

# HARVARD'S FINEST?

THE CASE FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY POLICE DEPARTMENT

November 2020

### THE CASE FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY POLICE DEPARTMENT

#### A report by the Harvard Alliance Against Campus Cops (HAACC)

This report is authored by members of the Harvard Alliance Against Campus Cops, including: Ife<sup>a</sup>, Anand Chukka<sup>b</sup>, Iman Mohamed, Lynn Hur<sup>b</sup>, Xitlalli Alvarez Almendariz, Joan Steffen, Kiryung Kim<sup>b</sup>, Eric Cohn<sup>c</sup>, Amanda Chan, Joanna Anyanwu<sup>d</sup>, Nnamdi Jogwe, Alexis Smith<sup>b</sup>, Mimi Yen Li<sup>b</sup>, Aisha Oshilaja, George Hutchins<sup>b</sup>, Marina Multhaup<sup>d</sup>.

We received invaluable assistance transcribing HUPD police logs for analysis from many additional individuals, including: Courtney Dougherty<sup>d</sup>, Ash Inglis<sup>a</sup>, Massiel Torres Ulloa<sup>c</sup>, Julia Beatini<sup>b</sup>, and Wesley Chou<sup>b</sup>. Thank you also to Sam Matthew (GSD '18) for designing the report.

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Harvard College<sup>e</sup>, Harvard Medical School<sup>b</sup>, Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health<sup>c</sup>, Harvard Law School<sup>d</sup>, Department of Romance Languages and Literature<sup>e</sup>

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### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Harvard Alliance Against Campus Cops (HAACC) is a coalition of students and alumni demanding the abolition of the Harvard University Police Department (HUPD). Formed in the wake of the brutal murders of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Tony McDade, Rayshard Brooks, and countless others by law enforcement officers, we believe that HUPD, like every other police force, has no place in our community. We recognize that HUPD does not make our campus nor the Cambridge community safer. Rather, we argue, Harvard University has used HUPD and other local law enforcement agencies to violently target Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BI-POC), queer, poor and unhoused people in an effort to protect property and whiteness. Our research disproves the commonly-held belief that HUPD is a "soft" or relatively harmless police force through both historical and empirical data.1

Harvard regularly uses HUPD and other local law enforcement agencies to police, surveil, and brutalize students and residents of the greater Boston/Cambridge areas. In spring 2018, Harvard University Health Services, rather than providing aid to a Black student in crisis, called Cambridge Police, who then physically beat the student.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, through their mutual-aid agreements with the Boston and Cambridge police departments, HUPD has been deployed to protests across Boston and Cambridge. In September 2019, HUPD officers were sent to the #NoTechForICE protest at Amazon in Kendall Square. And on June 2nd of this year, mere days after President Bacow sent an email lamenting George Floyd's

death, HUPD officers were photographed patrolling a Black Lives Matter vigil in Franklin Park.

#### **KEY FINDINGS**

- 1. According to the more than 11,000 HUPD records that we analyzed, most of what HUPD does is take reports of thefts, and the vast majority of these theft reports remain "open," or unsolved.
- 2. Often, HUPD is dispatched to investigate reports of "suspicious activity," and our analysis reveals that many of these incidents suggest that "suspicious" means someone experiencing mental illness, emotional distress, poverty, or houselessness.
- **3.** Of the people that HUPD arrested after being called to investigate someone "suspicious," a significant proportion (29.3%) of arrested individuals were experiencing housing insecurity, and a plurality (35%) were arrested for "trespassing" (being on Harvard property).
- 4. Although the details of HUPD's budget are shrouded in secrecy, we estimate that Harvard spends over \$20 million a year on the force.

This report contextualizes these recent events within a much longer history of profiling, harassment, and violence perpetrated by the hands of HUPD and in the name of the University. It demonstrates Harvard's complicity in enacting police violence, and also touches on the ways in which, as the Harvard Prison Divestment Campaign has found, the University profits from criminalization and mass incarceration through its minimum \$3 million of investments in the prison-industrial complex.<sup>3</sup>

We begin by presenting our demands, including the abolition of HUPD and the reinvestment of its resources into communities that Harvard has harmed, as well as proposals to immediately reduce the University's reliance on HUPD. Then, we provide a comprehensive history of the university police department from its origins in the late 19th century to the discrimination and profiling that has occurred under Chief Riley's tenure. We also analyze more than 11,000 police logs spanning a period of five years (from 2015 to 2020) and share stories of people who have been impacted by HUPD.

Next, we provide the financial, medical, legal, and moral rationales for abolition that ultimately inform our demands. In "Follow the Money," we place HUPD's budget in context with other aspects of the university that are severely underfunded, and envision what could come in its place. In "Abolition as Healthcare," we argue that abolition is a necessary approach to stop the public health emergency of violent policing. In "Harvard's Black Box," we analyze Harvard's fight to ensure that HUPD records are not subject to public records laws. This lack of transparency is concerning, and it prompts the question of what it is that HUPD might be hiding. Finally, we make the moral case for abolition, arguing that Harvard has the opportunity to be accountable to the community it has harmed through abolishing HUPD and building communityled, life-sustaining institutions in its place.

This is the first time that such extensive data analysis and historical research has been conducted on HUPD. Our research suggests that HUPD is a department that operates just like all police — it doesn't prevent harm, but rather, it serves to control who belongs and who doesn't within Harvard's gates. This is why we're calling on Harvard to abolish HUPD: so that we can open new possibilities for imagining safety and care for one another.

To be clear, our demand is not to replace HUPD with the Cambridge Police Department. HAACC does not advocate for policing in any form. We stand in firm solidarity with communities decrying the presence of police forces that use threats of arrest, incarceration, and violence under the guise of promoting public safety in their cities and towns. We demand that Harvard replace its current system of using police to protect property and criminalize poverty with new systems that are absent of police, where social and community programs prevent harm and protect people. HAACC seeks a campus whose safety is cultivated by an open community, where care for each other is paramount.

