The Institute for Polarities of Democracy

and

The National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives

Anti-Racism Initiative

Phase One Analysis

Applying the Polarities of Democracy Approach to Implementation of the 21st Century Policing Report

INSTITUTE FOR POLARITIES OF DEMOCRACY

with

ANTI-RACISM INITIATIVE

A Collaborative Strategic Alliance Between
The Institute for Polarities of Democracy and
The National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives

William J. Benet, Ph.D. • Initiative Co-Chair
Joseph A. McMillan, Ph.D. • Initiative Co-Chair

Phase One Analysis

Applying the Polarities of Democracy Approach to Implementation of the 21st Century Policing Report

Prepared by

Dr. William J. Benet, Senior Fellow, Institute for Polarities of Democracy
Dr. Joseph A. McMillan, Fellow, Institute for Polarities of Democracy

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Contents

From NOBLE's President III

From Initiative Co-Chairs IV

Executive Summary 1

Section One – Introduction 3
The Call for a *Guardian*, Rather than a *Warrior*, Mindset
The Institute for Polarities of Democracy's Approach to Social Change

Section Two – Methodology 7
Initiative Leadership
The Institute and NOBLE's Four Component Anti-Racism Initiative
The Regional Presentations
The Surveys
The Pillar Analysis Teams
Application of the Polarities of Democracy to the Pillars
Application of Critical Race Theory
Integration with other NOBLE Initiatives
Development of Polarities of Democracy Preliminary Application Assessment

Section Three – Findings 12
Findings of the NOBLE Survey – Summary Themes
- Summary Themes According to the NOBLE General Membership
- Summary Themes According to the NOBLE Executives

Findings of the Pillar Analysis Teams
- Pillar One - Trust and Legitimacy
- Pillar Two – Policies and Procedures
- Pillar Four - Community Policing and Crime Reduction
- Pillar Five - Training and Education

Contents Continued

Findings Regarding Application of the Polarities of Democracy Approach to the Pillars of the 21st Century Policing Report
- Level One Analysis of Polarities of Democracy Associations
- Level Two Analyses of Polarities of Democracy Associations
  - Pillar One: 1.4.2
  - Pillar Two: 2.2.1
  - Pillar Four: 4.2.3
  - Pillar Five: 5.3.1

Findings of the Critical Race Theory Analysis Team
- Recurring Themes in Critical Race Theory Literature
- Uses of Critical Race Theory
- Critical Race Theory and the Polarities of Democracy

Section Four – Implementation Strategies 37

Incorporate the 21st Century Policing Report and Implementation Guide

Incorporate the John Jay Future of Public Safety Report

Incorporate the NOBLE Reimagining Public Safety Task Force Report

Incorporate the Polarities of Democracy Approach for Social Change

Conclusion 41

References 42

Appendix A – Highlights from the Executive Summary 47

Appendix B – Online Resources 48

Appendix C – Phase One Analysis Participants 49

Appendix D – NOBLE Advisors 50

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF BLACK LAW ENFORCEMENT EXECUTIVES

National President
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Deputy Assistant Director (Retired), U.S. Secret Service\
Professor Criminal Justice, Middle Tennessee State University

National First Vice President
FREDERICK THOMAS
Captain/Commander
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Drug Enforcement Administration

Associate Members Representative
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Detective (Retired)
New York Police Department

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New York Police Department

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Supervisor (Retired)
Transportation Security Administration

Region Three Vice President
ROBERT FORD
Assistant Chief
Lumpkin Police Department

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U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

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Alaska State Troopers

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JEFFREY FOBBS
Postal Inspector
U.S. Postal Inspection Service

Special Assistant to the National President
LOU E. DIXON
Principle Assistant Inspector (Retired)
U.S. Department of Transportation

Special Assistant to the National President
JOHN E. PEARSON
Director of Police Services
DeKalb County Police Department

Special Assistant to the President for International Affairs
MELODY JACKSON
Special Agent in Charge (Retired)
Health and Human Services-Office of Inspector General

National Chaplain
REVEREND DR. BARBARA WILLIAMS HARRIS
Inspector-Chaplain
New York Police Department

DWAYNE CRAWFORD
Executive Director

June 9, 2021

When I assumed the position of President of NOBLE almost one year ago, I could not have imagined the dynamism in the collective voices for change, for justice, for transparency, for accountability, for civility in the public discourse around reform in our justice and policing system; the wave of which anchored the mission of my tenure and would be foundational in key initiatives to drive the dialogue, shape the framework and provide a roadmap on how to correct that void of trust in community and police relations.

The Institute for Polarities of Democracy, having partnered with NOBLE to highlight substantive change models for justice in policing, has a value-add perspective in the continual dialogue to find symmetry and balance in the community and law enforcement relationship, highlighted through the Institute's theory or model of integrating concepts of responsibility, cooperation, and problem-solving, to name a few, to the relationship equation.

I thank the Institute for being a partner and participant in this journey with NOBLE and for their tireless efforts in engaging constituents and developing thought-provoking work supportive of justice in policing.

Lynda R. Williams
National President

HUBERT T. BELL, JR. OFFICE COMPLEX
4609 PINECREST OFFICE PARK DRIVE., SUITE F, ALEXANDRIA, VA 22312-1442 (703) 658-1529 FAX: (703) 658-9479, www.noblenational.org

INSTITUTE FOR POLARITIES OF DEMOCRACY

June 30, 2021

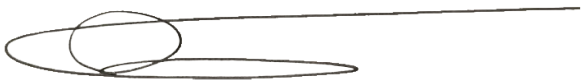
As a Past National President of the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE) and a retired law enforcement professional with more than four decades of public service, it pains my heart to see that there has not been more done to integrate a culture of policing that our citizens deserve.

George Floyd died at the hands of those charged to "protect and serve." By all measures of released video footage and the criminal trial, this was not a situation of a non-compliant suspect. By any measure of moral decency, what would compel a member of the law enforcement profession to summarily use a questionable technique to restrain a compliant individual for more than nine minutes while George Floyd's very life was being taken away under the officer's knee?

This is not a training issue. This is a moral decency issue. This type of action violates our sacred responsibilities as law enforcement professionals to protect and serve. As law enforcement professionals we are not the judge and jury. It is also beneath the duty we swore to uphold for those in a position of responsibility to stand by and witness this immoral act as it was occurring before their eyes and not intervene as they have both a duty and responsibility to act. Yes, the officer taking the action in the manner he did against George Floyd was wrong, but so were the others who stood by and did nothing at all.

Reforms in Criminal Justice are needed, and the template was provided by Former President Barack Obama's administration in their 21st Century Policing Report. This template provides insight into the strategies needed to foster guardians for our society and to remove the warrior attitude that is causing us so much damage. George Floyd's life was taken by those who were charged to protect and serve, and this has been seen by millions around the world. This in and of itself should be a clarion call for those in positions of responsibility to "double down" and do everything in their power to remove those from the ranks of policing that are not morally fit to serve communities of color. People are sick and tired of rhetoric whereby after all is said and done; more was said than done. If we are to make the promise of democracy a reality for all, especially in how communities are policed, it is time for a culture change in the policing industry.

Through my work with the Institute for Polarities of Democracy, I have seen that making the promise of democracy a reality for all people will require transforming not just policing, but all those systems and structures in America that are infested with systemic racism. This Phase One Analysis, prepared in collaboration between NOBLE, the Institute, and Walden University is one part of the Institute's comprehensive approach to address racism throughout our society. This Analysis can be used to assess police culture and develop transformational reform efforts that ensure all citizens are treated with dignity and respect. The steps suggested in this Analysis can help us embrace a guardian mentality through which we can serve, while still retaining the authority we need to protect as we move away from a warrior mentality.



Joseph A. McMillan, Ph.D.
NOBLE Past National President (2008 – 2009)
Fellow, Institute for Polarities of Democracy

INSTITUTE FOR POLARITIES OF DEMOCRACY

July 4, 2021

When George Floyd was murdered on May 25, 2020, it set in motion a tidal wave of actions that have reinvigorated the reimagining of policing that is but one essential element in the overall struggle to make the promise of democracy a reality for everyone in America. At the core of this overall struggle is the challenge of addressing the racism that has been and remains the original sin of America. We will not fully address that original sin until we become the truly multi-racial democracy that we are called to be.

Among the tens of thousands of actions that arose in the immediate aftermath of the murder of George Floyd were two concurrent calls to action: one by me in my role as Vice President and Senior Fellow with the Institute for Polarities of Democracy and one by Dr. Ward Ulmer, the President of Walden University. Dr. Joseph McMillan responded to those calls with a proposal for a joint effort that would both embrace the reimagining of policing in America from that of a Warrior mentality to that of a Guardian mentality, and the struggle to address racism and allow America to achieve the promise of democracy for all. That proposal became the Institute's and NOBLE's Anti-Racism Initiative spelled out in this Analysis.

I am deeply grateful that NOBLE has seen the *Polarities of Democracy* theory that I developed through my doctoral and post-doctoral research at the University of Toronto as an important tool in NOBLE's efforts to serve as the conscience of policing. The *Polarities of Democracy* theory grew out of a journey that I began back in 1960 in search of the values necessary to address racism and sustain a democratic society. I also am grateful for all of the volunteer efforts of those members of NOBLE, the Institute for Polarities of Democracy, and of Walden University who have so generously contributed their time in carrying out this Phase One Analysis of our Anti-Racism Initiative.

My work and the work of the Polarities of Democracy community is to make sure that the promises of freedom, justice, equality, and human rights are met. Given the structural racism that exists in America today those promises are not likely to be met in my lifetime, perhaps not in yours. But the struggle for our humanity must continue no matter how long the road. There are people who cannot hear the voice of George Floyd. And there are people and forces that ignore his voice because it helps to sustain their positions of power.

The Institute for the Polarities of Democracy was created to sustain our belief in freedom, justice, equality, and human rights and to forge our actions into concrete ways to serve the common good and to make the promises of democracy a reality. That we may not achieve this goal in our lifetimes is not failure. Failure would be to ignore the cries of George Floyd, and to ignore the cries of all who suffer from oppression. Success may not come in the form of righting the wrong. But, success can be manifested by hearing the voices of oppression and working to strengthen our humanity and our ability to continue in the struggle.

I send this message with an ongoing commitment to that struggle,

William J. Benet, Ph.D.
Vice President and Senior Fellow, the Institute for Polarities of Democracy
Dissertation Chair, the Walden University School of Public Policy and Administration

Executive Summary

...Trust between law enforcement agencies and the people they protect and serve is essential in a democracy. It is key to the stability of our communities, the integrity of our criminal justice system, and the safe and effective delivery of policing services...

