENCY

When Robert C. White was appointed police chief in Denver in December 2011, one of the first major tasks he undertook was overhauling the department’s performance evaluation system. Denver had not hired new police officers in five years, and there had not been
On April 15, a pressure cooker bomb went off on Boylston Street near the finish line of the Boston Marathon. Another bomb exploded 12 seconds later, roughly 200 yards away. Three people died, and more than 260 people were hurt.

In the days that followed, there was a manhunt, a shooting, a firefight, and an arrest. An entire city was placed on lockdown. A police officer was killed, and another officer was shot and seriously wounded.

Boston-area police leaders described some of the lessons they learned from this large-scale terrorism incident during a session at PERF’s Annual Meeting in Milwaukee.

“We did a lot of things right, and we made some mistakes,” Boston Superintendent-in-Chief Dan Linskey told PERF members. “I think we need to figure out what the mistakes were and share that information with the law enforcement community, so if something like this happens again, the mistakes won’t be repeated.”

Superintendent Linskey recalled that as he prepared for the marathon, he had feared that someone would try to use the event as part of a terrorist plot. He’d instructed his officers to be on the lookout for suspicious backpacks or people attempting to jump the barriers. But Linskey had figured that if there were a terrorist strike, it would most likely happen about noon, when the initial wave of elite runners would cross the finish line and viewers in 220 countries would be watching on live television.

But it was almost three hours after the winners crossed the finish line when the bombs went off. As Linskey and hundreds of other police and firefighters rushed to Boylston Street, he wondered: Was it a trap? Would there be a third detonation?

Over the radio, Linskey heard Sergeant Daniel Keeler give an instruction—“Don’t block Boylston Street.” Linskey said that one radio transmission saved countless lives.

“We’ve all been there, when a police officer is shot or you go to a huge crime scene. 400 cops show up, and they bail out of their cars and take their cruiser keys with them. So the street gets blocked, and you’ve got cops who can’t help and can’t do anything,” Linskey said.

But with Boylston Street clear of parked law enforcement vehicles, the first responders were able to operate efficiently. Within 22 minutes of the two blasts, all injured persons were at Boston hospitals, he said.

Social media also made a significant difference in Linskey’s ability to communicate with the news media and the public. Shortly before the bombings, Linskey was posting on Twitter a photograph of his officers helping to prepare the race course. After the bombings, he used the same Twitter account to disseminate deadly serious information about the bombings and the police response.

“I knew the media was listening to every word I said, and I wanted to be clear, calm and provide a sense that somebody was in charge,” Linskey said. “I knew the media would get that message out immediately.”
Three nights after the bombings, when word got out that police were engaged in a gun battle with the two suspects, hundreds of law enforcement officials flooded the scene. Unfortunately, this time, no one issued a reminder not to block the roads with parked vehicles.

One of the suspects was shot and killed, but the other escaped in a stolen SUV, and officers could not give chase immediately because their cars were blocking each other.

“That’s an example of something we need to start training for, both in the academy and during in-service training,” Linskey said—“making those words get said on the air during crises,” Linskey said. “Don’t block the scene of the incident with your car. Because the first instinct is to run to help the other police officers, and officers aren’t thinking much about where they park their cars.”

On the evening of April 19, four days after the bombings, Linskey was sent home after working for more than 40 hours straight. He fell asleep during the stakeout of the second suspect, who was surrounded, hiding in a boat in a backyard in Watertown. Linskey was not a witness to the final things his officers did right that week.

“I woke up at 3 a.m., grabbed my wife and asked her what happened,” Linskey said. “She told me we got him. I asked if my cops were okay, and she said they were all safe.”

**CAMBRIDGE POLICE ROLE INCREASED AS INVESTIGATION MOVED TO MIT AND CAMBRIDGE**

Cambridge Police Commissioner Robert Haas told participants at the PERF session that from the beginning of the bombing incident, the Cambridge Police Department played a number of supporting roles to the Boston Police Department, including using the Cambridge explosives squad to help with processing the crime scene of the explosions.

Commissioner Haas realized that Cambridge’s role was to become more central when the FBI called him on Wednesday night (April 17) and asked him to come in for a meeting, along with MIT Police Chief John DiFava. At the Thursday morning meeting, FBI officials told Haas and DiFava that two persons of interest had been identified, and that they were Cambridge residents. “At that point I knew we would be getting more into the thick of everything,” Haas said.

Later that night, Haas recalled hearing radio calls suggesting that the suspects were on the run. First there was a call about an armed robbery, and minutes later about the shooting of an MIT police officer. A short time later, Haas heard the calls about a carjacking, as the bombing suspects apparently tried to escape the Boston area.