We understand that abolition is a groundbreaking way of understanding harm and responses to harm. Police and prison abolition push us to re-imagine safety, security, and accountability in ways that are originative. On our website (<u>copfreeharvard.</u> <u>org</u>), we have compiled often-heard arguments about abolition and responses to each of these issues. Above all, we ask that readers imagine abolition as not just a destructive program but also as a constructive, community-centered framework.

### LIST OF DEMANDS

Firstly we reiterate our demand to abolish the Harvard University Police Department in its entirety and replace it with investments in the broader Harvard community that redress harm and care for people. Below is a list of abolitionist steps toward the abolition of HUPD:

#### 1. DEFUND HUPD

Cut the department's budget by 80 to 100%.

#### 2. END HUPD'S POLICE CONTRACTS

End HUPD's contracts with Cambridge Police, Boston Police, Massachusetts State Police and end collaboration with ICE, the FBI, FUSION, BRIC, or CIA. HUPD has "mutual aid agreements" with the Boston Police Department, Cambridge Police Department, and possibly the Massachusetts State Police. In these agreements, HUPD is able to show up in situations where CPD or BPD have jurisdiction in order to provide further officers or "assistance," regardless of whether more officers are necessary. Additionally, while no formal "mutual aid" agreements exist between HUPD and law enforcement and intelligence agencies such as ICE, the FBI, the CIA, the Boston Regional Intelligence Center (BRIC), and Homeland Security Fusion Centers, they have historically collaborated with them. In these contexts, the term "mutual aid" is a falsehood which masks the reality that HUPD often polices racialized, poor, and housing insecure people in the greater Boston area while largely shielding affluent and white students from city police.

#### 3. DISARM HUPD

Although the extent of HUPD's arsenal is secret, HUPD officers are armed. As such, HAACC demands that HUPD be stripped of any and all weapons. Weapons include tear gas, rubber bullets, pepper spray, TASERs, batons, or any other item which can be used to inflict pain or threaten violence.

#### 4. DISCLOSE ALL HUPD RECORDS

Disclose emails, communications, disciplinary records, databases, budgets and financial documents to the public. Subject HUPD to public records requests. End the secrecy.

#### 5. REDISTRIBUTE HUPD'S BUDGET

Redistribute HUPD's budget to community members, instead of mechanisms of control, surveillance, and violence. The HUPD funds should be redirected to causes and communities that include, but are not limited to:

- Personal protective equipment for all Harvard workers
- Improved benefits for contingent faculty
- Improved benefits for graduate student workers
- Increased student health and mental health services, with an emphasis on counselors of color

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- Money to fund Ethnic Studies Department lines
- Perpetual donations to non-carceral organizations that support Cambridge's housing insecure community such as: Spare Change, MAAP, and housing shelters

#### 6. OPEN THE GATES

Harvard's Yard and common spaces should be open to all. Common spaces include libraries, lounges, study halls, and outdoor spaces.

#### 7. STOP LANDGRABBING

Harvard continues to buy land and extend its reach well past the traditional borders of the Harvard Yard, even using misleading tactics to do so. Cambridge and Boston rent is already unaffordable for so many people, and yet Harvard pays no attention as it gentrifies wider and wider without any regard for the people who are pushed out. For example, Harvard is halfway through building an entirely new campus for science and engineering in Allston as part of its "Institutional Master Plan." This money shouldn't be used for shiny new buildings. This money should be spent on the well-being of local residents-student or not, Harvard-affiliated or not. Furthermore, Harvard is an imperial university whose landgrabbing practices extend overseas. Such exploitative, neocolonial practices must stop. Colonialism and gentrification displace and impoverish people, leaving residents without the safety of shelter and stability of housing. This creates the issue of people who suffer from houselessness, hunger, and lack of health care. Harvard has historically responded to this phenomenon, caused in large part by its own landgrabbing practices, with guns, TASERs, and arrests. Not only does such a response not address the root cause of the problem at hand, it allows Harvard to elude responsibility and accountability for the mass suffering it has caused.

### REFORM

VS

## ABOLITION

ب ر	REDUCE FUNDING FOR POLICE	CHALLENGE THE NOTION THAT POLICE INCREASE SAFETY	REDUCE TOOLS/ TACTICS/ TECHNOLOGY POLICE HAVE AT THEIR DISPOSAL	REDUCE THE SCALE OF POLICING?		ب ب	REDUCE FUNDING POLICE
Integrating HUPD with campus security (Securitas)	NO.	NO.	NO. This reform would make it so that HUPD has assets in every area of campus at all times.	INCREASES. Integrating HUPD and Securitas would trander certain policing activities to staff whose presence and reach currently exceeds that of HUPD.	DOES T	Defund/Redistribute: Defund HUPD and redistribute HUPD's budget so that it goes towards other forms of community care.	YES.
Community Policing	NO. Community policing reforms often involve hiring more police officers.	NO. The point of this reform is for people to feel more comfortable around the police.	INCREASES. One of the goals of this model is to develop relationships with community members so that they might collaborate in polic- ing functions (for example, by calling the police more readily). "The community" becomes a policing asset.	INCREASES. Community policing often includes additional "community engagement" assignments for police officers.	HIS	Disarm HUPD	YES.
Mental health crisis intervention training for HUPD officers	NO. This will likely increase funding available to HUPD.	NO. The point of this reform is to make people trust that police can handle mental health crises in safe ways. They cannot.	NO.	NO. This could likely lead to HUPD hiring "mental health specialists" or other officers who could end up using force on people who needed care.		Sever HUPD's "mutual aid" agreements and contracts with other law enforcement agencies.	YES. HUPD officers are sated when they "s law enforcement a Ending "mutual a agreements betwee and other law enfo agencies has the pureduce salaries and compensation.
Cultural competency training	NO. This would likely increase funding.	NO. The point of this reform is to make people trust that police will be less racist on an individual level, while largely obscuring the structural racism of the police.	NO.	NO.		Disclose HUPD Records	NEITHER INCREASES DECREASES
Better coordination with Cambridge and Boston Police Departments	NO.	NO.	NO. Increases HUPD's access to police surveillance, technology and tactics from CPD/BPD.	INCREASES. By coordinating the CPD and BPD, the scope of HUPD's authority is expanded beyond Harvard's campus and these external police foreces may exert greater influence on Harvard's campus as well.		Open the Gates	NEITHER INCREASES DECREASES
		r one created by abolitionist ionist steps" and "reformist :				Stolen Property Insurance	Potentially.
olice power.							