President Barack Obama, 2015

Following the emergence of the Black Lives Matter movement, President Barack Obama established the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. The Task Force issued its Final Report (hereafter referred to as either the 21st Century Policing Report or just The Report) in May of 2015. The Report was one of several broad efforts carried out by citizens and government that were dedicated to reimaging policing in America. Some efforts specifically touched on police and community relations, while others grappled with the excessive use of force incidents that galvanized people across the nation. The focus of these cumulative efforts was to seek changes in the criminal justice system to alleviate the racial disparities operating in America.

Unfortunately, vigorous pursuit in implementing The Report was shelved during the succeeding administration. Then, with the murder of George Floyd in May of 2020, there was a renewed effort by citizens groups and the Congress to pursue the transformation of policing in America. The National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE) took a lead role in these efforts. One of the efforts pursued by NOBLE is an Anti-Racism Initiative being carried out through a strategic alliance with the Institute for Polarities of Democracy (also referred to as the Institute). The Anti-Racism Initiative consists of four components as described in the Methodology Section.

Component One of the Anti-Racism Initiative being carried out by NOBLE and the Institute focuses on applying the Polarities of Democracy Approach to implementation of the 21st Century Policing Report. Beyond this Executive Summary, the sections contained in this Phase One Analysis (also referred to as the Analysis) include (a) an introduction to the Polarities of Democracy Approach to social change, (b) the methodology used to prepare the Analysis, (c) the specific findings that emerged from the Analysis, and (d) recommended implementation strategies to guide police transformation efforts at the local level.

This Phase One Analysis focuses on four Pillars of the 21st Century Policing Report: Pillar One, Building Trust and Legitimacy; Pillar Two, Policy and Oversight; Pillar Four, Community Policing and Crime Reduction; and Pillar 5, Training and Education. The Analysis draws on the unique research and social change expertise and capabilities of the Institute to provide local communities with a framework for applying evidence-based approaches to analyze and assess police culture and develop transformational reform efforts to ensure that all members of the community are treated with dignity and respect.

As will be seen in the Implementation Strategies section we envision this Analysis as providing the values and relationships that can guide local communities in their transformational policing reform efforts. The full range of elements for this integrated and collaborative approach to reimagining policing include: the 21st Century Policing Report itself, the 21st Century Policing Implementation Guide, this Polarities of Democracy Approach, the John Jay Future of Public Safety Report, and NOBLE's Report of the Reimagining Public Safety Task Force.

Perhaps most significantly, the use of the Polarities of Democracy provides the possibility of mitigating the negative impacts of the historical institutional racism as identified through the application of Critical Race Theory. By ensuring that the education of police officers includes both (a) identifying the history of institutional racism in the criminal justice system and (b) introducing the Polarities of Democracy approach that provides a process for maximizing the positive aspects of the ten essential democratic values while minimizing the negative aspects, it may be possible to avoid the fatal flaws in serving Black and Brown communities that confront law enforcement today.

Section One - Introduction

...Plato wrote, "In a republic that honors the core of democracy—the greatest amount of power is given to those called Guardians. Only those with the most impeccable character are chosen to bear the responsibility of protecting the democracy"...

21st Century Policing Report, 2015

The Call for a *Guardian*, Rather than a *Warrior*, Mindset

This Phase One Analysis has been prepared by a team of twenty-two practitioners, activists, and academicians who embrace the 21st Century Policing Report's call to transform policing in America from a warrior mentality to a guardian mentality. The team, as described below in the Methodology Section, was led by Dr. Joseph A. McMillan and Dr. William J. Benet on behalf of NOBLE and the Institute for the Polarities of Democracy.

The issue of police departments reimaging what delivery of service means in a community has evolved as the need for greater transparency and accountability is demanded from those charged to serve and protect. Critical to such reimagination is an introspective assessment by the police and community to identify both the barriers to and facilitators of what it means to move from a warrior to a guardian.

The recommendations from this Phase One Analysis (as described in the Implementation Strategies Section below) provide a guide that can contribute to developing healthy, sustainable, and just organizations and communities. Those recommendations are designed to support NOBLE's effort to implement transformational reforms particularly related to (a) the tenets of 21st Century Policing, (b) the George Floyd Justice in Policing Act, and c) the structural and systemic racism underlying the vast racial disparities and inequities that exist in the US.

The Polarities of Democracy approach provides the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings that specify the values associated with moving the policing industry in a Guardian direction that garners support of the community in a democracy. As will be seen below, the Polarities of Democracy approach can help both police and community embrace a guardian mentality through which the police can serve, while still

retaining the authority police need to protect even as they move away from a warrior mentality.

This Phase One Analysis is part of a broader, Four Component, Anti-Racism Initiative being carried out in strategic alliance between the Institute for Polarities of Democracy and NOBLE. The four components that are part of that broader Anti-Racism Initiative are described in the Methodology Section below.

The Institute for Polarities of Democracy's Approach to Social Change

The Institute for Polarities of Democracy is a nonprofit social change think-tank launched in 2017. Headquartered in Washington, DC, the Institute incorporates the decades of work by Dr. Bill Benet and Dr. Barry Johnson to bring about organizational, community, and societal changes that address the racial, gender, societal, economic, and environmental disparities that prevent the promise of democracy from becoming a reality for all people. The Institute was founded by Dr. Benet, Dr. Johnson, and Cliff Kayser, Dean of the Mastery Program for Polarity Partnerships, LLC. The Institute is now headed by Retired Lt. Col. Dr. Nicole Hayes, Board President who is also the Institute's Inaugural Desi Benet Social Change Fellow.

The Polarities of Democracy approach combines the tools and processes developed through decades of polarity management practice with the basic principles of democracy drawn from centuries of literature about overcoming oppression. The Institute uses this unifying approach to catalyze social progress through leveraging the positive aspects of democratic values at all levels of society. The Institute supports social change activists, nonprofits, NGO's, researchers, policy makers, and government entities with training and services to use our tools and thinking as nonpartisan solutions for addressing oppression, discrimination, injustice, and related policy challenges.

The Polarities of Democracy approach was developed by Dr. Benet based on his thirty-year career in politics and nonprofit management and his doctoral and post-doctoral research at the University of Toronto. In constructing the Polarities of Democracy approach, Dr. Benet applied the either/or thinking and both/and thinking concepts that underlie Dr. Johnson's Polarity Thinking. As of July 2021, the Polarities of Democracy has served as the framework for 16 completed PhD dissertation studies and 23 additional dissertation studies are currently underway. A link to the completed studies can be found in Appendix B - Online Resources.

According to Dr. Johnson, while there are some problems that can be solved through either/or thinking, there are other problems that are unsolvable because they consist of

polarity dilemmas with two interrelated poles. These polarity dilemmas go on forever, existing as unsolvable tensions. Because each pole has both positive and negative aspects, you must use both/and thinking to manage these tensions by leveraging the polarities to maximize the positive aspects of each pole while minimizing the negative aspects.

Dr. Benet's research supports the finding that democracy should be an either/or solution to the problem of oppression in both the workplace and in society. It should provide a system of governance that (a) overcomes oppression (our deepest fear), (b) achieves human emancipation (our highest aspiration), and (c) develops healthy, sustainable, and just organizations and communities. But the challenge in achieving and sustaining democracy as an either/or solution to oppression is that it also requires both/and thinking.

While Dr. Benet's research concludes that democracy requires ten values, each of which is essential, but none of which are sufficient by themselves, both/and thinking is needed because these 10 critical values exist as five polarity pairs. Thus, these pairs must be effectively leveraged to maximize the positive aspects of each pole and minimize the negative aspects of each pole to realize the promise of democracy as a solution to oppression. The ten essential values arranged as the five pairs that underlie the Polarities of Democracy approach are:

Freedom and Authority
Justice and Due Process
Diversity and Equality
Human Rights and Communal Obligations
Participation and Representation

Further, each of the Polarities of Democracy pairs is interrelated with the other pairs. To seek greater democratization, we must effectively leverage each pair of values by maximizing the positive aspects and minimizing the negative aspects of each pole. Because the pairs are interdependent, failure to successfully leverage any one pair of values negatively impacts the other pairs.

In addition to Johnson's Polarity Management serving as Dr. Benet's conceptual framework, there are three other foundational works underlying the Polarities of

Democracy: Drs. Robert Blake and Jane Srygley Mouton's Managerial Grid (1964, 1985), Dr. R. Freeman Butts' Decalogue of Civic Values (1980), and Dr. Budd Hall's Participatory Research (1975).

Finally, the Polarities of Democracy draws from concepts that span Western, Eastern, African, and Indigenous literature and wisdom. This suggests that the principles of democracy may have universal applicability to all cultures and time periods. They allow us to pursue positive social change by overcoming the forces of power and privilege that sustain systemic forms of racial, gender, social, environmental, and economic oppression and violence.

Returning now to the concept of police being viewed as warriors or guardians, we see the importance of the values contained within the Polarities of Democracy Approach as well as the need for both/and thinking to effectively leverage polarities. By using both/and thinking police can embrace the guardian mentality through which they can effectively serve the community, while still retaining the legitimate authority police need to protect the community even as they move away from the warrior mentality.

Section Two - Methodology

As noted above, a total of twenty-two practitioners, activists, and academicians were recruited to conduct this Phase One Analysis. Those volunteers were all affiliated with either NOBLE, the Institute, or Walden University. The volunteers conducted their efforts in teams that carried out the various components of the Analysis as described below in this Methodology Section.

Initiative Leadership

The four components of the Institute & NOBLE's Anti-Racism Initiative, including this Phase One Analysis, are being carried out on a volunteer pro bono basis by all of the personnel involved. As noted above, the effort is being led by Dr. McMillan and Dr. Benet. Dr. McMillan also serves as the lead for Component One and Dr. Benet serves as the lead for Component Four (as described below). Component Two is led by Suzanne Rackl—Institute Managing Director, Fellow, and doctoral candidate, and Component Three is led by Dr. Nicole Hayes—Institute President. A core Leadership Team comprised of these four individuals plus Institute Senior Fellows Dr. Barry Johnson and Cliff Kayser meet weekly to plan and oversee the entire process. They are joined on a monthly basis by up to eight NOBLE leaders (identified below in Appendix D) who represent NOBLE in this process.

Recruitment of Walden Faculty and Graduates was coordinated through the Walden University Center for Social Change and the efforts of Dr. Bill Schulz (Director of the Center) and Molly Raymond (doctoral candidate and Institute Fellow). In addition, the Center for Social Change constructed and administered the Institute/NOBLE surveys described below.