By that time, the Cambridge police were directly involved in key aspects of the case, including working the crime scene where MIT Officer Sean Collier was killed, and fanning out across the area to find the carjacked vehicle that the suspects were driving. And like other departments, Cambridge police had dozens of jobs to do during the four-day ordeal—including responding to calls from the public about suspicious persons and situations. “We used just about every asset of our Police Department during that time,” Haas said. “We had more than 200 suspicious packages reported that week.” Even after the second suspect was apprehended and the immediate crisis was over, there were major challenges, Haas noted. The following week, more than 17,000 people attended a memorial service for Officer Collier—and we had to make sure that no incidents would take place during that event,” Haas said.

**TRANSIT POLICE MUST DECIDE WHETHER TO SHUT DOWN SERVICE**

Superintendent-in-Chief Joseph O’Connor, the second-highest ranking official of the MBTA Transit Police, told the PERF session that the key decision facing Transit Police in the immediate aftermath of the bombings was whether to shut down the transit system.

“It’s amazing how fast things happen after you hear that first person call out,” Superintendent O’Connor said. “For me, it was an officer I had at Copley station, which is right at the Marathon finish line. She screamed as clear as day, ‘We have an explosion.’ And your first thought is to hope that maybe it’s just some kind of electrical problem, but seconds later we heard about the second explosion and realized we were under attack.

“We’ve thought about and discussed these scenarios for years,” O’Connor said. On one hand, a transit system can play a critical role in transporting people away from the scene of a terrorist incident. On the other hand, officials must be wary about the possibility of further attacks, like the 2008 series of attacks in Mumbai, India. This could include attacks within the transit system.

Complicating the situation was the fact that approximately 40 minutes before the bombings, the Boston Red Sox had completed a game, and there was a large volume of people entering the transit system.

“You need to be concerned about whether there are going to be secondary devices,” O’Connor said. “But we knew we needed to get people off the streets, because the attacks that happened were on the street. So we made the decision to keep most of the system running.” MBTA Transit Police did suspend service quickly on sections of the Green Line, which includes the Copley station near the Marathon finish line. In fact, the Copley station had been closed before the bombings because it could not handle the volume of people at that location on Marathon day.

O’Connor, Haas, Linskey, and O’Leary credited the entire Boston-area community for cooperating with the police during the 102-hour ordeal, which included complying with the stay-home order. “It was eerie—there was not a person out on the street,” Commissioner Haas said. “The community response was amazing.”
Police agencies are changing their approach to drug enforcement issues—and not only in Colorado and Washington State, which recently legalized marijuana possession—according to a panel of police executives who made presentations at PERF’s 2013 Annual Meeting in Milwaukee.

Gil Kerlikowske, former Police Chief in Seattle and currently director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, summarized what’s happening this way: “For too long, the drug problem has been a criminal justice problem,” he said. “We’re trying to approach it in a more balanced and comprehensive way, and we’re using public health and public education as a way to do this.

“Frankly, you can change the face of law enforcement when you approach some of these ideas differently,” Kerlikowske said.

Reducing overdose deaths in Quincy, MA

One example of a public health approach has been undertaken in Quincy, a medium-size city (population approximately 100,000) that once had a relatively high rate of substance-abuse related deaths: 47 deaths during an 18-month period in 2008–09.

(Nationwide, approximately 38,000 overdose deaths were reported in 2010, in jurisdictions large and small.)

In response, the Quincy Police Department partnered with the Massachusetts Public Health Department to implement a program designed to reduce public fears of reporting overdose incidents to the police. The program centered on the use of an opiate reversal drug called Narcan, which is used to resuscitate overdose victims.

The department equipped each patrol car with a unit of Narcan and trained each of its officers how to properly administer the drug. No larger than a magic marker, Narcan is portable and easy to use. The drug is delivered via nasal spray.

The impact of the drug in Quincy was significant. From October 2010, when the program went live, through June 14, 2013, Quincy police officers used Narcan 171 times in drug overdose cases. In 163 of those incidents, the subject survived.

Quincy Police Lieutenant Detective Patrick Glynn told attendees at the PERF meeting that so far, there have been no noticeable negative side effects to Narcan use. A person cannot get high using it, and there is no cash value to anyone who might attempt to sell the drug on the open market. Glynn is Commander of the Quincy Police Department’s Special Investigations and Narcotics Unit.

Each unit of Narcan costs roughly $22, which means that the total equipment cost of saving as many as 163 lives was approximately $3,762. As Glynn said during the PERF session, “The cost is not large.”

In the first 18 months of the program, the overdose death rate in Quincy shrank by 66 percent. There have been 22 overdose-related deaths in nearly the past three years.

