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HOMELAND SECURITY EXPERTS GROUP (HSEG)

2021 HOMELAND SECURITY ENTERPRISE FORUM

PLENARY SESSION 5:

POLICING REFORM

WITH JOHN MILLER, ROSEANNA ANDER, ERIKA SHIELDS AND

CHUCK WEXLER

Salamander Resort

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1 Plenary Session 5 -

2 Policing Reform

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4 MR. WALKER: Good morning. I'm Starnes
5 Walker. I serve as a member of our Homeland Security
6 Experts Group. And it's my privilege to introduce our
7 moderator for this plenary session, entitled Policing
8 Reform. So, welcome, and glad you can be here today
9 with us. Our Moderator is Cathy Lanier. She brings an
10 impressive 26 years of law enforcement and
11 counterterrorism experience to the table. Cathy now
12 serves as a member also of our Homeland Security
13 Experts Group, and also is the Senior Vice President
14 and Chief of security of the National Football League.
15 Prior to that, she served as the Chief of Police of
16 Washington, D.C.

17 So, again, let's thank Cathy for being here,
18 and she also serves as a member of our Homeland
19 Security Experts Group.

20 (Applause)

21 MS. LANIER: Thanks. Good morning. I'm going
22 to start with a little history before I introduce our

1 panel.

2 1989, in the height of the crack cocaine
3 epidemic in Washington, D.C., we were known as the
4 murder capital of the world. The chief of police was
5 under pressure with a lot of retirements from the mass
6 hire 20 years earlier, following the 1968 riots, to
7 increase the size of our department by a thousand in
8 the course of two years. The chief of police
9 accomplished that goal. The recruiting process, of
10 course, and the background process was cut short, as
11 was the police academy. I was hired during that mass
12 hire in September of 1990, along with 700 others that
13 year.

14 In March of 1991, we all watched in horror as
15 the Rodney King incident unfolded. In May of 1991, in
16 Washington, D.C., a rookie officer just out of the
17 academy two weeks ahead of me, shot an unarmed man or
18 an armed man actually, who was being arrested for
19 possession of an open container of alcohol following
20 Cinco de Mayo and Mount Pleasant. Seven days, a riot
21 followed that police shooting.

22 1995, the city of Washington, D.C. was nearly

1 bankrupt. The city was put into financial receivership
2 and the Financial Control Board was put in charge of
3 the city. By 1997, all of the senior officers and
4 officials from the Metropolitan Police Department had
5 retired and we had a very young, inexperienced force.
6 After six years on the job of studying promotional
7 exams and criminal justice classes at UDC, I was now a
8 lieutenant on the Metropolitan Police Department. I
9 was in charge with six years on of the entire night
10 shift of a patrol district.

11 That same year, I was appointed to a group
12 called, affectionately, the G21, the group of 21.
13 There was 21 members of our department that were
14 appointed to work on a reform group with Booz-Allen &
15 Hamilton that was brought in by the Financial Control
16 Board.

17 In 1998, the Washington Post ran a series of
18 five articles that ultimately won a Pulitzer Prize that
19 highlighted that the D.C. Police Department shot and
20 killed more people per capita in the 1990s than any
21 other large American police force.

22 John Miller, you're not on mute.

1 (Laughter)

2 MR. MILLER: Sorry.

3 MS. LANIER: We love you, John.

4 MR. MILLER: Let me find that mute thing.

5 (Laughter)

6 MS. LANIER: Yeah, okay.

7 MR. MILLER: There you go.

8 MS. LANIER: It's his first Zoom. You have to
9 forgive him.

10 Following that series of articles, our newly
11 appointed Chief of Police, Chuck Ramsey, invited DOJ to
12 come into our department and assist us with the reforms
13 that some of which had been started with the Booz-Allen
14 Group. By this time, I was a commanding officer of
15 major narcotics branch. I spent the next six years of
16 my time in the department on those reforms.

17 How we got to the place as a department were
18 very clear. We lacked funding. The city was broken
19 financially. We didn't have equipment. Our only use -
20 - our only weapon to defend ourselves was our firearms.
21 We had no less lethal weapons and there were plenty
22 available. We lacked training. There wasn't enough

1 overtime to send officers back to the range to
2 requalify or to qualify with any less lethal weapons,
3 so training was almost non-existent. There were
4 certainly outdated policies that hadn't been updated
5 since the early '70s, a lack of leadership and clearly
6 a lack of accountability and transparency.

7 As a part of those reform efforts, I also
8 served as the Use of Force Review Board Chairman for
9 six years. My role in that position, we reviewed every
10 single discharge of a firearm by a Metropolitan police
11 officer and every single serious use of force.

12 Having spent five years as SOD Commander, I
13 also served as the department's 30(b)(6) witness or
14 expert witness for all protests, civil disturbances and
15 mass arrests for six years.