The Institute and NOBLE's Four Component Anti-Racism Initiative

Component One of the broader Anti-Racism Initiative draws on the expertise and capabilities of the Institute for Polarities of Democracy to engage with and support NOBLE's efforts to transform policing cultures from a Warrior mentality to one of Guardianship through transformational reforms particularly related to the tenets of the 21st Century Policing Report and the George Floyd Justice in Policing Act.

Through Component Two of the Anti-Racism Initiative the Institute will develop an action agenda that applies the Polarities of Democracy approach to research and social change initiatives across a broad spectrum of both organizational, institutional, and

community concerns designed to address racial disparities in America. This agenda will seek to ensure appropriate investment and commitment to societal systems including, but not limited to, mental health, employment, the social economy, public education, healthcare, social work, housing, and the environment. The Institute's action agenda will embrace a bold vision designed to address racial, social, economic, and environmental disparities through such policies as guaranteed living wage jobs, universal healthcare, affordable housing, a green New Deal, and progressive forms of income and wealth taxes to make the promise of democracy a reality for all.

Recognizing that reimagining policing will not be sufficient to address systemic racism in the US, Component Three of the Institute and NOBLE's Anti-Racism Initiative will include a comprehensive effort that applies the Polarities of Democracy approach to organizational and systems transformation methodologies that are compatible with NOBLE's focus on the transformation of policing cultures from a warrior mentality to one of guardianship. This comprehensive approach will apply reform efforts across organizations, institutions, and systems that include, but are not limited to, mental health, employment, the social economy, public education, healthcare, social work, housing, and the environment as part of the Institute's commitment to positive social change and dedication to advancing healthy, sustainable, and just communities.

Through Component Four of the Anti-Racism Initiative the Institute will leverage its strategic alliance with the Walden University Center for Social Change to recruit at least one lead volunteer faculty member from each school or college to identify completed, current, or future research studies related to specific social change initiatives consistent with addressing racism and racial disparities through the application of the Polarities of Democracy approach. The lead volunteer faculty members will promote the Institute's strategic alliance with NOBLE and will help identify additional Faculty, Graduate Assistants, Doctoral Students, and Post-Doctoral Alumni from their respective schools who will engage in research that supports the Institute and NOBLE's Anti-Racism Initiative.

The Regional Presentations

Dr. McMillan and Dr. Benet held a series of recorded virtual presentations with NOBLE's membership in each of the six NOBLE Regions. These sessions were used to introduce the Polarities of Democracy Approach and the Initiative, respond to questions about the Initiative, inform the participants about the forthcoming surveys (described below), and disseminate information about the Initiative to the broader NOBLE membership in each Region.

The Surveys

In preparing for completion of the Phase One Analysis, it was discovered that the original 21st Century Policing Report had been completed without providing definitions for the terms used in The Report. As a result, Dr. McMillan reviewed The Report and identified key terms that it would be useful to understand how those terms are defined by the policing community. From that identification of key terms, Dr. McMillan worked with Dr. Schulz to prepare a survey that was deployed by Walden University for two cohorts. The first survey was sent to approximately 1,656 NOBLE CEOs and a second survey of approximately 2,500 was sent to the NOBLE general membership during the period of November 2020 and January 2021. A total of 224 surveys (a 13.52% return rate) were completed for the first cohort and 233 (a 9.32% return rate) for the second cohort. The results of these surveys can be found through the link in the Online Resources Appendix below.

The Pillar Analysis Teams

Dr. McMillan recruited and supervised the four Pillar Analysis Teams. A series of strategy sessions led by Dr. McMillan and Dr. Benet were held with all the volunteers regarding the scope and intent of the Institute and NOBLE's engagement relative to the Initiative. From these conversations, three volunteers were assigned to each specific Pillar Analysis Team. Dr. McMillan was able to obtain copies of notes and transcripts from the various listening sessions held in preparation of the original 21st Century Policing Report. All obtained information was placed into an Institute owned virtual drop-box for ultimate retrieval purposes and made available to the Pillar Analysis Teams as appropriate. The Teams were then able to review the notes and transcripts from the original listening sessions to determine if there were any important themes or concepts that were not included in The Report and/or if there were important concepts that needed to be more prominently identified. The members of the individual Pillar Analysis Teams are identified in Appendix C - Phase One Analysis Participants, and the results of their reviews are contained in the Findings Section below.

Application of the Polarities of Democracy to the Pillars

Following completion of the transcript reviews by the Pillar Analysis Teams, Dr. McMillan and Dr. Benet conducted a level one analysis for each of the 21st Century Policing Report recommendations and action items contained in each of the four Pillars reviewed. Through this level one analysis they determined which Polarities of Democracy pairs are readily associated with each specific recommendation and/or

action item of the 21st Century Policing Report. The level one analysis of the ways that the associated Polarities of Democracy pairs are related to each recommendation and action item is not provided in the Findings Section of this Analysis. However, four examples of a more detailed level two description of how the Polarities of Democracy pairs are associated with one recommendation and action item from each of the 21st Century Policing Report Pillars reviewed is provided in the Examples of Level Two Analyses of Polarities of Democracy Associations sub-section of the Findings Section below.

Application of Critical Race Theory

The Critical Race Theory (CRT) Assessment Team consisted of Dr. Bruce Strouble, Dr. Sophine Charles, and Dr. Sandra Harris. Dr. Strouble was asked to lead the CRT Analysis Team because of his doctoral research noted below. Dr. Charles and Dr. Harris are familiar with CRT through both their academic and practitioner roles. Dr. Charles teaches at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, is a retired police officer with the NYC Police Department, and serves as the Chair of NOBLE's Education and Training Committee. Dr. Harris is the Director of Academic Review at Walden University.

While there has been increased use of both Critical Race Theory and the Polarities of Democracy as constructs to identify and address institutional and systemic racism, only one study (Strouble, 2015) is known to have examined the utility of CRT through the lens of Polarities of Democracy. In his research, Dr. Strouble conducted case studies of two majority African American communities, one urban and one rural. His research assessed the extent to which the institutional and structural racism identified through the application of CRT negatively impacted those communities, specifically in terms of developing social capital. Dr. Strouble then assessed the extent to which Polarities of Democracy might be used to mitigate the negative effects of the institutional and structural racism identified through the application of CRT. For his detailed review of CRT see Strouble, 2015, pp. 18-25. For his findings regarding the ability of Polarities of Democracy to mitigate the negative effects of racism identified through the application of CRT, see Strouble, 2015, pp. 182-188.

Integration with other NOBLE Initiatives

The Polarities of Democracy Approach serves to define the value sets and processes that communities can use to pursue two other initiatives embarked on by NOBLE. Those initiatives are the John Jay Future of Public Safety Report and NOBLE's Report of the Reimagining Public Safety Task Force. Analysis of the effectiveness of integrating

the Polarities of Democracy Approach with the John Jay and NOBLE Task Force reports was conducted by Dr. McMillan. A summary of the recommendations of the John Jay Report and the NOBLE Task Force Report are contained in the Implementation Strategies Section below. Full copies of the reports can be obtained through the links provided in the Online Resources Appendix.

Development of Polarities of Democracy Preliminary Application Assessment

Dr. McMillan, Dr. Benet, and Cliff Kayser held a series of twelve planning sessions to develop a preliminary application assessment process using the Polarities of Democracy's Justice and Due Process pair. This preliminary assessment process was then incorporated in a one-and-one-half-hour virtual webinar and presented at the 2021 NOBLE Conference. Subsequent to the NOBLE Conference, this virtual Institute Application Webinar will be replicated and recorded and available from the Institute for Polarities of Democracy. The recorded assessment process can be used by local communities to demonstrate how the Polarities of Democracy Approach can be used in their efforts to transform policing from a warrior to a guardian mentality.

Section Three – Findings

Findings of the NOBLE Survey – Summary Theme (Trust)

As noted in the Methodology Section above, surveys were conducted with NOBLE membership and executives. The summary theme (Trust) findings are identified below.

Summary Theme (Trust) According to the NOBLE General Membership

- Trust is something of great value. It is first and foremost a relational concept – it implies communication, engagement, and mutuality. It is based on the belief that the police are expected to protect the public, serve all members of the community in an equitable and fair manner, and treat people with dignity and respect. Trust is not automatically given—it must be earned over time.
- Trust is actionable—it means that police take appropriate actions, show integrity, and are transparent and accountable for those actions. The actions should be righteous—the police are expected to do the right thing and not cause any harm.
- Trust is also perceived as a personality trait, as a personal characteristic. Officers are judged as trustworthy if they are dependable, reliable, truthful, honest, forthcoming, authentic, and genuine.

Summary Theme (Trust) According to the NOBLE Executives

- Trust is similarly seen as a valuable asset ("deposit") that is built over time and requires investment in time and effort. Trust is seen as a product of building relationships, partnerships, interactions, social connections, and listening to the community.
- Thus, similarly to the righteousness theme in the general members' views, executives appear convinced that the public should place their trust in police officers and police departments "to do the right thing." An added aspect is that trust is perceived not just as rational notion, but also as an emotion.
- The theme of public service, the belief that the police are entrusted "to defend and protect the public to the best of their abilities," is even more accentuated. The police are expected to provide "fair, unbiased, and equitable services."
- Executives also perceive a personal character that is authentic, reliable, genuine, honest, and truthful as an embodiment of trust.

- What is slightly different from the members' definitions of trust is the incorporation of the aspect of leadership, which seems quite natural and logical, given the executives' status and position of authority. "Leading by example" and "ability to inspire" are viewed as factors contributing to the generation of trust.

For a table that contains all of the definitions identified through the surveys, see the link provided in the Online Resources identified in Appendix B.

Findings of the Pillar Analysis Teams

As noted in the Methodology Section, there were four Pillar Analysis Teams established to review the 21st Century Policing Report along with the notes and transcripts that arose from the Listening Sessions and that were used in drafting The Report. The Pillar Analysis Teams sought to identify key themes contained in The Report and determine if there were either additional themes or important concepts that were obtained through the Listening Sessions but not included in The Report. Below are the findings from each of the Pillar Analysis Teams.

Pillar One - Trust and Legitimacy
Findings of the Pillar One Analysis Team

The Institute's Pillar One Analysis Team identified six major themes addressed under Pillar One: Trust and Legitimacy:

(1) Ensure procedural justice (also a cross-cutting theme to other pillars).
(2) Create a culture of transparency and accountability.
(3) Initiate positive non-enforcement activities to engage communities.
(4) Ensure that local law enforcement agencies track and analyze the level of trust communities have in the police.
(5) Create local law enforcement agencies' workforces that encompass a broad range of diversity.
(6) Ensure that local law enforcement agencies build relationships based on trust with immigrant communities.