“We can begin to try to turn around the death rate and also get people into recovery,” Lieutenant Detective Glynn said. “And once we do that, we can reduce some of the collateral crime—the larceny, the purse snatchings, the burglaries, the car break-ins—where some of these people get their funds to buy drugs. We have realized that we cannot arrest our way out of this epidemic.”

SeattLe is divERTiNg low-level drug offenders to a comprehensive array of treatment programs

Shepherding drug addicts into recovery has been a point of emphasis in Seattle, as well. During the Annual Meeting, Jim Pugel, Interim Chief of the Seattle Police Department, described the past approach to policing drug crime in his city as typical of what goes on in most cities across the country: Officers would arrest people for using, possessing, and/or selling drugs, turn them over to the King County Superior Court, and assist in incarcerating them for 3 to 12 months.

“These were low-level, nonviolent drug users, prostitutes, and drug dealers that we were continually arresting,” Chief Pugel said. “And this was at the request of the people who live, work, and play in downtown Seattle. We were doing exactly what the people were asking us to do, and the prosecutors were saying that we were doing the right thing.”

But in 2006–08, there was litigation by local public defenders and the ACLU Drug Law Reform Project alleging that a disproportionate share of those being arrested and jailed for the sale or possession of controlled substances were African-American males, and after six months of discussions and planning, the Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion (LEAD) program was formed.

LEAD identified the low-level, non-violent drug dealers, drug users and prostitutes in a small geographic area of downtown Seattle known as Belltown and used them as a test group. At the point of arrest, LEAD offered those people the option of receiving immediate “wrap-around” services, which included housing, health care, hygiene care, mental health care, and job counseling.

Not everyone was eligible for the wrap-around services; prior convictions for violent crimes or certain other offenses could be disqualifying. Low-level drug offenders who were eligible were brought by a police officer to the precinct office, where they were connected immediately with treatment providers. The following day, the person would undergo a three- to four-hour analysis to determine his or her specific needs.

“This is a harm reduction approach, which was hard to explain to a lot of officers, because the old rule was, ‘If you have...
drugs, you go to jail,” Pugel said. “But the officers knew the old approach wasn’t working. Everyone knew it. It took this community effort, this community discussion, to come forward and be honest with each other, and to show what wasn’t working and what could work.

“And now, other neighborhoods are asking that LEAD be expanded to serve them.”

**MARIJUANA LEGALIZATION: MANY NEW ISSUES ARE BEING DECIDED**

No discussion of local drug enforcement would be complete without some attention to the new frontier in Colorado and Washington State, where new laws allow for the possession of certain quantities of marijuana for recreational purposes.

“It’s a difficult issue for the state, for the federal law enforcement officials in the state, and for the local governments,” Spokane Police Chief Frank Straub said at the PERF meeting. “The state is still endeavoring to figure out how to regulate everything from grow operations to wholesale and retail operations. Much of it is being pushed down to the local level.”

Straub said that local police are unsure in many ways of how to deal with the implications of these laws, and provided several examples of confounding situations.

Say, for instance, the police arrest someone who happens to be in possession of a legal amount of marijuana. In the past, local jails could have 55-gallon drums with a hole on top, where officers would store the marijuana found on suspects taken into custody if there were no plans to prosecute the suspects on the drug offense. The marijuana collected in the drum would later be destroyed.

But under the new law allowing marijuana possession, marijuana found on arrestees is personal property, which must be collected and returned upon the person’s release from custody.

Questions have arisen about how long police must keep the marijuana of arrestees who are not released, and about the complications of storing marijuana at a local jail.

Additionally, Straub said, there have been zoning issues in downtown Spokane. Some retail businesses do not want to be located adjacent to a store that sells recreational marijuana. The city is attempting to craft an ordinance that would restrict zones in which marijuana can be sold over the counter.

There is also the issue of driving under the influence of marijuana. Police must seize any marijuana found in the driver’s possession so that they can field test it and verify its authenticity. Then they have to administer a blood test to determine whether the person has surpassed the legally acceptable threshold of five nanograms of THC (the active ingredient in marijuana) per milliliter of blood.

“If it sounds like a complicated process, if it sounds like it’s a process with no answers, if it sounds like it’s an evolving process—all of those are true,” Straub said.

---

**Building Public Trust**

From page 1

promotions to certain ranks in nearly a decade. A sense of complacency pervaded the department.

At PERF’s Annual Meeting session, Chief White said that a weak system of performance evaluation—in which nearly everyone received very good marks—contributed to the sense of complacency. White saw this as an issue that required immediate attention because of the negative impact it was having on the department’s ability to foster public trust.