16 In 2007, I became the chief of police. In
17 2008, we were released from our MOA or Memorandum of
18 Agreement with the Department of Justice. It was
19 supposed to be a five-year agreement. It ended up
20 being much longer. And in 2016, an independent
21 consultant, a former DOJ attorney, was hired by the
22 City Council to come back to MPD and review our reforms

1 15 years after we implemented them to see if we had, in
2 fact maintained those reforms. Fortunately, those
3 reforms were reviewed, and we were still intact --
4 intact, and we had no problems with our use of force.

5 In my time as the chief of police, we averaged
6 three police shootings, fatal police shootings a year,
7 we averaged 658,000 911 calls for service each year, we
8 recovered more than 2,000 illegal firearms each year,
9 and served hundreds -- executed hundreds of search and
10 arrest warrants.

11 Reform is possible. But it is not universally
12 needed. There are many police departments that are in
13 the same place that the Metropolitan Police Department
14 were and many that are in the same place that the
15 Metropolitan Police Department is. Reform is possible,
16 and almost always involves the same issues that were
17 identified in the Metropolitan Police Department back
18 in 1998. But reform and policy must be based on
19 factual data. And that, unfortunately, in many police
20 departments is lacking. They either don't collect or
21 don't share that information.

22 So, I'm going to rely on the experts on this

1 panel today to identify what police reform means and
2 where we can put our efforts to most effectively fix
3 what needs to be fixed and restore the nation's
4 confidence in our law enforcement, and we need to do
5 that as quickly as possible.

6 I've had the privilege to meet and work with
7 and learn from all of the panel members here over the
8 past 27 years. I'll do a brief introduction and we'll
9 start with our questions.

10 Roseanna Ander, who joins me on stage is the
11 Executive Director of the University of Chicago Crime
12 and Education Lab. Ms. Ander has also served as the
13 Illinois Juvenile Justice Commission and also Public
14 Safety Transition teams for both Chicago Mayor Rahm
15 Emanuel and Illinois Governor Bruce Rauner.

16 Chief Erika Shields, Chief of Police currently
17 in Louisville, Louisville Metropolitan Police
18 Department -- say that right, Louisville, Louisville.
19 Thank you. She began her career in Atlanta, Georgia in
20 1995, as a patrol officer, and eventually became the
21 Chief of Police in Atlanta. Chief Shields is a strong
22 advocate for 21st Century Policing and has been an

1 outspoken leader on police reform.

2 John Miller, despite his failure to understand
3 the mute button in his Zoom, Deputy Commissioner of
4 Intelligence, Counterterrorism and the NYPD. He has
5 also served as the Deputy Director of the Intelligence
6 and Analysis Division at the ODNI, also Director of
7 National Intelligence, the Assistant Director of the
8 FBI, the commanding officer of counterterrorism and
9 criminal intelligence with the Los Angeles Police
10 Department. Along with his service in law enforcement,
11 and intelligence, Deputy Commissioner Miller was also a
12 journalist and an author best known for his interview
13 with terrorist leader, Osama bin Laden.

14 And then lastly, Chuck Wexler, the Executive
15 Director of the Police Executive Research forum, PERF,
16 as we call them, a research organization dedicated to
17 improving the professionalism of policing. And in
18 2016, under Mr. Wexler's leadership, the Police
19 Executive Research forum produced a set of 30 guiding
20 principles on use of force based in part on PERF's work
21 in Scotland, where most police officers do not carry
22 firearms, but have been trained to in sophisticated de-

1 escalation skills. PERF then developed a training
2 program to implement the guiding principles in police
3 agencies nationwide, and the New Jersey Attorney
4 General recently mandated that all 38,000 police
5 officers in the state receive it in 2021.

6 So Roseanna, we'll start with you. Talk to me
7 about your work with the Chicago Crime Lab and the
8 evidence around the impact of police reform and consent
9 decrees.

10 MS. ANDER: Great. Well, thanks so much for
11 having me. It's great to be with such incredible
12 people here on the stage and on video.

13 The University of Chicago Crime Lab really
14 started because of a crisis in Chicago. We were having
15 a lot of gun violence happening, and we recognized that
16 a place like the University of Chicago had tremendous
17 resources, but too often those resources were not being
18 brought to bear to solve some of the most urgent and
19 pressing challenges on the ground in our home city of
20 Chicago. What good are all those Nobel Prize winners
21 if they won't walk two blocks to the south or two
22 blocks to the west, to make a difference in their home

1 city?

2 So, we wanted to directly engage with
3 government, because government is both in many ways,
4 the problem if you look at the failures of government,
5 but also the only way to have a scalable solution.