While no new major themes emerged from the transcripts of the listening sessions addressing Pillar One, there were several areas, ideas, recommendations, and examples related to the themes that were not explicitly addressed in Pillar 1 of The Report but that can buttress the concepts of trust and legitimacy. These are listed below under each theme.

(1) Procedural Justice (Cross-cutting theme)

- Importance of perceptions, language, and communication in interactions within law enforcement agencies (internal procedural justice) and between law enforcement and communities (external procedural justice).
- Interactions start from a place of misunderstanding and mistrust with direct negative impacts on the African American and Latino communities. Trust and respect are crucial in encounters.
- Law enforcement officers need training in de-escalation, cultural identity, Critical Race Theory, history of institutional racism, harm reduction, community engagement, the role of law enforcement in public service and protection of civil liberties. The Bureau of Justice Assistance should lead training in collaboration with law enforcement professional associations, recognized collective bargaining organizations, and appropriate experts from outside of law enforcement.
- Overzealous arrests for nonviolent offenses and the use of excessive and deadly force. These tactics have been used against children as well as persons with psychiatric disabilities and has led to a lack of trust in law enforcement.
- Body cameras are important for training purposes and for accountability and transparency. Federal funding for body cameras was also a recurring theme.
- Law enforcement embracing a guardian vs. a warrior mindset is beneficial to the safety and well-being of police officers as well as citizens. Police practices like over-criminalization and over-militarization are dangerous for officers and communities. Justice system should be based on restorative justice model where the goal is not punishment but reconciliation and restoring balance.
- Police departments are required to operate free of discrimination under Title VI. There should be sanctions for departments using racial profiling.
- Acknowledge that the "war on drugs" tactics disproportionately hurt minority communities. Latino and African American persons have disproportionately experienced police harassment and racial profiling making it difficult to cultivate a relationship of trust.
- Reward police departments and officers for effective community policing.

(2) Culture of Transparency and Accountability

- Creation of a national public database that documents all uses of excessive/deadly force, assaults, and officer-involved shootings.

- Body cameras facilitate greater transparency and accountability and protect officers from false allegations and lawsuits. Purchasing and issuing body cameras and storage of all the data they record is expensive.
- Independent investigations into incidents of excessive force.
- Automatic expulsion for any officer causing the loss of life of an unarmed or innocent person.
- Financial liability should be shared between the police department budget and salary of the police office.
- Media – Role of media in fostering transparency; Role of media in promoting violence.

(3) Initiate Positive Nonenforcement Activities to Engage Communities

- Engage minority community members and leaders who actively participate in the development of policies, in the education of community members about police practices and the criminal justice system and facilitate constructive and meaningful review of the policies and practices that violate community standards.
- Creation of citizen review boards. Explore and consider the maximum authority that a civilian review board should have in its relationship with the police.
- Engage community input into the city negotiations with the police unions for any future contracts and add transparency to this procedure.
- Creation of youth volunteer programs and youth leadership academies. Give youth a greater voice through the use of technology, social media, and film.
- Coordinate education visits to police departments with local school districts.
- Foster interest in law enforcement as a profession at a much earlier age.
- Engage the faith community.
- Engage business owners.
- Institute residency incentive programs for police officers. Require significant number of police who work in that community to live in that community. When police officers serve in the communities in which they live, violence and abuses go down, public safety goes up, and trust is built.
- Police should be involved in community services and ask residents about the issues that remain unaddressed. Police should improve staffing and overtime compensation to allow officers to take a proactive rather than reactive role in community.
- Support National Week of Nonviolence - call on neighborhoods, churches, schools, and police departments to sit down and talk about conflict resolution, nonviolence, building partnerships, and building trust.

- Leverage the technology of body cameras to strengthen police-community relations, not just document them.
- Re-educate and retrain officers in the expansion of their role to move beyond enforcement to building the community.
- Provide residents with education about how to access city services.

(4) Track and Analyze the Level of Trust Communities Have in the Police
- There has been an erosion of trust and respect between law enforcement officers and the communities they protect, particularly in communities of color.
- Address data showing the school-to-prison pipeline.
- Polling showed that 84% of Latino adults agree that police are there to protect and serve their families. Unfortunately, that same poll showed 68% of Latino adults worried that law enforcement authorities will use excessive force against them.
- Polling showed that 80% of Latinos were concerned about the officer's ability to turn body cameras on and off.
- Lack of trust and respect may be most obvious because police officers are the most visible form of government.

(5) Create a Workforce that Encompasses a Broad Range of Diversity
- Communities should be policed by a diverse police force that reflects diversity in that community.
- Create police minority recruitment teams composed of citizens and officers. This gives the community a hand in supporting its own best interests.
- Revise training at police academies to make sure officers can meet the needs of diverse communities.

(6) Law Enforcement Agencies Should Build Relationships Based on Trust with Immigrant Communities
- Legislation that makes local police responsible for immigration enforcement does more harm than good.

Pillar Two – Policies and Procedures
Findings of the Pillar Two Analysis Team

An overarching premise of the policies and procedures Pillar Two suggests the need for policies that do not result in disparate treatment and reflect community values. Participants also identified the necessity for such policies to be communicated in a

manner that reflects that police are serving as guardians and in the best interests of the community. Seven key needs were identified:

(1) There is a need for law enforcement agencies to collaborate with disproportionately affected communities regarding the deployment of police resources.
(2) There is a need for law enforcement agencies to develop comprehensive policies encompassing training, use of force, de-escalation, and other tactical areas.
(3) There is a need for independent criminal investigations in police use of force cases.
(4) There is a need to collect police use of force data.
(5) There is a need for law enforcement agencies to revamp mass demonstration polices and integrate de-escalation strategies.
(6) There is a need for creation of civilian oversight review boards.
(7) There is a need for greater police transparency during the execution of enforcement actions.

The review of the Listening Session Transcripts showed that there were 36 people interviewed by Task Force members. However, only 11 names of individuals made it into The Report. There were 17 names of individuals that did not make it into The Report. The organizer appeared to capture notes from the panel discussions that got recorded on the index. Further, it appears that there was an overlap of dialogue where most of the same suggestions by various participants were covered in some capacity, and later grouped under some of the code words. These codes were then categorized under themes that ultimately created the recommendations identified in The Report.

There was general documentation regarding race that is directly identified by participants. Other documentation reflects the necessity for engaging in community policing and training. Further, there was a tangential reference concerning the LGBTQ community that comes from a participant that also discusses the black community. Finally, one statement concerning the under representation of women and minorities in the policing profession was not codified in The Report, despite what appeared to be the participant's intentions to address this concern. Additionally, participants identified the necessity to increase the number of minorities in law enforcement.

Pillar Four - Community Policing and Crime Reduction
Findings of the Pillar Four Analysis Team

In analyzing secondary data collected from recorded information and all meetings, there was an underlying concern that different communities experienced policing differently, so it is not possible to generalize experiences. However, there were commonalities across participants, focusing on desired goals, outcomes, and strategies. Three themes are contained in Pillar Four.

(1) Embrace interventions that focus on police operating with a community service mentality, with an intent on de-escalation and problem solving that shifts, alters, or redirects situations to a less hostile or risky outcome
(2) Develop collaborative partnerships wherein communities and local law enforcement agencies identify common goals and local needs and work together for solutions.
(3) Generate public safety through total community engagement that views safety not as something imposed by outside or by law enforcement but developed as a strategy at the community level.

The following concepts were identified and are bulleted under the three themes contained in pillar four:

(1) Interventions - Analysis of the data from these sessions indicated differentiating experiences of various communities with interventions, from positive to negative experiences. Overall, there is a focus on community as the connecting theme. Participants saw policing as a community service, integrated into community, connected to those in the community. The following items arose from the analysis of these discussions in relation to police interventions:
    - There is a need for more detailed assessment and situational analysis prior to interventions to reduce the risk to public and officers.
    - There is a need for officers determining community appropriate responses to situations prior to intervention. The additional focus on police operating with a community service mentality, with a direction of de-escalation and problem solving, to shift, alter or redirect situations to a less hostile or risky outcome.
    - There is a need for additional training for police in de-escalation. Additionally, there was a negative community perspective to the concept of zero tolerance, notwithstanding a recognition for the need to have it as a backup in some situations. Words such as “unjust,” “inappropriate,” and “violation of human rights” were used by participants. Moreover, there were frequent references to deficits that result with zero tolerance enforcement measures.

- There is a concern about describing zero tolerance as enforcement without thinking, and the loss of discretion, flexibility, and situational differences as a detriment to community capacity building.
- Finally, there is a loss of trust from the community when police resort to zero tolerance policies or regulations. It was described as the concern for a higher risk of excessive force being used, with less discretion.

(2) Collaborative Partnerships - Analysis of the data regarding this theme showed the most energy. There is a clear opportunity and desire for collaborative community partnerships.
- Participants did not want policing from outside of the community, preferring seeing it as an internal, community-based organization, at local levels, with local community input.
- All stakeholders should collaborate across social service and community agencies, including faith-based organizations, local businesses, community centers, non-profits, schools, and other local institutions.
- Communities and local law enforcement agencies should identify common goals and local needs, and work together for solutions, not depending on police as a disconnected element to have all the answers.
- Communities and law enforcement agencies should take advantage of multiple professionals' expertise and knowledge at local levels to craft local solutions.

(3) Public Safety - Analysis in this area revealed strong support for community responsibility for community safety as well as attention to police well-being and health as part of the safety plan.
- There is a need for total community engagement in community safety, not something imposed by outside or by law enforcement, but developed as a strategy at the community level.
- There is a need for maximizing community engagement to secure the safety of all community members.

The listening session around the Pillar Four themes convened in Phoenix, Arizona, on February 13, 2015, and were organized into discussions from five panels. Present at the session were the President's Task Force members, staff, and agency support personnel, and invited witnesses. The witnesses represented policing justice administrators, researchers and executives, and advocates involved in programs to benefit communities.

Additionally, at the end of the fifth panel, the Task Force encouraged comments from local community members in attendance. The Task Force encouraged public comments beyond the Pillar Four session. Minutes from the session, session transcripts, the session themes and subthemes index, a primary source document containing the oral and written testimony submitted to the Task Force, and a summary document of the major themes were developed as a resource for the Task Force deliberations.

The Team reviewed The Report transcriptions and notes to determine if Task Force members integrated the various session concepts and themes into the completed Report. From that point, an additional task concerned the identification of specific gaps between the transcriptions and notes into the final Report from the 21st Century Task Force. The team read the transcript document, the resource documents, and the Pillar Four section of the President's Task Force Report.