#### 2. DO THIS?

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	4	REDUCE FUNDING FOR POLICE	CHALLENGE THE NOTION THAT POLICE INCREASE SAFETY	REDUCE TOOLS/ TACTICS/ TECHNOLOGY POLICE HAVE AT THEIR DISPOSAL	REDUCE THE SCALE OF POLICING?	
¢						
Defund/Redistribu Defund HUPD and redistribute HUPD budget so that it goes towards othe forms of communit care.	d 's er	YES.	YES. Redistributing HUPD's budgets to that it goes toward non-carceral forms of com- munity care demonstrates that the police don't keep us safe and well; we keep us safe and well.	YES. Severely cutting or elimi- nating HUPD's budget will prevent the department from procuring new technologies, weapons, and trainings.	YES. Severely cutting or elimi- nating HUPD's budget will require the department to drastically seale back its daily operations and reduce the size of the force.	
Disarm HUPD		YES.	YES. HUPD officers carrying guns doesn'r make students or community members more safe; it just puts us at greater risk of violence.	YES. This step would push back against the techno-mil- irarization of our police departments.	YES.	
Sever HUPD's "mutual aid" agreements and contracts with othe aw enforcement agencies.	er	YES. HUPD officers are compen- sated when they "assist" local law enforcement agencies. Ending "mutual aid" agerements between HUPD and other law enforcement agencies has the potential to reduce salaries and overtime compensation.	YES. Severing such "mutual aid" agreements challenges the idea that more contiguous police coverage increases safety.	YES. Severing such "mutual aid" agreements has the potential to prevent ross-depart- mental collaborations in the forms of things such as trainings.	YES. Severing such "mutual aid" agreements can prevent HUPD form tapping into a broader policing network and prevent its jurisdiction from spreading.	
Disclose HUPD Records		NEITHER INCREASES NOR DECREASES.	YES. Records disclosure can help reveal how much time HUPD spends responding to frivolous calls or enforcing property rights, rather than promoting any meaningful public safety.	NEITHER INCREASES NOR DECREASES.	NEITHER INCREASES NOR DECREASES.	
Open the Gates		NEITHER INCREASES NOR DECREASES.	YES. Opening Harvard's Yard and common spaces to all would combar the notion that we need HUPD to protect Harvard students from outsiders. One of HUPD's primary jobs is to police who has access to Harvard's campus. This step would render that job unnecessary.	YES. HUPD spends much of their time arresting or crimi- nalizing people experiencing houselessness on Harvard grounds. This would remove that tactic from them.	YES. One of HUPD's primary jobs is to police who has access to Harvard campus. This would drastically reduce the need for HUPD.	
Stolen Property Insurance		Potentially.	YES. Challenges the idea that property crimes constitute a "afery" issue by addressing the problem with direct compensation.	YES. Investigating theft and issuing artest warrants empowers the police to intimidate and harass mem- bers of the community.	YES. Eliminates police as appropriate responders to theft.	
No Cops for Lockouts		Potentially.	YES. Reflects the belief that police are not safe for all students.	NEITHER INCREASES NOR DECREASES.	YES, Eliminates police as appropriate responders to lockouts.	

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I am receiving threats and getting racial slurs posted on my Harvard office door. While faculty are racially-profiled and harassed by the Harvard Police, the same police department seems to be 📓 too busy to investigate the hate crimes happening on their own campus. This 🗱 is Harvard. You have a University with one side of its mouth saying that 間 Black Lives Matter and we want diversity and inclusion for all, but on the other side, its own 🛔 Police Department racially profiles and harasses 🎆 Black and brown students and faculty.

Professor, 2020

# WHAT WE BELIEVE & WHAT WE DEMAND

On July 20, 2020, *The Boston Globe*'s Editorial Board published a piece calling for the reining in of campus police forces. *The Globe* argued that, "Law enforcement officers on university and college campuses have too much power and less accountability than municipal police." While ultimately falling short of calling for the abolition of campus police departments, *Globe* editors closed their piece by suggesting that, "as schools face budgetary challenges in the coming years as a result of COVID-19, and with fewer students to protect on campus for the foreseeable future, campus police is one costly department that warrants rethinking."<sup>4</sup>

*The Boston Globe*'s editors join a growing number of journalists and writers who are critically interrogating the role of the police as U.S. cities continue to mobilize in response to the murders of countless persons at the hands of the police. But for the victims of police violence enacted at the hands of powerful private universities, a reformist stance is simply not bold enough. The Harvard Alliance Against Campus Cops (HAACC) calls for the abolition of the Harvard University Police Department (HUPD) and for the reinvestment of its resources both within our campus community and beyond Harvard's gates.

In fact, our broader call for abolition requires that we recognize Harvard's gates are a part of the policing problem. As members of the Harvard Prison Divestment Campaign pointed out in their lawsuit against the University, "Harvard's existence was made possible by the dispossession of indigenous lands and the exploitation of Black people."<sup>5</sup> The wealth and power of the world's most "renowned" university was acquired by colonial and imperial projects of extraction.

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This continues to be the case today. In Massachusetts, the homelands of Massachusett, Nipmuc, Wampanoag and countless other Native nations and communities, Harvard's gates are a colonial monument to the endurance of this violent history. These gates also serve the purpose of "protecting" Harvard settler property and "quarantining" students from the many communities who call Cambridge and Boston home. This will not stand.