6 So, in our home city, we started with public
7 safety, the thing that was most socially costly and
8 having the greatest impact. So, we've worked with the
9 Chicago Police Department and other police departments
10 to try to be a partner in innovation. We don't have
11 the answers, but we think that we can work together to
12 innovate and use data and evidence to try to drive
13 solutions.

14 I think one of the sort of questions for the
15 panel today is what is police reform? And I think we
16 need to actually step back and say, what is the job of
17 police? I think there is not consensus on what it is
18 that we are expecting our police officers to do. If
19 you just look at the 911 calls that come in, and the
20 broad array of things that residents are asking their
21 government for, and then we are then asking police to
22 do, I think there's a real mismatch between all that

1 they're being asked to do and as you pointed out, the
2 training that they get, the tools that they get, the
3 resources that they have, the accountability systems,
4 how we are, you know, identifying the people who should
5 become leaders in policing. And so, I think there's
6 just a lot of work to be done and we haven't really
7 generated the kind of data and evidence that we need to
8 make sure that we have world class policing in every
9 town, in every city, in every state, in this country.

10 MS. LANIER: So, you've also looked at the
11 intersection of the most recent spike in violent crime
12 and reform efforts that are going on. Can you talk a
13 little bit about that?

14 MS. ANDER: Yeah, I think everybody wants a
15 simple answer, why is violent crime up? And, you know,
16 if you're on the left, you have one view, if you're on
17 the right, you have another view, I think.

18 MS. LANIER: Of course.

19 MS. ANDER: I think the truth is, it's
20 incredibly nuanced and it's a lot of things that are
21 sort of acting collectively. And I think that if we,
22 but you know, as we talk about police reform, I think

1 we really need to understand, you know, we need to be
2 looking at how do we improve the quality of policing at
3 the same time, that we don't lose sight of the gun
4 violence that's happening in cities.

5 And I think often people are looking at one
6 side of the ledger or the other, and we can have both.
7 We can have better, more effective policing, and less
8 gun violence, but we need to be very, very intentional
9 in how we do that. And I think the pandemic certainly
10 had an impact on gun violence for lots of reasons.
11 People were, you know, stuck in their homes, there was
12 more stress there, you know, lots of things. And, you
13 know, there was social unrest, and people were, you
14 know, questioning the legitimacy of police. And I
15 think people think of, did the police pull back? Did
16 residents stop coming forward? I think it's a little
17 bit of both. And, you know, a lot of other things in a
18 once in a century pandemic, that were all sort of
19 combining to create this unfortunate and very vicious
20 cycle. But I think the people who say it's just sort
21 of police going fetal, or it's, you know, the, you
22 know, movement for social justice, I think that's sort

1 of way oversimplifying a very complex phenomenon.

2 MS. LANIER: Sure. So, and Erik is going to
3 talk a little bit about the communities, what's
4 happening in communities and violent crime, and then
5 what the communities are looking for from the police a
6 little bit later, but thank you.

7 So, John, you got your mute button off, buddy?
8 I just need to hear your voice.

9 MR. MILLER: There we go.

10 MS. LANIER: There you go. You look good,
11 John.

12 MR. MILLER: I got all messed up by this.

13 MS. LANIER: John, can you talk a little bit
14 about when you see the videos of the shootings that
15 we've seen over the past three years, I say of the
16 shootings that have been, you know, viral, you know,
17 broadcast over and over again, the shootings that, you
18 know, kind of horrified not just police shootings, but
19 those incidents, that you see that horrify us when we
20 see uses of deadly force by police, tell me what your
21 what your thoughts are.

22 MR. MILLER: So, my first thought is that you

1 see those videos, and as you pointed out correctly,
2 they get played again and again and again and again on
3 social media. They get millions of bets on television
4 news, they become part of this endless drumbeat. And,
5 you know, that has an effect right there.

6 The effect it has is because they're
7 inundative, that the public gets the idea that the very
8 small number of encounters that involve police officers
9 shooting somebody or a serious use of force, they get
10 the idea that these are all too common because they see
11 these things all the time. The one thing I think in
12 terms of themes, Cathy, that comes up in these videos,
13 again and again, is you see a shooting that everything,
14 every incident is unique, so that's the caveat. But
15 you see a shooting that is probably legally justified,
16 why these prosecutions face such challenges in court?

17 But when you rewind the circumstances in that
18 video, the constant theme is, and George Floyd is not
19 one of those cases. It's the cases in these fast-paced
20 things that get away from the officers. The constant
21 theme is, what were the options that they passed by
22 that caused them to be involved in, yes, a legally

1 justifiable shooting, but a shooting that didn't have
2 to happen? Because they went by the ability to slow
3 the incident down to backup and call for special
4 equipment and other officers with different training.
5 That is the constant theme that we see from those
6 videos.