Because the five transcripts of the listening session panels surrounding Pillar Four was the primary resource, the team reviewed the documents for keywords. Reviewing the transcripts, the Team found two main themes and subthemes related to the main themes, namely, 1) the community policing theme and affiliated sub-themes, and 2) the Crime reduction theme and affiliated sub-themes. One subtheme of community policing is related to building positive relationships within the community to expand community policing opportunities. An example of a sub-theme of crime reduction concerned eliminating zero-tolerance school policies so that cases result in a diversion to some consequence other than arrest.

Some of the themes in the transcripts informed other Pillars. In several cases, themes were interrelated. For example, a panelist in the Pillar Four listening session suggested implicit and explicit bias training for the police (found in Pillar Five) toward building trust (found in Pillar One) for police in communities. Increased trust can build positive relationships that are critical to community policing (Pillar Four).

Another vital review task was to identify discussions in the transcript that involved race, diversity in police command structure and ranks, and systemic racism. The task was to determine if any ideas for police to reduce racism, gain an understanding of community culture, and the historical significance of negative encounters in police-people of color, thereby increasing positive relationships with all communities within the police jurisdictions. The team found discussions surrounding the topics mentioned above in the transcripts from panel discussions on February 13, 2015.

Pillar Four did not explicitly cover race and racism. However, the team found Pillar Four recommendations to treat residents, regardless of their community, legally and equitably in all encounters. The discussions covered building positive relationships, working with community stakeholders to reduce crime and disorder, and maintaining community collaboration.

Pillar Five - Training and Education
Findings of the Pillar Five Analysis Team

One of the most striking takeaways from the analysis of The Report is how relevant its recommendations are today. In many if not most instances, its recommendations and action items could be drawn directly from current headlines. For example, in providing guidance for the types of training and education that are needed for reimagining policing, the 21st Century Policing Report (2015) states:

> The need for understanding, tolerance, and sensitivity to African Americans, Latinos, recent immigrants, Muslims, and the LGBTQ community was discussed at length at the listening session, with witnesses giving examples of unacceptable behavior in law enforcement's dealings with all of these groups. Participants also discussed the need to move towards practices that respect all members of the community equally and away from policing tactics that can unintentionally lead to excessive enforcement against minorities. (p. 52)

To provide local Law Enforcement Agencies with the guidance that local Training Academies require, The Report stresses the need for collaboration among law enforcement and educational institutions, particularly with support and guidance from the federal government. For example, the 21st Century Policing Report (2015, p. 51) states "that law enforcement partner with academic institutions…organizations such as…the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives…and other sources of appropriate training." The Report (p. 55) goes on to state that "The Federal Government should encourage and support partnerships between law enforcement and academic institutions to support a culture that values ongoing education and the integration of current research into the development of training, policies, and practices."

Given the focus of The Report, it appears that NOBLE is uniquely positioned to draw on its strategic alliances to partner with the Federal Government, the Institute for Polarities of Democracy, the Walden University Center for Social Change, and the John

Jay College of Criminal Justice to suggest national standards, and develop advanced evidence based and research supported training and education approaches. Such a collaborative effort can develop approaches that can be used by local law enforcement agencies to engage with communities in collaborative efforts to bring about the transformational efforts envisioned in the 21st Century Policing Report. The elements of such an approach are contained in the Implementation Strategies Section below.

The Review Team found that the overarching arguments, examples, and discussions were consistent with the five major themes found in The President's Task Force On 21st Century Policing Summary of Major Themes from the Training & Education Listening Sessions, February 14, 2015, document for Pillar 5 -Training and Education.

Some words appeared more frequently than others in sub-node categories by panel, however, they became part of the major-node categories such as structures for consistent national training infrastructures, role of training in the culture of policing, The science, tools and methodology of training, officer education standards, and training communities. However, providing mentors and training for Police Chiefs did not become a major theme.

(1) Create consistent national training infrastructure.
(2) Training needs to increase officers' knowledge of bias and the skills for producing a culture of bias-free behavior and cultural competency that builds trust and empathy across race, gender, immigrants, LGBTQ, and other lines.
(3) The science, tools, and methodology of training should draw on institutions of higher education for relevant, current, evidence-based research on training and policing.
(4) Officer Education Standards should include both minimum standards and opportunities for attaining higher educational levels
(5) Training should continue beyond the academy, create communities of learning, and integrate citizens whenever possible.

While no new major themes emerged in transcripts of the listening sessions addressing Pillar 5, there were arguments, ideas, examples, and recommendations related to the themes that were not explicitly addressed in the *Pillar 5: Training and Education* section of the 21st Century Policing Final Report. These are listed below under each theme. In addition, the Pillar Five Analysis Team generated specific recommendations that are included under Theme 3 below.

(1) Structures For Consistent National Training Infrastructure

- Since 2008 the USDOJ COPS Office has supported the creation of science-based training programs for police agencies.
- Other trainings such as Blue Courage should be sought to increase officer readiness for critical incident management pre-and post-event.

(2) Role of Training in The Culture of Policing

- Training is the backbone of fair and effective policing.
- Many agencies are approaching training proactively.
- Bias and prejudice manifest in our society has changed over time.
- Training for personnel needs to increase officers' knowledge of the modern science of bias and then impart relevant skills for producing bias-free behavior.
- In-service training provides a "booster" to those who are receptive and an important correction to those whose knowledge and skills may have weakened through time. In addition, in-service training enables law enforcement officers to keep up with a rapidly changing world of technology, people and circumstances, and possibly save careers of problematic officers.
- Supervisors/managers need additional information; they are trained to scan for biased policing on the part of their subordinates and given tools for intervening when bias is suspected.
- Officers dealing with new immigrants suffer from a lack of a clear and coherent federal policy. Nearly half of the cities surveyed have no clear policy regarding how to deal with undocumented, leaving police departments to either develop ad hoc strategies for dealing with possible unauthorized immigrants or leave decisions to the discretion of individual officers. In cities with no policy, there was no training on how to interact with immigrants.
- Trust building training including cultural competency and empathy trainings.
- The lack of transparency in policing is a major factor that contributes to the broken trust between the police and communities.
- Accountability must be presented in training and education reform.
- Specific training to address disability related student/police interactions with positive behavior encouragement and not through a law enforcement approach.

(3) The Science, Tools and Methodology of Training

- Include additional data about Police Chief mentors and education if the approach for education and training is top-down implementation.

- Incorporate officer input on training, education, and experiences in the field to develop and modify policy, training, and application of enforcement and interaction within communities. Seek to avoid citizen-centric and supervisory only approaches when addressing current policing issues.
- Identify existing measurement tools and their usage to determine officers' professional and cultural competency, identify areas of implicit and explicit bias, and address community needs.
- Real-life policing examples from the bottom-up should be included as a means of leveraging comprehensive training.
- Include institutions of higher education in the discussion, and relevant, current, evidence-based research on Policing.
- Include the Polarities of Democracy as the foundation for 21st Century Policing.

(4) Officer Education Standards
- Officer Education Standards should include both minimum standards and opportunities for attaining higher educational levels.

(5) Training Communities
- Training should continue beyond the academy, create communities of learning, and integrate.

Findings of the Level One and Level Two Analyses Regarding Application of the Polarities of Democracy to the Pillars of the 21st Century Policing Report

Level One Analysis of Polarities of Democracy Associations

Following completion of the reviews by the Pillar Analysis Teams, Dr. McMillan and Dr. Benet conducted a Level One analysis of all Recommendations and Action Items contained within the 21st Century Policing Report pillars that were reviewed for this Analysis. They examined the extent to which The Report's Recommendations and Action items are supported by the research and evidence underlying the Polarities of Democracy Approach. The Level One analysis also examined the extent to which implementation of the Recommendations and Action Items requires effectively leveraging at least two or more of the Polarities of Democracy pairs.

This Level One analysis confirmed that in every instance the various Recommendations and Action Items contained within The Report are supported by the research and evidence underlying the Polarities of Democracy Approach. Further, in every instance,

implementation of the Recommendations and Action Items will be positively or negatively affected depending on the extent to which the police and community effectively leverage at least two or more of the Polarities of Democracy pairs. As noted in the Methodology Section, a detailed description of the ways that the associated Polarities of Democracy pairs are related to each recommendation and action item is not provided. However, the following section provides examples of a Level Two detailed description of the ways that the Polarities of Democracy pairs are related to one Recommendation and Action Item from each Pillar.

Level Two Analyses of Polarities of Democracy Associations

Four examples are provided below of how the Polarities of Democracy pairs are associated with one identified recommendation and action item from each of the four Pillars reviewed. The brief Level Two examples provided below on how the Polarities of Democracy approach supports the recommendations and action items of the 21st Century Policing Report identifies only some of the positive and negative aspects that might be associated with each of the pairs that comprise the Polarities of Democracy. There may be many additional positive and/or negative aspects that will be encountered by individual police organizations and communities.

Pillar One: 1.4.2

In the 21st Century Policing Report, Recommendation 1.4 states: Law enforcement agencies should promote legitimacy internally within the organization by applying the principles of procedural justice. The Action Items for this Recommendation include 1.4.2: Law enforcement agency leadership should examine opportunities to incorporate procedural justice into the internal discipline process, placing additional importance on values adherence rather than adherence to rules. Union leadership should be partners in this process.

This Action Item is supported by the interrelationships between and among all five of the Polarities of Democracy pairs. To begin, procedural justice is an outcome of effectively leveraging the Justice and Due Process pair. The intent here is to ensure that the disciplinary procedures in place result in both (a) fairness for the individual when the discipline process is implemented, and (b) upholding all of the values required for effective democracy.

To achieve this outcome also requires successfully leveraging each of the other five Polarities of Democracy pairs. For the Freedom and Authority pair, this means that

individuals being subjected to the disciplinary process have the full freedom to present their case and to support the justification of their actions. At the same time, the authorities administering the disciplinary process have an obligation both to support the ability of the individual to present their case, while holding the individual accountable for behaviors that are consistent with the positive aspects of all ten of the Polarities of Democracy values.

Law enforcement agencies administering internal police officer disciplinary processes must also ensure the attainment of the positive aspects of the Polarities of Democracy Diversity and Equality pair. While individuals all need to be treated equally in equal circumstances, the diversity of the individuals who are the subject of disciplinary actions also needs to be recognized. A first-year police officer's experiences might be considered differently from those of an officer with ten years of service.