# WHAT IS ABOLITION?

In its broadest definition, abolition is the call to remove some system, practice, or institution. Within the West, abolition has historically focused on those systems, practices, and institutions that oppress, harm, or kill communities. For example, the abolition movement of the 19th century called for the removal of slavery on the grounds that it was an institution that sanctioned incalculable violence against Black people.

In the century-and-a-half since the calls to abolish slavery, abolitionists have become more forceful about the fact that abolition is not just destructive but also constructive. As Patrisse Cullors argues, abolition is "rooted in providing for and supporting the self-determination of communities. It's a society that has no borders, literally. It's a society that's based on interdependence and the connection of all living beings. It's a society that is determined to facilitate a life that is full of respect, a life that is full of honoring and praising those most impacted by oppression."6 Following Cullors, abolition is not just the call to remove a harmful institution. It is also the call to replace such institutions with mechanisms that engender obligation to each-others' well-being.

Importantly, our use of mechanisms is not synonymous with institutions. Whereas the call for an institution often assumes permanence, mechanisms recognize the necessity of process—of re-examining procedures in order to ensure that they are in the service of self-determination and care of all people.

The constant process of abolition should not be mistaken for gradual reform. To the contrary, abolition refuses the viability of reforming institutions for at least two reasons. First, the rigidity of institutions means that they cannot address the often contingent and immediate needs of communities. Second, U.S. institutions have historically served the interests of white, settler and propertied citizens, sanctioning violence against those who do not fit into these categories. As such, reform reinforces the legitimacy of the institution and, in doing so, ensures its capacity to continue producing white supremacist violence.

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Police are one such institution. HAACC is rooted in an abolitionist theory and practice because we believe that a system put in place to protect white settler property cannot be reformed. There is no procedure that enables policing to be more just or humane towards BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and People of Color) and community members experiencing houselessness. In short, we assert that HUPD is not broken. To the contrary, it is operating exactly how it was built to operate. When a housing insecure person in the Square is harassed by an officer, when a Black student is racially profiled while walking to their dorm, and when a community member who is experiencing a mental health crisis is brutalized, the system is working correctly and efficiently. This is because the police have historically been an institution in service of legitimizing white settler claims to property.



Officer dispatched to a report of an unwanted guest sleeping in the entryway of the building. Officer arrived, located the individual, and conducted a field interview. The individual was run for wants/ warrants with negative results but did show positive results for an active trespass warning for all Harvard University property. The individual was then informed that they were being placed under arrest for Trespassing.

#### POLICING, PROPERTY, AND WHITE SUPREMACY

Given the connections between police and white settler conceptions of property, race is central to any discussion of abolition. Political theorist Nikhil Pal Singh defines "whiteness" as a distinctive status or standpoint within American society that is hierarchically tied to the governance of public life and the protection of private property rights. "A conscious assemblage," he argues, whiteness is "designed to extend, fortify, individualize, and equalize the government of public life in a world dominated by private property holders whose possessions included other human beings and lands already inhabited yet unframed by prior claims of ownership."7 Here, Singh argues that in the early colonial and republican periods, white "property" was primarily derived from two exploitative processes: settler colonial land grabs that dispossessed millions of acres of land from Native nations and the transatlantic slave trade, which rendered enslaved Africans into "chattel" to be bought and sold.

In making plain the centrality of private property to the status of whiteness, Singh illuminates the antagonistic means through which whiteness defines itself against other groups. Whiteness, according to Singh, has particular vested interests in its "relationship to those who have no property and thus no calculable interests, and who are therefore imagined to harbor a potentially criminal disregard for propertied order."<sup>8</sup> Thus, Singh argues that whiteness maintains the legitimacy of a society predicated upon private property through the criminalization of those who are property-less. Moreover, the "property-less" in Singh's formulation have historically been categorized as racialized "others." As political theorist Cedric Robinson argues in his seminal text, Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition, the distinctions made between the propertied and the property-less in Western societies, from the feudal era to the capitalist era, have historically been predicated on the impulse "to differentiate—to exaggerate regional, subcultural, and dialectical differences into racial ones."<sup>9</sup>

The maintenance of the historical dichotomy between the white, propertied settler and the racialized, property-less "other" is often achieved through policing.

The maintenance of the historical dichotomy between the white, propertied settler and the racialized, property-less "other" is often achieved through policing. "Policing," according to Singh, "can be understood as those preventive mechanisms and institutions for ensuring private property within public order, including access to the means of violence, their legal narration, and their use."<sup>10</sup> It is a structure that is integral to the production and maintenance of whiteness as a status that is distinct and oppositional to the racialized, property-less "other," and one that is dependent upon the criminalization of BIPOC and working-class communities and the use of violence to suppress these communities.

Policing has historically been an institution invested in protecting white settler property—be that land extracted from Native nations or enslaved Africans whose were deemed "chattel." In the wake of emancipation, policing reconfigured itself to maintain the white settler property order and to quarantine and control racialized populations through processes of criminalization.

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Historians Elizabeth Hinton and DeAnza Cook provide countless examples of policing being used to accomplish such aims in their article, "The Mass Criminalization of Black Americans: A Historical Overview." "In addition to regulating the land from Native Americans," Hinton and Cook assert, "police powers codified in the US Constitution and Bill of Rights included the responsibility for suppressing insurrections and invasions from all potential threats, foreign and domestic throughout the colonial and antebellum periods, slave patrols, city constables and state militias function as premodern progenitors of domestic police forces across the United States. State legislators empowered municipal policymakers to form paramilitary units to capture and confine suspected insurgents, disorderly immigrants, and free and enslaved persons of color prior to the Civil War."11 Post-emancipation, Hinton and Cook argue, "The systematic criminalization and incarceration of newly freed people and their descendants" continued, taking new shapes and forms.<sup>12</sup>

According to historian Khalil Gibran Muhammad, "Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the statistical rhetoric of the 'Negro criminal' became a proxy for a national discourse on black inferiority. As an 'objective' measure, it also became a tool to shield white Americans from the charge of racism when they used black crime statistics to support discriminatory public policies and social welfare practices."13 Muhammad argues that the use of "objective" empirical data such as crime statistics was demographically skewed, as, "Progressive era white social scientists and reformers often reified the racial criminalization process by framing white criminals sympathetically as victims of industrialization..., a 'great army of unfortunates' juxtaposed against an army of self-destructive and pathological blacks

who were their 'own worst enem[ies]."<sup>14</sup> And as historian Simon Balto writes, in cities such as Chicago, "police and public policies...[have] specifically channeled vice to, and contained it in, black neighborhoods—knowing that they couldn't eliminate it altogether but wanting to keep it out of white neighborhoods" from the late 19th century onward.<sup>15</sup> Read alongside each other, Hinton and Cook, Muhammad, and Balto illuminate the ways that policing has been used to criminalize racialized communities and "zone" vice within the places they inhabit while effectively quarantining white neighborhoods.