7 MS. LANIER: How do we get ourselves in that
8 spot, right?

9 MR. MILLER: Exactly.

10 MS. LANIER: The old adage was, you know, a
11 car fleeing from police and another officer steps in
12 front of the car, and then shoots because the car has
13 now present a threat to the officer instead of stepping
14 behind cover, and not in front of the car. So, it is
15 training, right, the ability to train and have adequate
16 policy.

17 MR. MILLER: It is. But I also think that the
18 presence of the body cameras, and the value of the
19 videos is unspeakably positive. In the NYPD
20 experience, it was like anywhere else. First, the
21 department resisted being an early adopter of body
22 cameras, just because it was not a heavy lift, it was

1 enormous lift. Where do you get 36,000 body cameras
2 and pay for it and work out a storage policy and make
3 sure that they actually work and function. So, it was
4 the kind of thing you always said, well, we'll do that
5 tomorrow, because it's just too big. When the
6 department was pushed into it by a Federal Monitor,
7 first, this is natural, right? The cops didn't want to
8 wear them. They didn't want to be spied on. They
9 didn't want somebody looking over their shoulder
10 literally, actually in front of your shoulder. We had
11 to do kind of a lot of psychology, they're saying,
12 look, you know, people make allegations against police
13 officers all the time. Remember, the camera is facing
14 out, it's what you're seeing. Everybody else is
15 already holding up a phone and videotaping you all the
16 time, especially when it gets dicey. And yet, you
17 know, it was hard to get them to adopt it. And like
18 every other police department that has been through the
19 throes of the same, you know, emotional roller coaster
20 on the part of police officers saying it's just one
21 more layer of somebody watching my every move, now it's
22 very hard to get the officers to leave without a body

1 camera, because what have the effects been? The
2 effects have been civilian complaints have gone down.
3 And that's because you can't just make a complaint and
4 say the cop did or said x because you're mad at them or
5 the outcome of your encounter. Because you now know
6 this whole thing was on tape, including what you said
7 and did.

8 The more interesting phenomenon is well,
9 complaints to the Civilian Complaint Review Board have
10 gone down, convictions of officers and definitive
11 findings have gone up. So, we're seeing less cases go
12 unsubstantiated because there's the movie version of it
13 now. We're also seeing an uptick in findings that the
14 complaint is substantiated. And in lots of cases,
15 we're getting these exonerations because it's the tail
16 of the tape, it just didn't happen.

17 So, I think that has what has given officers
18 confidence. But the lessons we take from it, just go
19 back to the how did you get yourself in that position
20 piece. We've watched a number of videos where you've
21 seen not only the officers point of view, but the body
22 cameras of all the other officers who are on the scene,

1 the officers who are around them, what occurs and, you
2 know, we recently issued every patrol car, a set of
3 wooden chocks attached to a rope, so that they could
4 tie off the door. So, many of our biggest challenges
5 have been, they came to the door, the door flew open,
6 the person displayed a knife, you know, you've ended up
7 in that shooting in some narrow hallway. How about
8 when the report is the person has a weapon, and they're
9 not letting you in to tie off the door with the rope,
10 and now you have control of the door. A rope, and a
11 triangular piece of wood is not a giant piece of
12 technology, but it has been game changing in a number
13 of incidents. Because, again, when you're trying to
14 exercise all your options before you get to deadly
15 force, as opposed to pass them by, and then end up in a
16 point of no return, a rope and a chock of wood is
17 pretty good.

18 MS. LANIER: And a lot easier to use than that
19 mute button too.

20 (Laughter)

21 MR. MILLER: Yeah, that too. I mean, it's the
22 kind of low-tech thing that would be good for me.

1 MR. MILLER: You know, I really shouldn't
2 joke. You're absolutely right, John. And this, I've
3 seen it play out over and over again. And when we
4 implemented body cameras, it was such an excellent
5 training tool to look at how officers were getting
6 themselves in tactical situations, and how do we, you
7 know, do our training a little bit differently. It
8 really gave us a great new perspective.

9 So, Erika, can you talk to us a little bit,
10 you know, you've policed now in two different
11 communities and you're an outsider coming in in
12 Louisville, and there's been some controversial police
13 involved shootings there, and so you're trying to
14 really regain that, restore that trust in that
15 community.

16 Talk to me about what, you know, the feeling
17 of the community, as a lot of people feel -- think that
18 communities don't want police policing them in their
19 communities anymore. And I don't know that that's what
20 you see and hear in a lot of communities.

21 MS. SHIELDS: Right. Good morning. I really
22 enjoyed listening to all of this, including the panel,

1 previous. So, I got into Louisville in January of
2 2021. And of course, Breonna Taylor was through the
3 second half, March of 2020, went public when George
4 Floyd did, and went through the end of the year 2020.
5 But also predating that, there have been several high-
6 profile traffic stops by LMPD, Louisville Metro Police
7 Department in 2019, against black motorists. And
8 rather than isolating the behaviors of the officers,
9 retraining them, redefining policy, there was more of a
10 posture, don't do traffic, don't be proactive.