The question of whether the disciplinary processes promote legitimacy also requires effectively leveraging the Human Rights and Communal Obligations pair. From the perspective of the individuals who are the subject of disciplinary procedures, this mean ensuring that their human rights are not violated. But from the perspective of the administration, the actions of the police officers must be held accountable for meeting community obligations by ensuring that the human rights of the community are not violated.

Finally, the Participation and Representation pair comes into play both for the individuals subjected to the disciplinary process as well as for the community. Subjects of the disciplinary process must retain their right to participate in the process at the level they deem best and to receive appropriate representation from their union. On the other hand, the administration must represent the best interests of the officers involved as well as the best interests of the community. This last aspect (the effective representation of the community by the police administration and/or any mandated community representatives) may be especially important if the privacy rights (a subset of human rights) of the officer preclude the active participation of community members in the disciplinary review.

Pillar Two: 2.2.1

In the 21st Century Policing Report, Recommendation 2.2 states: Law enforcement agencies should have comprehensive policies on the use of force that include training, investigations, prosecutions, data collection, and information sharing. These policies must be clear, concise, and openly available for public inspection. The Action Items for

this Recommendation include 2.2.1: Law enforcement agency policies for training on use of force should emphasize de-escalation and alternatives to arrest or summons in situations where appropriate.

This Action Item is supported by the interrelationships between and among at least four of the Polarities of Democracy pairs. The only pair excluded from this analysis is Participation and Representation. The reason for the possible exclusion of that pair for this Action Item is that the Action Item speaks about a policy that should be in place. Participation and Representation might not be a factor once a policy for training on use of force is established that emphasizes de-escalation and alternatives to arrest or summons in situations where appropriate. However, it is likely that the Participation and Representation pair may have come into play during the development of the training policy. In that instance, this may require the positive aspects of both participation and representation for both the police and the community.

Once a training policy is in place, at least the other four pairs of the Polarities of Democracy approach support the presence of such a policy. From the aspect of Freedom and Authority, such a policy is required to assure that the positive aspect of freedom and authority are in place for both police and community members. The alternative, a policy that promotes escalation and confrontation, works against the positive aspects of freedom for both the police and the community. Likewise, exercising legitimate authority that seeks to de-escalate rather than escalate, ensures that each individual citizen is treated with dignity and respect.

Treating each person with dignity and respect through de-escalation also is supported by the diversity and equality pair. Each individual in the community, regardless of how high or low their status, has a right to be treated with dignity and respect. Treating all people with dignity and respect regardless of their station in life also ensures that everyone is treated equally before the law. Viewing dignity and respect as a right also is supported by the human rights and communal obligations pair. Just as with diversity and equality, treating individuals with dignity and respect in order to deescalate situations is a human right. But it also represents a community obligation that helps to foster positive relations between police and the community.

Finally, the importance of de-escalation is supported by the Justice and Due Process pair. Treating individuals with dignity and respect ensures that all individuals are treated fairly (the positive aspect of justice). But it also ensures that minor offences are handled in ways (due process) that do not result in a use of force that exceeds the severity of the encounter.

Pillar Four: 4.2.3

In the 21st Century Policing Report, Recommendation 4.2 states: Community policing should be infused throughout the culture and organizational structure of law enforcement agencies. The Action Items for this Recommendation include 4.2.3: The U.S. Department of Justice and other public and private entities should support research into the factors that have led to dramatic successes in crime reduction in some communities through the infusion of non-discriminatory policing and to determine replicable factors that could be used to guide law enforcement agencies in other communities. This Action Item is supported by the interrelationships between and among at least three of the Polarities of Democracy pairs (Freedom and Authority, Justice and Due Process, Human Rights and Communal Obligations).

The Freedom and Authority pair supports this Action Item first through the exercise of federal authority to support evidence-based approaches to crime reduction. But it also provides communities the freedom to develop their own approaches to crime reduction while guided by the evidence of research. If communities exercise their authority to craft their approaches to crime reduction without relying on evidence-based practices, they risk using their freedom in ways that negatively impact the freedom of individuals in the community.

Clearly, this Action Item interacts with the Justice and Due Process pair. The failure to adopt crime reduction approaches that do not include non-discriminatory policing guided by replicable factors based in research leads to policies and practices that do not treat all people fairly. In this instance, due process may be used in ways that deny justice rather than supporting justice.

Finally, the Human Rights and Communal Obligations pair further supports this Action Item. While seeking to protect the rights of every individual in the community, police also have an obligation to the community that their crime reduction practices are derived from evidence-based research.

Pillar Five: 5.3.1

In the 21st Century Policing Report, Recommendation 5.3 states: Law enforcement agencies should provide leadership training to all personnel throughout their careers. The Action Items for this Recommendation include 5.3.1: Recognizing that strong, capable leadership is required to create cultural transformation, the U.S. Department of Justice should invest in developing learning goals and model curricula/training for each

level of leadership. This Action Item is supported by the interrelationships between and among at least two of the Polarities of Democracy pairs (Freedom and Authority, Justice and Due Process).

Providing training on the leadership requirements to bring about cultural transformation is highly supported by the Freedom and Authority pair. Freedom provides the individual with the ability to draw on their greatest strengths in the pursuit of their responsibilities. But exercising freedom without adhering to the legitimate tenets of authority leads to license, which is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as the "freedom to behave as one wishes, especially in a way that results in excessive or unacceptable behavior." On the other hand, the exercise of authority without regards to the legitimate demands for freedom on the part of the individual results in oppressive hierarchies that foster power over rather than power with.

In seeking cultural transformation from a Warrior to a Guardian mentality, attaining the positive aspects of Freedom and Authority are required to ensure the positive aspects of Justice and Due Process. Over focusing on Freedom to the neglect of legitimate Authority can generate a culture where everyone is free to do what they please, resulting in the failure to ensure the fair treatment of either fellow police and/or community members. On the other hand, over focusing on Authority to the neglect of Freedom may create a bureaucracy in which due process is used to blindly follow rules without regard to the fairness of the outcomes. Obtaining the upsides of Justice and Due Process can ensure that the positive aspects of both the warrior and the guardian are maintained while eliminating the negative aspects of each.

Findings of the Critical Race Theory Analysis Team

As noted in the Methodology Section above, a Critical Race Theory Analysis Team was established to examine (a) the extent to which effectively leveraging the Polarities of Democracy can address the institutional and structural racism identified through the application of Critical Race Theory and (b) if there are effects of the institutional and structural racism identified that cannot be addressed through effectively leveraging the Polarities of Democracy. Part of the Institute's analysis of several pillars of 21st Century Policing was to identify gaps and missed opportunities that could correct poor, punitive, and fatal policing practices in serving Communities of Color. It is important to highlight for the NOBLE Community that the 21st Century Policing Taskforce did an exceptional job of identifying key elements for police reform.

However, the root causes of punitive, racialized, and unfair criminal justice outcomes were not elevated in the Taskforce's work as areas that require serious focus for corrective action. This point is needed to "connect the dots" for the NOBLE Community and to emphasize the need to infuse this historically specific information into all educational platforms for law enforcement officers. When the history of institutional racism as a fundamental pillar in law enforcement operations is omitted from the education of police officers, fatal flaws in serving Black and Brown communities will persist.

Both the Polarities of Democracy and Critical Race Theory fall within the broader critical theory paradigm of pursuing positive social change by overcoming the forces of institutional oppression and violence (racial, gender, social, environmental, economic, militaristic, etc.) that threaten the survival of the human species. While critical theory encompasses many versions, Bohman (2012) concluded that they always focus on promoting positive social change by overcoming oppression and that "a theory is critical to the extent that it seeks human emancipation … decreasing domination and increasing freedom" (para. 1).

The CRT Analysis Team found that CRT provides a lens for viewing social interaction in the United States from the perspective of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC). Its primary purpose is to investigate the role of racism in society. In addition, CRT serves as a praxis for the development of anti-racist programs and policy. Some have articulated CRT as an outgrowth of the application of Critical Theory in legal studies. Various works have credited the origin of CRT to the 1980s and 90s works of Bell (1980, 1992) and other scholars, which critiqued the slow-paced racial reforms as well as rollbacks of many advances from the 1960s civil rights movements (Delgado & Stefancic, 2013; Harris, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 2011).

Eventually, several critical legal studies scholars started to present new approaches that would challenge what they perceived as perpetual and permeating racism in legal studies and American law (Crenshaw, 2011). A central theme found in the writings of many early CRT authors asserted that there was inherent racial bias found within much of the American culture, and that the phenomena of racism adversely affected progression of non-Whites in American society (Bell, 1980; Crenshaw et al., 1995). As CRT developed in the scholarly literature, increasingly diverse groups of scholars and researchers began to investigate the varying components of racism in other social sciences (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Recurring Themes in Critical Race Theory Literature

While there are several key concepts or themes in CRT, some appear in the literature more consistently than others. Below is a list of recurring themes that appear throughout CRT literature.

Permanence of Racism. The first overarching theme in much of the CRT literature is the permanence of racism concept (Bell, 2008; Harris, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 2011). Many CRT scholars argued that racism is normative behavior, and therefore, a regular experience for people of color (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Interest Convergence. Another important concept is interest convergence, also referred to as material determinism, which holds that because racism benefits both elite and working-class Whites' social and political agendas, the majority of society is likely to have little incentive to eradicate or mediate racist practices (Bell, 1980; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Furthermore, when there is action to reduce the effects of racism, it usually occurs because there is a shared interest between the victims and the elite Whites (Bell, 1980, 1992; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Social Construction of Race. The social construction thesis is also very important to CRT theorists. This ideology suggests that race is a social construct that the dominant forces in society choose to disregard or promote depending on their own interest (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Within this understanding, biological racial differences receive undue attention to support the interest of the dominant racial group.

Differential Racialization. Differential racialization is another recurring theme in the CRT literature. This concept suggests that the dominant racial group racializes differing minority groups differently. Therefore, based on the interest of the dominant group (i.e., economic or political needs), each group can gain favor over other racial groups or be subject to increased oppression (Abrams & Molo, 2009; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Valuing Voices of Color. Another important aspect of the CRT literature is that many theorists hold the position that there is an intrinsic value in the stories told by people of color due to their unique experiences with racism. They further assert that this experience gives them additional qualifications to serve as authorities on issues regarding racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Intersectionality. Intersectionality is a CRT concept that acknowledges the impact of social diversity on the experience of racism (Anderson & McCormack, 2010). Much of the CRT literature recognizes that some groups may be subject to multiple forms of oppression (Harris, 2012). Furthermore, a narrow focus on race can cause investigators to overlook other sources of oppression such as gender, class, and sexual preference (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Racial Realism. In addition, many CRT theorists are dismissive of several liberal conceptions such as color blindness, objectivity, merit, formal equality, and post-racialism. Instead, they accept the "racial realism" perspective (Bell, 1992, 2008; Crenshaw, 2011). In Bell's (1992) foundational article *Racial Realism*, he promoted the conceptualization that racial equality, as a goal of civil rights is unrealistic because the function of the law and the state is to serve the interest of the dominant race in the society. Failure of racial equality is due to what many CRT theorists refer to as "structural determinism", which implies that our social and political systems are not designed well enough to allow proper mediation of race issues (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Parks, 2008). Crenshaw (2011) goes on to suggest that, in fact, the social and political systems themselves restrict progress on race relations.