Policing has been used to criminalize racialized communities and "zone" vice within the places they inhabit while effectively quarantining white neighborhoods.

In sum, as opposed to protecting people, policing has historically been an institution invested in protecting white settler property-be that land extracted from Native nations or enslaved Africans whose were deemed "chattel." In the wake of emancipation, policing reconfigured itself to maintain the white settler property order and to quarantine and control racialized populations through processes of criminalization. Thus, we might conceive of policing and property as being co-constitutive: the legitimacy of one cannot exist without the other. This co-constitutive relationship plays out in specific ways in Massachusetts and at Harvard.

#### POLICING IN MASSACHUSETTS AND AT HARVARD

Massachusetts is a crucial site in the formation and development of American policing. According to the City of Boston, the Boston Police Department is the oldest police department in the country.<sup>16</sup> Local law enforcement agencies have a tenuous and violent history of protecting white settler property and surveilling and criminalizing BIPOC communities, and the Harvard University Police Department is no exception. While the Boston Police Department was only formally established in 1854, as early as the 1630s, the city had established watchmen patrols.17 According to the City of Boston, these early "Watchmen patrolled the streets of Boston at night to protect the public from criminals, wild animals, and fire."18 Such a statement begs the question:

Who were these supposed criminals? A partial answer can be found by paying attention to Native histories of the Northeast. As historian Christine DeLucia notes, Boston is "the city, after all, that only in 2005 formally lifted a ban on Native presence dating from the 1670s."19 Here, DeLucia alludes to the fact that in the wake of King Philip's War, a late 17th century war that Native nations such as the Wampanoag, Narragansett, and Wabanaki waged against settlers largely in response to land dispossession, the mere presence of Native people in the city of Boston was deemed criminal and subject to policing, surveillance, and detainment. And in 1701, Boston instituted a 9 PM curfew for enslaved Black people and Native Americans in response to calls to abolish slavery; almost any white landowner had the power under the curfew order to "take up

and apprehend" non-compliant Black and Native residents.<sup>20</sup>

This example underscores the ways in which, as political theorist Robert Nichols argues, "theft is the mechanism by which property is generated."21 White settlers effectively pilfered land from Native nations who had lived on Massachusetts land since time immemorial, utilizing Western constructs such as contract law and John Locke's valorization of private property to obscure the violence inherent in such settler-colonial actions. In service of the "protection" of these stolen lands, they utilized local ordinances to criminalize the mere presence of Native peoples who might contest the legitimacy of a settler-colonial project that was, quite literally, dispossessing and killing them.

Such surveilling and criminalizing regimes have persisted into the present and have often resulted in the destruction of human life for other racialized city residents. From the murder of Franklin Lynch, a Black man who was shot to death while seeking treatment at Boston City Hospital in the 1970s, to the more contemporary murders of Burrell "Bo" Ramsey White, Usaamah Rahim, and Terrence Coleman, local law enforcement agencies such as the Boston Police Department have used deadly force to surveil, terrorize, and attempt to eliminate BIPOC individuals, families, and communities.<sup>22</sup> White Bostonians such as Charles Stuart have employed the myth of Black criminality to obscure their own violences, which has resulted in the terrorization and profiling of community members who "fit the profile."23 And as recent as 2018, groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts have had to file suit against the Boston Police Department in order to obtain access to their "gang database," which utilizes a point-system to disproportionately

When HUPD showed up while I was doing a mental health check on a student in their room, the student shut down when they saw police officers. They reported that they were scared, mortified to have their peers see police officers in their room, and guilty for creating a fuss. The only way I was able to agree to get them to go to HUHS was to have officers 📗 walk a far distance 🌌 away from us. If police hadn't been present, I think the (otherwise straightforward) mental health check would have gone more smoothly, and they would have been more willing to go with me to get help.

Tutor, 2020

target Central American youth and enter them into the system as gang members before they are ever charged with a formal crime.<sup>24</sup> In a city that, according to *The Boston Globe*, has become the third most "intensely gentrified" city in the nation, such acts serve to protect the interests of white settler capital and property at the expense of harm, displacement, and violence wrought against BIPOC communities.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, Harvard police are tasked with legitimizing the university's claims to land and capital. This is largely accomplished through their enforcement of who is "wanted" and "unwanted" within Harvard's gates, which is reflected in the language that HUPD officers use to describe their duties. For example, according to Harvard police logs, HUPD spends most of its time harassing "unwanted guests," "individual[s] engaged in suspicious activity," "unknown individuals," and "individuals who were not authorized to be in the area" on Harvard "property."<sup>26</sup>

Who is "unwanted"? Who amongst us has "authorization" to be anywhere? What constitutes "suspicious activity"? In practice, HUPD shows us which persons and activities fit these definitions through their racist and anti-poor policing. For example, individuals who are housing-insecure often find themselves unable to rest in public spaces without HUPD harassment, as in the case of a July 29, 2020 HUPD log entry: "Officer while on patrol observed an individual in the alleyway attempting to sleep behind the building. Officer reported that the individual went on their way without incident." In a similar event that happened five days prior, one man's attempt to sleep culminated in his arrest:

"Officer arrived, located the individual, and conducted a field interview. During the field

interview, the individual was run for wants/ warrants with positive results for an active warrant. The individual was then placed under arrest for Warrant Service, issued a verbal trespass warning for all Harvard University property, and transported to Cambridge Police Department for booking."