11 And so, when I come in here, what I find is I
12 have a department that is reluctant to police. We're
13 not self-initiating anything. The community is still,
14 the tension is just palpable. And what I recognized
15 was, even though in my mind, I knew how I could come in
16 and immediately start hitting at the homicides and the
17 violent crime and tackling it, because I've learned and
18 done enough in Atlanta that work. What I recognized
19 was, one, I had to ensure the officers could execute
20 it, execute on it appropriately; and two, even the
21 slightest perceived misstep would potentially implode
22 this city.

1 So, my posture here has been very, very
2 deliberate, very methodical. And what I'll say to you
3 is, I'm in a city that's not New York City size,
4 obviously. I have 142 homicides. 75 percent of them
5 are African American, and 85 percent of them are male.

6 So, those individuals who are in the already
7 marginalized communities are the victims. They are the
8 homicide victims. And this is the community that most
9 desperately needs the presence of police. And yet,
10 this is the community that if we're to believe the
11 narrative of the folks who are out front is, that they
12 don't want the police. And I disagree with that. I
13 think what I've always heard my whole career and I came
14 from Atlanta where the population was around 55 percent
15 African American, was the communities that are having
16 to endure a violent crime day in and day out, do want
17 the police. They always are asking for more police.
18 It's how do we police.

19 And the risk that you run when you get into
20 this narrative of, well, we don't need police, I can
21 tell you, your white communities that are middle income
22 upward are going to figure out a way to fund private

1 police. The marginalized communities are the ones who
2 are going to be defunded. And you know, you need to
3 look no closer than what's going on in Atlanta right
4 now. The north end of the city, it is extremely
5 affluent, wants to create its own city, just because it
6 wants to cut off from the rest of the city because
7 crime is rampant.

8 So, I think it's really important, as the
9 prior panelists on here have all touched on is, you
10 have to be very, very -- you have to use data, you have
11 to be deliberate in how we move forward, do not let
12 emotion drive our decision making, because at the end
13 of the day, the people who are going to be most
14 impacted by police -- and I'm living, I am living it
15 day in and day out, that the people who have been most
16 impacted by police not being proactive, is the black
17 community.

18 And yes, there's a lot of factors that have
19 played out. But what I can tell you is the issues and
20 the crime in the black community were there long before
21 COVID. And what you're seeing, really across the U.S.
22 from many of these cities, when you talk to other

1 chiefs, is there's a very real reluctance by police to
2 engage and be proactive, whether they feel they can't,
3 they don't know how to. And so, I think we have to
4 just be very, very thoughtful in how we move this
5 forward, or it's really going to -- it's going to
6 really impact some communities much, much harder than
7 others.

8 MS. LANIER: Totally agree. Totally agree.
9 Great job, what you're doing out there, Erika.
10 Appreciate you being with us. I know you're very busy.

11 Chuck. Chuck, you've spent a lot of time.
12 I've learned so much from you over the years. You
13 spent a lot of time pulling together research and
14 bringing in non-traditional partners to work with law
15 enforcement and help us resolve issue after issue after
16 issue. You were ahead of everybody else, back in 2016,
17 with bringing in the police from Scotland to talk
18 about, you know, de-escalation and how it is that they
19 can police communities with no firearms, and
20 successfully do the same things that we deal with here,
21 you know, extreme mental health challenges out in the
22 community and environments.

1 So, a couple of the things that I want you to
2 speak about. One is, you know, we talked about,
3 there's really a lack of data and a lack of
4 transparency. There really is no good numbers
5 universally across all 18,000 police departments in the
6 United States.

7 So, for us to say, you know what the problem
8 is and use a force, it's very difficult to pinpoint
9 without that data. But there is some good data out
10 there, and we should use probably what's there. So,
11 can you talk about that, and then your efforts
12 historically, to successfully make -- push police
13 reform over the last couple of decades that that have
14 worked? So, kind of share those thoughts with us.

15 MR. WEXLER: Well, thanks, Cathy, and thanks
16 for your leadership for a number of years. You know,
17 it's interesting, people say, you know, you need
18 accurate data, but sometimes it's things you can do
19 with what you've got. I think, I want to mention the
20 NYPD, I want to mention 50 years ago, 1972, the NYPD
21 shot at about 950 people a year. You can get your head
22 around that figure, 950 people a year. They didn't

1 kill 950 people, but maybe about 40 or 50, or 70,
2 actually. But they realized one part of that 950 was
3 shooting at cars. And by implementing that one policy,
4 and remember, that's 50 years ago, within two years,
5 they cut that number to 450. And like you mentioned,
6 Cathy, that, you know, the reason people would shoot in
7 cars, they put themselves in a position where they
8 would, you know, either get hurt or have no choice but
9 to shoot at the car. And so New York did that. So,
10 policy matters, leadership matters.