“One of the perceived weaknesses of our department within our community was a lack of transparency and a disconnect, a feeling that the police are not the community and that the community is not the police,” White said. “Our primary focus was not on taking care of the community.”

White discovered that many employees were not among the highest performers, but consistently received “outstanding” performance evaluations. “This is a disservice to employees who actually perform at the highest level, and creates a false sense of success among less than stellar employees,” he said. “In short, no one was served.”

Furthermore, some officers in districts that have high police demand on Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights had those nights off, because they held seniority. Some supervisors had off days that did not coincide with the schedules of the officers for whom they were responsible—raising the question of how supervisors could effectively supervise employees they rarely saw. It also prevented the department from allocating resources to the times and places they were most needed. “There is no cookie cutter approach. Resources should be allocated by what drives police services, and that varies between districts and even between beats,” White said.

Chief White found that the Denver Police Department had not hired any new officers for five years. He also learned that there were three ranks below sergeant (all appointed) which garnered incentive pay—but had virtually no turnover regardless of merit. These two factors caused stagnation. As a result, White required all 400 positions below the rank of sergeant and all appointed command positions to reapply for their jobs.

Chief White believes that six District Commanders are the most critical executive rank in a police department. These positions work most closely with the community, and thus it was incumbent for the community to have a voice in selecting those leaders. In order to do this, Chief White invited all 13 City Council members, or their designees, to sit on the selection board with

---

**continued on page 6**

May/June 2013 Subject to Debate 5
the two deputy chiefs. White asked that the board reduce the 48 applicants for the six positions to 12 candidates, and committed to choose the six finalists from those 12 names.

MINNEAPOLIS CHIEF JANÉ HARTEAU’S GUIDELINE: Officers Should Treat the Public The Way They Would Want Their Own Family Members Treated

Janeé Harteau has worked on improving the culture of the Minneapolis Police Department since being sworn in as chief in December 2012. Among her first priorities was improving the manner in which officers interact with the public, as well as with each other.

Harteau introduced a guiding principle she wants each of her officers to employ in dealing with others: Do my actions reflect how I would want a member of my own family to be treated?

“That doesn’t mean we’re going to be soft on crime,” Chief Harteau said at PERF’s session. “That doesn’t mean that we’re not going to ever use force. What it means is that what we do is reasonable for the situation.”

In an attempt to build public trust, Harteau has mandated that her officers spend more time out of their cars and interacting with community members. She also has employed more school resource officers and has hosted more public forums.

She noted that the effectiveness of strategies can depend on whether police make the public aware of their initiatives—which is one of the reasons why the Minneapolis Police Department now has a heavy presence on social media forums.

“The private sector does this really well,” Harteau said. “Everybody knows what Target is great at; they know what Nike does. In law enforcement, we’re always so busy doing our jobs that we tend to not talk about all the things we do—unless something happens and we have to talk in a reactive mode. We’re always reacting. We should be getting information out there and being proactive in telling people what we’re doing and why. We have to market ourselves ahead of time, so that people understand exactly what we’re doing.”

This was a distinction that Tyler highlighted, as well: The difference between being fair and appearing to be fair. The former does not necessarily build public trust on its own, he said. It must be combined with the latter.

PHILADELPHIA COMMISSIONER CHARLES RAMSEY: Arbitration System Hurts Public Trust

What can police executives do when external forces conspire to prevent them from implementing standards and policies that promote fairness and the appearance of fairness?

Roughly 65 percent of the 132 police officers Philadelphia Police Commissioner Charles Ramsey has fired for alleged wrongdoing since he took the job in January 2008 have been reinstated due to what Ramsey sees as a flawed arbitration process. Approximately 75 percent of the reinstated officers regained full benefits and back pay.

“It’s a farce, and the public loses faith in our ability to police ourselves, and I have to agree with them, frankly,” Commissioner Ramsey said at PERF’s meeting. “It’s very difficult, and that’s why you have civilian oversight in many departments.” An inability of a police department to punish wrongdoing also can lead to federal investigations of department practices, he noted.

Ramsey said it is frustrating as a police executive to have to be involved in an arbitration process that is a guessing game. He said that arbitration cases in Philadelphia often seem to be decided not on the facts at hand, but rather by an arbitrary, unstated rule that cases will be decided about half the time in favor of the police department, and half the time in favor of the police union. The disconnect between the facts of cases and their outcomes harms the department’s credibility with the public, as well as internally, among department employees.

“It hurts the morale of decent cops to see the bad ones continue to be rewarded for incompetent, lazy, dishonorable work,” Ramsey said.