This individual dared to take a nap on Harvard grounds and ended up in jail. And yet, Harvard students regularly cite public campus spaces as great places to take a nap in between classes.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, according to *The Crimson*, when they fall asleep in the same places that persons who are housing-insecure are routinely kicked out of for sleeping, they do not meet the same level of censure.<sup>28</sup>

This individual dared to take a nap on Harvard grounds and ended up in jail. And yet, Harvard students regularly cite public campus spaces as great places to take a nap in between classes.

Additionally, and as our history chapter shows, many students of color have had negative interactions with HUPD and other local law enforcement agencies working in conjunction with the university. For example, in 2019, the police were called on a group of students of color who were installing an art installation for class in front of Houghton Library.<sup>29</sup> Despite the fact that the class had already obtained permission to do so, HUPD was dispatched and students

2 1

were asked to show their Harvard IDs to verify that they "belonged" on campus. And in 2018, when a Black undergraduate student was having a mental health crisis, the Harvard Police simply passed off the situation to the Cambridge Police, who proceeded to brutally beat the young man to the horror of many witnesses.<sup>30</sup>

The aforementioned examples gesture to a disturbing fact: HUPD polices "belonging" at Harvard and "authorizes" who can be on campus grounds using subjective, arbitrary, and alarming assumptions that are rooted in racism and classism. Those who have the "Harvard look" tend not to be subjected to the same scrutiny. For example, according to HUPD police logs, tourists seem to have "authorization" to tour the campus. Family members of students seem to have "authorization" to be present on Harvard property, as long as they "look" like they belong. And random white people who have the "look" of a monied, elite Harvard affiliate tend to have this so-called "authorization." This includes monied elites such as Jeffrey Epstein, who, according to The New York Times, was permitted to visit Harvard "more than 40 times after he was convicted of sex charges involving a minor in 2008."31 But this privilege is not extended to those who actually constitute Harvard and Cambridge's greater community-be that students of color, poor and houseless community members, or community members living with mental illness.

Lastly, the Harvard University Police Department extends its reign of anti-poor and racist policing by actively supporting the Boston and Cambridge Police Departments through the "mutual aid agreements" that it has with these two agencies. HUPD officers are deputized to make arrests in both Middlesex and Suffolk counties, and the aforementioned agreements allow HUPD to "assist" CPD and BPD under certain circumstances. <sup>32</sup> Thus, HUPD has participated in the policing of racialized, working-class, poor, and activist communities beyond the University's traditional jurisdiction, as in the cases of HUPD's presence at a 2019 Anti-ICE demonstration in Kendall Square or a 2020 Black Lives Matter vigil in Franklin Park. Such actions illuminate the ways in which HUPD participates in a much larger local law enforcement project that seeks to police, surveil, and criminalize community members.

"Officer arrived, located the individual, and conducted a field interview. During the field interview, the individual was run for wants/ warrants with positive results for an active warrant. The individual was then placed under arrest for Warrant Service, issued a verbal trespass warning for all Harvard University property, and transported to Cambridge Police **Department for booking.**"

Thus, we call for the abolition of an institution that has never—and was never meant to—ensure the safety and wellbeing of all.

#### HUPD POLICE LOG

2/8/2019 10:05 AM

## SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY

EVENT TYPE:

Officer dispatched on the report of an individual possibly drinking an alcoholic beverage. Officers arrived and spoke with the individual and discovered that he was drinking giner ale, not an alcoholic beverage.

#### ABOLITIONIST STEPS

Harvard's decision to enforce the borders of its private property will never alleviate the suffering of community members. Policing does not address the social problems which give rise to situations of fear. In fact, HUPD actively perpetuates violence and suffering. Moreover, racial violence and profiling at the hands of campus police will never stop on and around our school grounds until HUPD is gone. In order to create a safe environment, rather than the illusion of safety, Harvard must invest in alternatives to policing that alleviate the root causes of harm and other social issues. Such alternatives must center community, not the protection of private property.

While HAACC's ultimate demand is for the complete abolition of the Harvard University Police Department, our recognition that abolition is a process means that we acknowledge that HUPD's dismantling will not happen overnight. However, we categorically reject police reforms such as those suggested by DeRay McKesson's "8 Can't Wait" agenda.<sup>33</sup> As Olivia Murray writes in The Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review, "many police departments have already implemented several of the proposed policies" and yet, police brutality persists. In fact, the largest police departments in the country already have half or more of these policies in place..."34

Indeed, such reforms fail to materially change the police's relationship with the community and oftentimes, they expand the resources that the police have at their disposal. For example, a reform such as implementing diversity or sensitivity training increases police budgets, but there is no evidence that such trainings actually decrease police violence.<sup>35</sup> Rather, such trainings are little more than rhetorical shields for the police, who can always point to their implicit-bias training as evidence of anti-racism instead of actually engaging with anti-racism. Similarly, body cameras for police officers give the police more money and more tools for surveillance and possibilities of facial recognition tracking while doing nothing to decrease police violence.<sup>36</sup>

HUPD polices "belonging" at Harvard and "authorizes" who can be on campus grounds using subjective, arbitrary, and alarming assumptions that are rooted in racism and classism. Those who have the "Harvard look" tend not to be subjected to the same scrutiny.

In contrast, an "abolitionist step" is not premised on the false hope that throwing more money at police forces will make such forces less racist and less violent. As abolitionist group, Critical Resistance, notes, abolitionist steps work to "chip away and reduce [the police state's] overall impact" while also making "positive and pro-active investments...in community health and well-being."37 Such reforms include decreasing the size of the police force, withholding pensions from police who have engaged in excessive force, capping overtime pay, defunding and disarming the police, and reinvesting in community care such as housing, food, and healthcare.