11 And then I would skip to what you were talking
12 about Cathy, in Washington, D.C., which was as you
13 said, The Washington Post would win a Pulitzer for the
14 deadliest police department in the country. And under
15 your leadership and Chuck Ramsey's leadership that they
16 reengineered 20 years ago, use of force. So,
17 Washington, D.C. now has one of the lowest rates of
18 abuse of force.

19 And so, you know, people will say, you know,
20 we don't have enough data, but there's a lot of things
21 you can do. Leadership matters, policy matters. And
22 yeah, you're right, I was in Scotland during, you know,

1 the period in 2016, when all of the things were going
2 on back here. And, you know, just have, you know, just
3 as you're watching, you know, I was talking to a
4 recruit in Scotland. I said, well, how do you deal
5 with people with knives -- because they don't have
6 guns. And he proceeded to, you know, walk me through
7 it.

8 And then I came back here realizing that if I
9 told people in the United States, you know, this is
10 what they do in Scotland, no one would want to do it.
11 But you know, what I thought of, I thought of was the
12 NYPD Emergency Service Unit. And John Miller certainly
13 knows a lot about that. And, you know, I told them,
14 Commissioner Bill Bratton, I said, I want to my guards
15 to spend five days with the Emergency Service Unit.
16 And basically, they were doing what I saw in Scotland
17 is slowing things down using time and distance. And,
18 and we spent time with them, and we still work with
19 them. And out of that came up, ICAT training,
20 integrating communication, assessment and tactics,
21 which is all a fancy word for slowing things down using
22 time and distance. You know, the Washington Post would

1 win a second Pulitzer Prize on use of deadly force,
2 when they broke down 1,000 officer involved shootings.
3 Of that 1,000, 60 percent involved guns.

4 So, you'll never see a controversy on TV when
5 a suspect has a gun and a police officer faces that
6 suspect with a gun, really, it never happens. However,
7 it's that 40 percent that's roughly 400 a year that
8 involve people with mental health issues, people with
9 knives, people with two-by-fours, people who the police
10 thought had a gun, that 400, that 40 percent we believe
11 can make a difference, and that is what ICAT tries to
12 impact.

13 So, as you started this all up about social
14 media and the visions of police involved shootings,
15 it's the ones -- the ones that get police in trouble or
16 that 40 percent when you're dealing with someone who's
17 autistic, and they don't listen to order. So, you have
18 a homeless person, and a cop kicks a homeless person.
19 And as John Timoney used to say, homeless people carry
20 knives to protect themselves, not to hurt someone, so
21 if you don't know that. So, all of that came into ICAT
22 training. And I want to recognize Erika Shields,

1 because Louisville implemented ICAT training.

2 Now, here's what's really interesting talking
3 about data. Robin Engel from the University of
4 Cincinnati evaluated the ICAT training in Louisville,
5 in a randomized control study, you know, the gold
6 standard, and it reduced use of force incidents by 26
7 percent, citizen injuries by 26 percent. And here's
8 the kicker -- because everybody said PERF was going to
9 get cop killed -- 36 percent reduction in officer
10 injuries. So, it was good for everybody.

11 So, all of that is to say, there's things we
12 can do in the short term and there's things we can do
13 in the long term. But you know, we don't have to wait
14 for all the data to come in to do things now.

15 MS. LANIER: Thank you, Chuck. You know, I
16 would say, if you just think about what you hire there,
17 training is such a critical part, but also policy, and
18 this comes to the leadership. You know, when police
19 budgets get cut, the first thing that goes is your
20 civilian staff. Your civilian staff are the ones that
21 push the policy development, make sure those policies
22 are written. And if you don't have policies that say,

1 you can't use neck restraint, right, and if you do use
2 a neck restraint, you're going to be disciplined, and
3 potentially could be fired if somebody is injured in
4 the use of a neck restraint. I talk about George
5 Floyd, right? So, if you fire at a moving vehicle,
6 there's a policy against that. You're trained against
7 that. If you don't have those things, you know, you're
8 at a disadvantage. And there has to be accountability
9 and discipline when people violate the policy.

10 And, Chuck, I just want to touch on briefly
11 with you. You told us great story of my predecessor,
12 Chuck Ramsey with the ticking time bomb. There are
13 challenges to what police leadership has done and tries
14 to do in police reform. Can you talk about what those
15 challenges are?