Uses of Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory Scholar Price (2010) gave evidence to the interdisciplinary nature of CRT by showing the similarities between CRT and the Critical Geographies of Race model. Price identified how several of the themes in CRT would be useful for advancing research in the field of geography. Another CRIT, Brown (2003), suggested that CRT was very useful for enlightening sociology about mental health studies. With the CRT framework, Brown was able to display several potential mental health issues that may go overlooked due to the failure to consider the interest of minorities from a research perspective. In addition, Ford and Airhihhenbua (2010) argued that CRT was valid as a theoretical construct for their study on racism and HIV testing rates among African Americans. Ford and Airhihhenbua found that by introducing the CRT framework to their public health study, they were able to utilize CRT characteristics such as race consciousness to frame their study.

CRT has also become very popular in the field of education (Abrams & Molo, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2011). Yosso, Smith, Ceja, and Solorzano (2009) utilized a CRT framework to study the experiences of Latino and Latina men and women on college campuses. Yosso et al. conducted a series of focus groups on multiple campuses to gain a better understanding of the Latino and Latina experiences. They discovered that

the participants were victims of micro-aggressive racial incidents that once culminated had potentially damaging effects. This study was a continuation of an earlier study involving African American students that had garnered similar results (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Researchers Abrams and Molo (2009) investigated the use of CRT to address some of the problems with cultural competence in social work education. Abrams and Molo concluded that CRT would be very useful in advancing an anti-racist pedagogy. Other researchers seeking to enhance understanding of multiculturalism, cultural sensitivity training, and diversity in various fields of education (Cappiccie, Chadha, Lin, & Snyder, 2012; Ortiz & Jayshree, 2010) have supported the findings of Abrams and Molo. For example, Cerezo, McWhirter, Diana, Valdez, and Bustos (2013) found CRT to be useful as a guiding framework for their development of a race consciousness program for Latina and Latino students at predominantly White universities.

CRT is, arguably, ideal for fostering an in-depth critical understanding of the relationships between African American communities and their external environments. For example, a study of community development in Australia utilized CRT in a community verses external environment context (Sonn & Quayle, 2013). Sonn and Quayle found that racism, particularly White privilege, played a major role in the treatment of indigenous people's "exclusion form social and political organizations" (p. 443). In addition, Limbert and Bullock (2005) utilized CRT along with critical race feminism to examine contemporary welfare policy in the United States. Drawing on the CRT concept of intersectionality, Limbert and Bullock went on to conclude that racism, sexism and classism were present in the decision-making process in order to promote regulations of the welfare system. Furthermore, they suggested that due to structural inequity, along with ethnocentrism of the political elites, the policies in place worked to maintain economic disparities.

Many CRT scholars have been very creative with their approach to studies on race. For example, Cook and Dixon (2013) utilized a CRT method known as composite counterstory telling to share the experiences of Black teachers in post Hurricane Katrina New Orleans. Counterstory telling works to present the view points of oppressed minorities as opposed to the dominant narrative, which is often potrayed by main stream media outlets (Cook & Dixon, 2013; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Critical race realism is another methodological approach utilized by many CRT theorists (Parks, 2008). According to Parks, critical race realism is a combination of CRT and empirical social science in order to identify and attack racism in the public policy arena.

Researchers have used the various concepts that have emerged from the CRT literature to analyze and address racism in other specialized areas as well. For example, the CRT concept of intersectionality proved useful in studies of Black and gay athletes in American sports (Anderson & McCormack, 2010). Hylton (2010) suggested that the utilization of CRT could play a potential role in reducing racist behavior in sports. CRT has also proven useful in investigations of human resources mangement (Bernier & Rocco, 2013), population health research (Graham, Brown-Jeffy, Aronson, & Stephens, 2011), adult education (Closson, 2010) and studies on modern family structures (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, & Freeman, 2010). These various uses of CRT evidence its utility in examinations of programs and procedures seeking to identify and mitigate racial injustice.

From the CRT lens it is understood that the Criminal Justice system in America suffers from structural and system racism that arises from our inhernetly racist past fueled by white supremacy. Historically, this has resulted in favorable outcomes for whites at the expense of BIPOC. However, many of the attempts to improve policing or other segments of the Criminal Justice system in America have rejected the notion that structural racism exists within these systems. The refusal to accept the narratives of BIPOC as valid ultimately prevents the ability of American law enforcement systems to adequately address their deeply embedded racism issues.

CRT scholars focusing on criminal justice issues have called for a " Critical Race Theory of Racialized Policing" (Long, 2018). The key idea behind this call to action by Long is that continued attempts to improve policing via incremental measures fall short of their aim due to their failure to identify racism in its many forms as the underlying issue behind negative police interactions with BIPOC communities. Moore, et. al., (2018) utilized CRT to analyze the impact of police shootings of unarmed Black males and developed an anti-racist framework to advance the field of social work education. Bornstein, Charles, Domingo, and Solis, (2012) used a CRT pedagogy to facilitate police officer trainings that heightened officers' awareness of commonly overlooked aspects of racism.

When considering the 21 Century Policing Report, the CRT lens may work to center racism, thus allowing for an intensive focus on its mitigation. To facilitate greater trust and legitimacy, law enforcement agencies must submit to public accountability from the people whom they serve. Also, community policing efforts must include an effort to meaningfully undue the negative impacts of historical abuses. This will require that voices of color are included and elevated in the shaping of policies and procedures used to police their communities. Lastly, all education and training must be based in

racial realism recognizing that racism is a root cause of negative relationships between law enforcement and BIPOC communities.

Critical Race Theory and the Polarities of Democracy

Both Critical Race Theory and Polarities of Democracy identify racism as a core issue that impedes social progress for BIPOC (Strouble, 2015). Furthermore, many of the racial injustice problems in the American Criminal Justice system may be a consequence of the failure to effectively leverage the Polarities of Democracy. For example, justice and due process are both essential functions of a legitimate democracy and an essential role of Policing. Failure to properly leverage this polarity would seemingly have disastrous effects for the social outlook of a community. In the Strouble study several firsthand descriptions of police brutality and mistreatment by the legal system were interpreted to suggest that the members of the Black communities in the study were experiencing the downsides of the justice and due process polarity. The consequences of this experience include but are not limited to reduced trust in law enforcement and therefore limited participation in efforts to improve relations.

A prolonged failure to properly leverage the justice and due process polarity results in a cycle between the negative consequences of each polarity pole. When communities experience the downsides of a polarity over time there is normally an urge to shift to the opposite pole (Johnson, 1992). This urge may manifest as anti-police rhetoric, protest, vigilantism, criminal behavior, and complete contempt for the justice system. Johnson posits that the more intense the experience of the downsides of the poll the stronger the response. So following this logic, it would be expected for oppressed BIPOC communities experiencing the downsides of the justice or due process poll to pursue moving to the positive aspects of the opposite pole. However, structural racism creates a power imbalance, which prevents the shift and causes oppressed communities to experience the downsides of both poles continuously (Strouble, 2015). This further exacerbates existing conflicts between law enforcement agencies and the communities in which they work making them less safe for both community members and officers.

This is why the Polarities of Democracy is an appropriate framework to facilitate anti-racism efforts that are able to reach their optimal level within the criminal justice system. The principles of the Polarities of Democracy require first the acceptance of the assumption that democracy is a solution for racial oppression. This is aligned with the Critical Race Theory concept of racial realism. Thus, leveraging the five polarity pairs in the Polarities of Democracy framework appropriately may be critical for

successfully mitigating structural racism issues in law enforcement. For example, incorporating and elevating voices of color would require effectively leveraging the participation and representation pair. Furthermore, proactively seeking to identify and dismantle oppressive structures corresponds with the authority and freedom, justice and due process, and human rights and communal obligations polarities. Effectively leveraging the diversity and equality polarity pair would allow for mitigation of the sources of intersectional oppression. Lastly, seeking to redress the historical impacts of racism to improve relations between police and BIPOC communities would require effectively leveraging all five pairs identified in the Polarities of Democracy approach.

Section Four – Implementation Strategies

This section of the Institute's Analysis has been developed for those communities seeking guidance on how to use this Analysis and the Polarities of Democracy approach to determine (a) which aspects of their current policing approach need to be retained and supported, (b) what changes need to be made to conform to the 21st Century Policing Report, and (c) the action steps that can be used to most effectively leverage the Polarities of Democracy in order to maximize the positive aspects of each value while minimizing the negative aspects.

Incorporate the 21st Century Policing Report and Implementation Guide

Recognizing the myriad of challenges faced by communities embracing the 21st Century Policing Report, its authors developed an Implementation Guide (also referred to as The Guide) to serve as the mechanism and resource for successfully implementing The Report's recommendations and actions. Threaded throughout the Implementation Guide were various themes that support moving from a Warrior to a Guardian. The Guide was constructed to serve as a "blueprint" by which local Governments, law enforcement, and communities could collaborate to "reduce crime and build trust and legitimacy" (The Report, 2015).

The Guide contains strategies that should be considered when implementing various approaches to address recommendations and actions contained in The Report. Critical to any successful implementation is the ability to listen and plan. As such, creating an environment to achieve success is paramount. Bringing together stakeholders across the community to work collaboratively on problems within that community strengthens the ability for success. The Guide suggests the necessity for communities to use The Report as a means to "…strengthen police-community dialogue and collaboration…" (p. 15).

The full 21st Century Policing Report and Implementation Guide are available through the links provided below in Appendix B – Online Resources.

Incorporate the John Jay Future of Public Safety Report

The John Jay College of Criminal Justice Future of Public Safety Report, carried out in collaboration with NOBLE, specifically focused on the areas of public safety and accountability. This effort involved a series of listening sessions focused on the future of public safety in America. Dr. McMillan participated in each of the John Jay Listening

Sessions and assessed how those efforts can be supported by the Polarities of Democracy Approach. Following these sessions John Jay and NOBLE developed a report with several recommendations addressing strategies that transcend electoral cycles and support long-term changes in the policing industry.