"When our political activism isn't rooted in a theory about transforming the world, it becomes narrow; when it is focused only on individual actors instead of larger systemic problems, it becomes shortsighted. We do have to deal with the current crisis in the short term. That's important. We have to have solutions for people's reallife problems, and we have to allow people to decide what those solutions are. We also have to create a vision that's much bigger than the one we have right now."

Patrisse Cullors, interview in Policing the Planet.

# DEMANDS

We reiterate our demand to abolish the Harvard University Police Department in its entirety and replace it with investments in the broader Harvard community that redress harm and care for people.

While abolitionist steps such as disarmament, greater transparency, and decreasing the number of officers are steps in the right direction, they are only effective when they are put in service of the ultimate goal of disbanding campus police. Even where the police are not armed with guns, violence and racial profiling will continue. For example, American University police dragged a Black student during a "wellness check," and a white student called the police on a Black Yale graduate student for taking a nap in a dorm's common area in 2018. <sup>254</sup> And as mentioned above, at Harvard, students of color have been profiled while displaying an art exhibition for class, and a Black undergraduate was passed off by HUPD to the Cambridge Police Department, who subsequently brutalized him. All these acts of brutality and intimidation were accomplished without the use of guns.

HAACC believes that another world is possible, and that, in the words of Patrisse Cullors, we "have to create a vision that's much bigger than the one we have right now."  $^{255}$ 



26

# DEFUND THE POLICE

Cut the department's budget by 80 to 100%



# **END** HUPD CONTRACTS

#### With Cambridge Police, Boston Police, Massachusetts State Police and end collaboration with ICE, the FBI, FUSION, BRIC, or CIA.

HUPD has "mutual aid agreements" with the Boston Police Department, Cambridge Police Department, and possibly the Massachusetts State Police.<sup>256</sup> In these agreements, HUPD is able to show up in situations where CPD or BPD have jurisdiction in order to provide further officers or "assistance," regardless of whether more officers are necessary. Additionally, while no formal "mutual aid" agreements exists between HUPD and law enforcement and intelligence agencies such as ICE, the FBI, the CIA, the Boston Regional Intelligence Center (BRIC), and Homeland Security Fusion Centers, they have historically collaborated with them.<sup>257</sup> In these contexts, the term "mutual aid" is a falsehood which masks the reality that HUPD often polices racialized, poor, and housing insecure people in the greater Boston area while largely shielding affluent and white students from city police.





Although the extent of HUPD's arsenal is secret, HUPD officers are armed. As such, HAACC demands that HUPD be stripped of any and all weapons.

Weapons include tear gas, rubber bullets, pepper spray, TASERs, batons, or any other item which can be used to inflict pain or threaten violence.



#### Rødcliffe Halls Invaded, Russell Raps Police (

Eight Harvard sindents and four Cambridge residents were arreated, a policeman was severely injured, and more than a score of students were clubbed by police during a wild demonstration in Harvard sq last night, which lasted for five bours, or ubtil, early this morning, in which nearly 2000 Harvard students, police and citizens engaged.

CRAYS HALL-WEST GRAYS HALL-WEST GRAYS HALL-WEST

The demonstration, beginning shortby alter 8 o'clock, when a group of freshmen found the clapper, which they later lost spain during the demoustration, had not ended at 1 o'clock this morning, and police were still helpless in the heads of the crowd.

#### List of Students Nabbed

Seven of the eight aludents are reard 'gave their names as Marius Johnston of Lexington, Conn, a freahman living at Gray's Mall, who was charged with driving to endanger, driving with no lights and disturbing the peace; "Formas Beimer of Chicago, Marila Jr of Swamsyscott, living at 54 Dunster st. charged with disturbing the peace; Louis DaShois of New York city, living at Wiggiesworth Mall, charged with refusal to move at the command of a police officer; Gray Edwards, Newburg, M. Wing at the are charged with disturbing the peace; the approximation of the command of a police officer; Gray Edwards, Newburg, M. Wing at the command of a bolice officer; Gray Edwards, Newburg, M. Wing at the command of a bolice officer; Gray Edwards, Nieburg, M. Wing at the off the bolice, chilage Win, shuth the bolice, chilage Min, shuth the bolice of the disturbing the peace, and Donaid Anderson of Now Kochelle, NY, living at Wigglesworth Hall, charged with disturbing the peace.

Hall, charged with disturbing the peace. Three of the Cambridge residents arrested wore Fred Marazzo, 23, of Continued on Page Twenty-Ope



# **DISCLOSE HUPD RECORDS**

Disclose emails, communications, disciplinary records, databases, budget and financial information to the public; subject HUPD to public records requests. End the secrecy.

### HUPD POLICE LOG

10/10/2016 1:55 am

EVENT TYPE:

#### ASSIST CAMBRIDGE POLICE

Officer dispatched to a report of an individual lin the area sleeping in their motor vehicle. Officer arrived and report individual is an Uber driver and was taking a quick nap.



Redistribute HUPD's Budget to community members, instead of mechanisms of control, surveillance, and violence. The HUPD funds should be redirected to causes and communities that include, but are not limited to:

- Personal protective equipment for all Harvard workers
- Improved benefits for contingent faculty
- Improved benefits for graduate student workers
- Increased student health and mental health services, with an emphasis on counselors of color
- Financial and emergency aid
- Money to establish and fund an Ethnic Studies Department
- Perpetual donations to non-carceral organizations that support Cambridge's housing insecure community such as: Spare Change, MAAP, and housing shelters



Rates (as of 1/29/20)

- Costs for Patrol Officer \$60.30/hr (Minimum 4 hours & includes administrative costs)
- Party details \$75.30/hr (Usually this is a social function hosted in College Houses with ending times of 1AM or later)
- Holiday rate \$87.90/hr
- · Overtime rate time and one half the officer's normal rate





Harvard's Yard and common spaces should be open to the all. Common spaces include libraries, lounges, study halls, and outdoor space.





#### Harvard continues to buy land and extend its reach well past the traditional borders of the Harvard Yard, even using misleading tactics to do so.