16 MR. WEXLER: Well, I mean, you know, biggest,
17 biggest challenge, I mean, I think, you know, first of
18 all, I think you need to train cops to hold them
19 accountable. I think one of the issues when, you know,
20 the media calls and ask why did the cop do what they
21 did? I usually say the cop did what they did, because
22 that's how they're trained. So, if you don't train

1 them, you don't have a policy that says don't shoot at
2 cars that is iron clad. And a cop shoots at a car, if
3 you don't have a policy, it's hard to hold the cop
4 accountable. However, you know, there are cops that
5 are frequent fliers, that get involved over and over
6 again. So, if you don't have an early warning system
7 to identify them, you're going to have a problem. And
8 as a matter of fact, one of what the consent decrees
9 do, that's one of the first things they do, you have to
10 implement that.

11 But having said that, even trying to fire a
12 cop that's been involved over and over again with a
13 strong labor we have is challenging. But I think, you
14 know, look at what John Timoney did in Miami. When he
15 got to Miami, he identified the cops that were shooting
16 people. What did he do? He took them off the street.
17 And they went for like -- he always used to correct me
18 because I get it wrong -- 29 months without shooting
19 anyone. So, get the cops who are shooting people off
20 the street. That doesn't take much.

21 MS. LANIER: Yeah. So, there are challenges
22 when you're trying to do police reform. And as a Chief

1 of Police in Washington, D.C., I fired bad cops. We
2 had policies. They violated those policies. They were
3 frequent fliers, like Chuck talked about. We would
4 fire those officers. A good number of those officers
5 were rehired because of the police unions, and the
6 police unions finding small administrative holes in the
7 in the process to get those officers rehired. So, as
8 the chief of police, most police chiefs have
9 challenges. They are not the final say in termination
10 of officers that are involved in misconduct, and
11 sometimes serious and multiple uses of force.

12 So, we're coming down to the end of time. And
13 I know we'll have some questions from the audience.
14 But I just want to kind of wrap up just with -- just a
15 couple of things.

16 One, I suggest that we learn from our past
17 this time. This is -- there's a lot of things
18 happening right now that are cyclical. It's happened
19 before. We're coming through the same cycle again.
20 You know, I suggest we learn from our past and separate
21 ourselves from the divisive rhetoric and focus our
22 efforts on the reform, if that makes sense, rather than

1 policies that not supported by any kind of data or
2 evidence. Otherwise, our reform efforts are going to
3 fail.

4 We should be thinking about the short- and
5 long-term strategies that Chuck mentioned, thoughtful
6 tactical in response. Let's act on what we know now.
7 We know what strong policies and good training and
8 equipment can do. It's counter to the defund movement,
9 but it is based on long term evidence.

10 And then the longer-term strategic plan, you
11 know, why aren't there reporting requirements from
12 every single police department in this country? Why
13 isn't every police department in this country reporting
14 on their use of force, and transparency, you know,
15 tracking that use of force and analyzing what we know
16 about those uses of force, so that we can base reforms
17 on real information. I think there has to be
18 consistent policies, penalties, accountability and
19 transparency. That's the bottom line for every agency,
20 no matter how large or small.

21 We're in a dangerous place. There's a mass
22 exodus of police officers going on. At the same time,

1 we're in a retirement bubble nationwide. Every 20, 25
2 years, we have this big exodus of police officers, that
3 potentially could happen. And now it's been
4 accelerated because of what's happening.

5 There's a lack of ability to recruit. Every
6 one of these law enforcement people here will tell you,
7 it's very, very difficult to recruit a police officer
8 today. And then there's a lack of trust in those that
9 are left behind to go and police these communities.
10 This is the perfect storm.

11 You heard the last panel, domestic violent
12 extremism, targeted violence is the biggest threat we
13 face in our communities today. And these law
14 enforcement officers, especially at the state and local
15 level, are the first line of detection and the first
16 line of defense. And if people don't trust them, we're
17 not going to get the information that we need and we're
18 not going to be able to defend our communities.

19 So, with that, I will take questions. All
20 right. Any questions for the panel? No questions?

21 MS. ANDER: Can I say something real quick?

22 MS. LANIER: Yes.

1 MS. ANDER: Just, you know, while we're
2 waiting for a question, I think one of the most
3 important things that can happen at the national level,
4 is to really try to understand the lessons from all of
5 the consent decrees that have been implemented before.
6 I think there's a lot of well-intentioned things in
7 there. Some of them have made police departments
8 better. Some of them have had adverse impacts. And I
9 don't -- I mean, to your point about learning from the
10 past, I think we really need to be solving real
11 problems in the real world, and not just box checking.
12 And I think some of the time, the consent decrees
13 become about box checking to get out from under the
14 consent decree. And I think we really, really -- the
15 DOJ, I would urge them to have some sort of commission
16 to look at what are -- what is all the evidence from
17 all of the different consent decrees, so that going
18 forward, we can take what's best, what's working, and
19 help police departments really become 21st century
20 police departments.