MONTGOMERY, AL CHIEF KEVIN MURPHY APOLOGIZES FOR A 50-YEAR-OLD WRONG

Occasionally, police executives see an opportunity to take a giant step toward reversing public mistrust. Montgomery Police Chief Kevin Murphy did that in March when he publicly apologized to Rep. John Lewis on behalf of a department that failed to protect the Freedom Riders in the early 1960s.

A mob of Klu Klux Klan members beat Congressman Lewis and other civil rights activists at the Montgomery Greyhound bus station after city police officers intentionally left the terminal prematurely.

The Montgomery Police Department has carried the stigma of racism and unequal treatment for more than 50 years. In March 2013, Chief Murphy made a gesture of reconciliation. During a service at the First Baptist Church, across the street from police headquarters, Murphy apologized to Lewis for his department’s inaction in stopping the violence against civil rights activists, and gave Lewis his badge as a token of respect and recognition of Lewis’s life of service and self-sacrifice. Lewis accepted Murphy’s
apology, which helped to build trust in the Montgomery Police Department.

“What’s come of all this has been a lot of healing,” Murphy said at the PERF session. “That mistrust has been ever-present in our city, and I’ve had to deal with it for 27 years. But it had faded some before my encounter with Congressman Lewis, and now I think it has faded even more.”

Chief Murphy’s action was an example of what Professor Tyler meant when he urged police executives to think about the policies and practices that affect public views about the legitimacy of police.

“Obviously, you think about a police practice by asking, ‘Is it lawful, and is it effective?’” Tyler said. “But you can also ask, ‘How does it change the public’s views?’ Let’s think about police contacts with the public as teachable moments, teaching the public about the police. The message we want them to receive is that they should trust the police.”

Shortly before the PERF session, some of Murphy’s officers became involved with a suspect who was combative and resisted arrest. A local radio show host—who in the past had broadcast anti-police views—happened to witness the interaction and recorded video of it on his cell phone. The radio show host called Murphy that evening, claimed he had evidence of the officers using excessive force, and asked Murphy to investigate the matter.

Chief Murphy said he reviewed video taken from the police car camera and concluded that his officers had used a necessary, sufficient and appropriate amount of force. Murphy called the radio show host and asked him if he wanted to review the video together in person.

“Because the dynamics have changed, there’s greater trust,” Murphy said. “Even this radio host was willing to listen. I walked him through the video and showed him that the use of force was proper, ethical and lawful. And instead of beating us up verbally, him through the video and showed him that the use of force was proper, ethical and lawful. And instead of beating us up verbally, Murphy said. “But you can also ask, ‘How does it change the public’s views?’ Let’s think about police contacts with the public as teachable moments, teaching the public about the police. The message we want them to receive is that they should trust the police.”

Shortly before the PERF session, some of Murphy’s officers became involved with a suspect who was combative and resisted arrest. A local radio show host—who in the past had broadcast anti-police views—happened to witness the interaction and recorded video of it on his cell phone. The radio show host called Murphy that evening, claimed he had evidence of the officers using excessive force, and asked Murphy to investigate the matter.

Chief Murphy said he reviewed video taken from the police car camera and concluded that his officers had used a necessary, sufficient and appropriate amount of force. Murphy called the radio show host and asked him if he wanted to review the video together in person.

“Because the dynamics have changed, there’s greater trust,” Murphy said. “Even this radio host was willing to listen. I walked him through the video and showed him that the use of force was proper, ethical and lawful. And instead of beating us up verbally, the next day he complimented us on the radio.

“That’s not the kind of trust that you build overnight,” Murphy concluded. “It takes time. But you have to have the conversation. We’re still having it.”

Steve Yanda is a PERF Research Assistant and a former reporter at the Washington Post.
Opening Session at PERF Annual Meeting: How Police Can Build Public Trust

PAGE 1

Boston-Area Chiefs Offer Inside Look At Lessons of Marathon Bombing Response

PAGE 2

Police Agencies Trying New Approaches To Drug Enforcement Issues

PAGE 4

Charlie Deane and Will Johnson Receive PERF 2013 Awards

PAGE 7

The Police Executive Research Forum is a nonprofit association of progressive police professionals dedicated to improving services to all our communities. ■ Subject to Debate, published by the Police Executive Research Forum, welcomes input from PERF members and other interested parties. Please submit articles, ideas and suggestions to Craig Fischer, PERF, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 930, Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone: (202) 454-8332; fax: (202) 466-7826; e-mail: cfischer@policeforum.org. ■ Contributors’ opinions and statements do not necessarily reflect the policies or positions of the Police Executive Research Forum. ISSN 1084-7316. ■ Subscription price: $35/year.