- Help citizens redefine the role and responsibility of law enforcement in their community;
- Identify appropriate services for effective public safety systems;
- Determine which resources are needed for community and social-based services and programs to replace police in responding to certain calls for service; and
- Measure the impact social investments have on decreasing the need for law enforcement services.

The full John Jay Future of Public Safety Report is available through the link provided in Appendix B – Online Resources.

Incorporate the NOBLE Reimagining Public Safety Task Force Report

A second NOBLE initiated effort involved formulation of a Task Force challenged to develop a framework to work with community organizations on how to "reduce the footprint of law enforcement in public safety, but to do so in a strategic way that does not reduce public safety" (NOBLE Reimagining Public Safety Task Force Report). Dr. McMillan coordinated the Institute's efforts with the Task Force Co-Chairs to ensure the appropriate situational awareness of both efforts. The recommendations of the Reimagining Public Safety Task Force consisted of a variety of measures necessary to reimagine policing in communities consistent with their unique needs. The Task Force Report's specific suggestions to substantively reimagine public safety included:

- Prioritize advocacy efforts for key federal, state, and local policy changes such as ending racial profiling and revisiting qualified immunity.
- Advocate for mandatory minimum standards in use of deadly force policies and review all use-of-force incidents.
- Ensure comprehensive retraining of officers focused on frequent, hands-on training.
- Advocate for citizen review and oversight.
- Provide special training and certification for School Resource Officers.
- Police departments should: (a) reconsider the need for use of military-grade equipment; (b) disclose the possession of such equipment; and (c) properly train police officers using military-grade equipment and hold them accountable for misconduct.

- Police culture should be adjusted to reflect a guardian rather than warrior mentality.

The full NOBLE Reimagining Public Safety Task Force Report is available through the link provided in Appendix B – Online Resources.

Incorporate the Polarities of Democracy Approach for Social Change

In addition to this Analysis, the Institute for Polarities of Democracy has developed numerous resources that can be used by communities to support their efforts in incorporating the Polarities of Democracy Approach along with the 21st Century Policing Report and Implementation Guide, the John Jay Report, and the NOBLE Task Force Report. Using the Polarities of Democracy's set of values provides opportunities for communities to work through a myriad of challenges arising from the tensions associated with the interdependent pairs. A number of the Institute's resources are specified in both the References and Appendix B – Online Resources below.

Further, the foundational principles underlying the Polarities of Democracy have been used to address police community relations is numerous settings. For example, Johnson's (2020) polarity thinking has been used in Charlottesville, SC (Mullen, Jacobs, Seidler, & Whitaker, July 5, 2017) for the Illumination Project and in Louisville, KY (The Synergy Project, 2020).

As noted in the Methodologies Section above, a one-and-one-half-hour virtual application webinar will be recorded following the NOBLE Conference. This webinar incorporates a preliminary assessment process that can be used by local communities as an example of how to identify police and community perceptions regarding tensions inherent in the Polarities of Democracy's Justice and Due Process pair.

A core of the preliminary assessment is Johnson's SMALL process. The SMALL process can be used to bring stakeholders together to implement The Report recommendations and actions. The following is a brief description of the 5- Step SMALL process:

1) Seeing - Appreciate the interdependent nature of past, present and future values, competencies and strategic objectives. Differentiate Problem Solving from Polarity Leveraging and how and when to use both.
2) Mapping –Identify desired results to achieve and understand the negative consequences associated with an over or under focus on one pole of a Polarity to the neglect of the interdependent pole.

3) Assessing - Assess your current strengths and vulnerabilities for the key Polarities identified and mapped.
4) Learning – Deepen data-driven insights and qualitative connections among key stakeholders in the evaluation and meaning-making of Polarity Assessment results.
5) Leveraging – Developing dual strategy Action Steps and measurable Early Warnings that support achieving your preferred future faster and more sustainably. Retain what's worked from the past, attain what's needed for the future, and sustain the results over time.

The Institute's full one-and-one-half-hour virtual application webinar, including the demonstration of the SMALL assessment process, can be accessed through the link provided in the Appendix B – Online Resources.

In addition to the SMALL process, other underlying principles from the Polarities of Democracy have been employed for police transformation and community policing efforts in the US and internationally. Examples of these include Blake and Mouton's Managerial Grid in Northern Ireland (Drennan, 2005) and participatory research projects in Israel (Geva & Shem-Tov, 2002), India (Rai, 2012), and Austin, Texas (La Vigne, Dwivedi, Okeke, & Erondu, 2018).

Conclusion

As seen throughout this Analysis, the various Recommendations and Action Items contained within the 21st Century Policing Report are supported by the research and evidence underlying the Polarities of Democracy Approach. In addition, the Polarities of Democracy Approach provides local communities with a framework to analyze and assess police culture and develop transformational reform efforts to ensure that all members of the community are treated with dignity and respect.

The Polarities of Democracy Approach specifies the values and relationships that can guide local communities in their transformational policing reform efforts. When integrated with the 21st Century Policing Report itself, the 21st Century Policing Implementation Guide, the John Jay Future of Public Safety Report, and NOBLE's Report of the Reimagining Public Safety Task Force, the Polarities of Democracy Approach can contribute to a community's collaborative efforts that *move the needle* in reimaging policing towards greater transparency and accountability.

The fracture in America between police and the public has been long in coming. The deaths of George Floyd, Brianna Taylor, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice and so many other black men, women, and children at the hands of the police cannot be healed through piecemeal or half-hearted efforts. The Polarities of Democracy approach can help both police and community embrace a guardian mentality through which the police can fulfill their mission to serve, while still retaining the authority they need to protect even as they move away from a warrior mentality.

Transforming policing alone will not be sufficient to make the promise of democracy a reality for all people in America. But the effort to achieve a true multi-racial and multi-cultural democracy cannot occur without it. NOBLE and the Institute for Polarities Democracy are committed to play our part in that long struggle to "bend the arc of history towards justice" (Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., 1963).

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Appendix A – Highlights from Executive Summary

- ***The Anti-Racism Initiative consists of four components as described in the Methodology Section.*** Component One of the Anti-Racism Initiative being carried out by NOBLE and the Institute focuses on applying the Polarities of Democracy Approach to implementation of the 21st Century Policing Report.

- ***Phase One Analysis focused on four Pillars of the 21st Century Policing Report:*** Pillar One, Building Trust and Legitimacy; Pillar Two, Policy and Oversight; Pillar Four, Community Policing and Crime Reduction; and Pillar 5, Training and Education.

- ***Analysis draws on the unique research and social change expertise and capabilities of the Institute to provide local communities with a framework for applying evidence-based approaches*** to analyze and assess police culture and develop transformational reform efforts to ensure that all members of the community are treated with dignity and respect.

- ***The Implementations Strategies section*** envisioned this Analysis as providing the ***values and relationships*** that can guide local communities in their transformational policing reform efforts.

- The report is a full range of elements for this integrated and collaborative approach to reimagining policing include: ***the 21st Century Policing Report itself, the 21st Century Policing Implementation Guide, this Polarities of Democracy Approach, the John Jay Future of Public Safety Report, and NOBLE's Report of the Reimagining Public Safety Task Force.***

- The use of the ***Polarities of Democracy provides the possibility of mitigating the negative impacts of the historical institutional racism as identified through the application of Critical Race Theory.***

- By ensuring that ***the education of police officers includes both (a) identifying the history of institutional racism in the criminal justice system and (b) introducing the Polarities of Democracy approach*** that ***provides a process for maximizing the positive aspects of the ten essential democratic values*** while minimizing the negative aspects, it may be possible to avoid the fatal flaws in serving Black and Brown communities that confront law enforcement today.

Appendix B – Online Resources

National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives

Institute for Polarities of Democracy

Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing

The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing Implementation Guide

The John Jay and NOBLE Future of Public Safety Report

Report of the NOBLE Reimagining Public Safety Task Force

The Institute & NOBLE Anti-Racism Initiative Phase One Analysis

The Institute & NOBLE Summary of Themes Identified through the NOBLE Definitions Survey

The Institute's Anti-Racism Initiative Application Webinar

The Polarities of Democracy Research Collection

Appendix C – Phase One Analysis Participants

Dr. Daaivah Akram, Walden University Graduate

Dr. Deborah Bechtole, Walden University Graduate

Dr. William J. Benet, Institute Founder & Senior Fellow, Walden University Faculty

Dr. Barbara Benoliel, Walden University Faculty

Dr. Morris Bidjerano, Institute Fellow, Walden University Faculty

Ms. Maurita Bryant, NOBLE Representative, Assistant Chief, Retired

Dr. Christopher Bush, Walden University Graduate

Dr. Sophine Charles, Chair of NOBLE's Education and Training Committee

Dr. William Clements, Jr., Institute Fellow, Walden University Graduate

Dr. Michael George, Institute Fellow, Walden University Graduate

Dr. Nicole Hayes, Institute President & Fellow, Walden University Faculty

Dr. Sandra Harris, Walden University Faculty

Mr. Keenon James, former NOBLE Deputy Executive Director

Dr. Barry Johnson, Institute Founder & Senior Fellow

Mr. Cliff Kayser, Institute Founder & Senior Fellow

Dr. Evelyn Mangin, Walden University Graduate

Ms. Jennifer McDaniel, Institute Volunteer

Dr. Joseph McMillan, Institute Fellow, Walden University Faculty

Ms. Suzanne Rackl, Institute Managing Director & Fellow, Walden University PhD Candidate

Ms. Molly Raymond, Institute Fellow, Walden University PhD Candidate

Dr. William Shultz, Walden University Faculty

Dr. Bruce Strouble, Institute Fellow, Walden University Graduate

Dr. Linda Sundstrom, Walden University Faculty

Dr. Joseph Swanson, Walden University Graduate

Appendix D – NOBLE Advisors

Ms. Maurita Bryant, NOBLE Representative, Assistant Chief, Retired

Dr. Sophine Charles, Chair of NOBLE's Education and Training Committee

Mr. Dwayne Crawford, NOBLE Executive Director

Ms. Cerelyn J. Davis, NOBLE Immediate Past President and Chief of Police

Ms. Brenda Goss-Andrews, NOBLE Second Vice President and Deputy Chief, Retired

Mr. Keenon James – Former NOBLE Deputy Executive Director

Mr. Frederick Thomas, NOBLE First Vice President

Ms. Lynda Williams, NOBLE President

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Advancing Healthy, Sustainable, and Just Communities.

VISION

The Institute for the Polarities of Democracy envisions democracy as the solution to oppression. Thus, it catalyzes social progress through leveraging the positive aspects of nonpartisan democratic values at all levels of society.

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