21 MS. LANIER: All right. So, since we are
22 short on time, and no questions, we -- oh, yes, we have

1 one here.

2 MR. WILLIS: Hello. Great session. Thank
3 you. Henry Willis from RAND Corporation. I have a
4 question. If you could try to connect the two sessions
5 we just had, and we had the law enforcement perspective
6 here. Could you talk a bit about the discussions of
7 white supremacy groups or ideologies in the law
8 enforcement community, what we know about it and what
9 we need to do about it, if at all?

10 MS. LANIER: So, I think the divisiveness from
11 my perspective, and I would ask Erika or John to weigh
12 in as well. From my perspective, the divisiveness that
13 we're seeing across America is happening inside of
14 police departments as well. Yes, are there people
15 inside of police departments that have been kind of co-
16 opted to one, you know, set of views or into some of
17 these extremist views? I believe there absolutely are.
18 I mean, though, the Blue Lives Matter movement has been
19 growing and some of that Blue Lives Matter movement, I
20 think, has been kind of pulled into that, those extreme
21 views. And this is something that police chiefs and
22 police managers are looking very closely at. It also

1 goes back to kind of good leadership, good management
2 and people paying attention to what's happening inside
3 their police force, and then how are you going to deal
4 with that? And I also agree with the previous panel,
5 that having appreciation for other people's opinion is
6 the first step, you know, recognizing that you have
7 these things going on in your department is important
8 part. But you have to start with empathy for that
9 person's position, because the way they feel is the way
10 they feel. So, you have to start there and then deal
11 with it from there. But I'll open to John or Erika, if
12 either of you have some thoughts on that, and the
13 crossover with January 6.

14 MS. SHIELDS: Just briefly, I'll just say
15 that, you know, we just -- I echo everything you say,
16 Cathy. We really try to drill down our employee's
17 social media to make sure that there's not anything
18 there. I think the bigger challenge that I see is,
19 it's more of -- it's the same thing you see in the
20 United States, it's depending on where someone is
21 standing, how they view the comment. And so, it's not
22 like there's a bright line. And those are the -- those

1 are the situations that are difficult to manage. I
2 mean, if someone just does something blatantly racist
3 are out there, sure, that's -- get fired. But how
4 about if it's the politics of the day, and that's much
5 harder to weed out, and that's much more -- that's much
6 more commonplace, but I think the end result is just as
7 damaging. John?

8 MR. MILLER: So, I would say that that's
9 something we took a hard look at. And if you had asked
10 me before January 6, where are the largest, you know,
11 number of, you know, people who are going to get locked
12 up and charged with that going to come from? I would
13 have said, you know, out in the Midwest, you know,
14 maybe over here or over there, you know, no closer than
15 Pennsylvania, maybe to New York. And yet, you know,
16 New York, New York's FBI office has had the largest
17 number of complaints, indictments and charges for
18 people involved in the storming of the Capitol, where
19 federal crimes were committed. So that took us aback.

20 One thing that was a great relief is, you
21 know, there were no active-duty members of the NYPD in
22 that crowd. And that's something we took an immediate

1 look at. I think that in terms of white supremacy,
2 neo-Nazi groups, we have really imbued into our
3 recruiting, just as you said, Chief Shields, which is,
4 what is your social media? Let's go through all of
5 that. But we've also told our recruiters, what are the
6 actual signs? What are the actual tattoos? What are
7 the actual images and code pieces that go with that, so
8 that they have a finer eye towards a new candidate to
9 make sure that's not coming in.

10 I also think, you know, in terms of that
11 movement, basically law enforcement, the image of
12 police officers being assaulted and beaten in
13 Washington, D.C., Capitol Police, D.C. Metro cops
14 struggling with these people. If it wasn't, it
15 certainly should have been a turnoff to anybody in law
16 enforcement who would think of joining a movement like
17 that before because of some political ideology. It
18 just goes to show if you are viewing yourself as, you
19 know, that line between mayhem and safety in America,
20 then you can't be -- you can't be on that side of that
21 group, because they made it clear that they are willing
22 to cross that line no matter who they have to beat up

1 or go through. I thought they truly revealed
2 themselves on that day to cops who might have had some
3 inkling that that was something that they would or
4 could be a part of.

5 We'll certainly keep looking for it. We'll
6 certainly keep finding it. I know it's been an issue
7 in the military, but it is completely intolerable
8 within law enforcement.

9 MS. LANIER: Erika, Chuck, John, certainly,
10 Roseanna, thank you so much for being part of this
11 panel today. I know you all have a lot on your plate
12 and a lot going on. Thank you so much. Great panel.

13 (Applause)

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