Cambridge and Boston rent is already unaffordable for so many people, and yet Harvard pays no attention as it gentrifies wider and wider without any regard for the people who are pushed out.<sup>258</sup> For example, Harvard is halfway through building an entirely new campus for science and engineering in Allston as part of its "Institutional Master Plan."<sup>259</sup> This money shouldn't be used for shiny new buildings. This money should be spent on the well-being of local residents-student or not, Harvard-affiliated or not. Furthermore, Harvard is an imperial university whose landgrabbing practices extend overseas.<sup>260</sup> Such exploitative, neocolonial practices must stop. Colonialism and gentrification displace and impoverish people, leaving residents without the safety of shelter and stability of housing. This creates the issue of people who suffer from houselessness, hunger, and lack of health care. Harvard has historically responded to this phenomenon, caused in large part by its own landgrabbing practices, with guns, TASERs, and arrests. Not only does such a response not address the root cause of the problem at hand, it allows Harvard to elude responsibility and accountability for the mass suffering it has caused.



Harvard's Vast, Exempt Holdings Propound Vexatious and Much Deeper Question Than Plan E and Similar Issues

#### By JOHN BARRY

The Combridge City Council proposal to partition Harvard University into a separate municipality-with the obligation upon Harvard to finance municipal services now furnished by Cambridge-may or may not be a "red herring" to defeat the Plan E referendum, but the fact remains it has raised again a question which cannot be dismissed as irrelevant to Cambridge's peculiar problem. The Council has in fact poster a serious question and

in substance it is this: Admitting that Harvard, famed the world over, is one of the greatest tangible and intangible assets of Massachusetts, should the entire tax burden of financing services for Harvard's tax-exempt boldingsvalued in the millions-be borne by Cambridge home owners, industrialists and merchants, who receive little or no compensating benefit from the presence of the university?

The question and proposal may be-as Dean James M. Landis has said-irrelevant to the issue of whether or not Plan E, with its city manager and proportional representation, is the most efficient form of municipal government, but the question has for years been a pertinent factor in Cambridge's economic status-both public and private.

#### Harvard Is Aware of Problem

In spite of the powers, authorities, rights, liberlies, privi-leges and franchises granted to the president and fellows of Ilarvaid College "to be their's forever" in the words of the Constitution of Massachusetts, which created Harvard, its presidents and feilows and faculties have long been aware of this problem. They have realized that Harvard's growth into one of the largest and the most tithly endowed universities in the United States hat imposed upon the city-within whose borders are located at, principal departments-a burden borne by no other college city

or town. In 1929 the then Pres. A. Lawrence Lowell confronted with In 1929 the teen Ares, A. Lawrence Lowell controlted with the same problem made an agreement with the then Mayor, the late Edward Quinn, by the provisions of which the college would pay taxes to the city upon any further land the college acquired in Camoridge. Under the provisions of that agreement the college now pays taxes on land on which a part of the house plan is situated.

In 1935 Cambridge business men who, once in the days before rapid-transit subways, enjoyed a substantial part of the spending of students and faculty-protested a discount system Cambridge

Continued on Page 20

### **CIVILIAN RESPONSE**

We present these possibilities and ideas for Harvard to research and consider. This is not our ten-step plan for how to create a police-free campus, a policy paper, or an instruction manual because abolition is a process. Rather, this is a list of ideas, a beginning list or a starting step, for how to address the immediate issues for which HUPD is usually called. The onus is on the university to redistribute HUPD's presumably enormous budget and investigate and implement efficient, safe, non-violent, non-carceral, cost-effective alternatives.

#### Sexual Assault Non-Mandatory Reporting Hotline

Beyond Survival, a Canadian group, has a good model for this: "Our 24-hour crisis line provides immediate assistance, information and emotional support. The crisis information and referral line is available to anyone affected by sexual abuse, whether it's recent or in the past. In addition, services are also available to family members and friends of survivors. Our advocates are carefully screened and fully trained. They are here to assist survivors, families and the community with accurate information, confidential crisis intervention, and advocacy through medical and legal procedures."<sup>261</sup> While Harvard's Office of Sexual Assault Prevention and Response (OSAPR) does have a 24/7 hotline, this hotline is subject to the Jeanne Clery Act and thus cannot be trusted by students/assault victims. Further, it is a fundamental conflict of interest to confide in an institution which failed to protect you in the first place and thus may be exposed to legal liability from the assault victim. As such, Harvard students need a place to confide and seek resources which is not under Harvard control.

#### **In-house Therapy**

Georgetown University has a model where chaplains live inside the dorms and are on call to respond to student crises. Harvard could implement a similar model.<sup>262</sup>

#### **Discrete interviewers**

Victims of violence, especially victims of sexual assault, are sometimes hesitant to call the police because they, themselves, do not want to be penalized for drugs, drinking, or other potentially illegal activities. Victims especially do not want to call attention to themselves or even violate social norms or boundaries by calling the police to a party. As such, there could easily be a team of a variety of non-violent discrete intervenors who simply show up to an incident, find the person asking for help, and bring them to safety. This would happen without any punishment of anyone and would be discrete, plainclothes, and focused on the wellbeing of the victim, not in apprehending or punishing any alleged perpetrator.

#### Student-Run EMS

There is no reason for the police to be involved in a medical crisis. Tufts University has a 24/7 student-run EMS that responds to crises, and Harvard should have one too. President Bacow is the former president of Tufts, so he knows how such a program works as an alternative to the police.<sup>263</sup> Harvard does have an EMS system, but it's only for events, not crises. Let's open up the EMS service for more general use in the community.

#### **Stolen Property Insurance**

While HUPD has an extremely low success rate in recovering stolen property, many people call HUPD anyway to report theft for insurance purposes or to simply create a record. There is no reason for the people making insurance reports of stolen property to be armed with guns and TASERs.

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#### No Cops for Lockouts

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There is no need to call HUPD for lockouts, where Harvard students have accidentally locked themselves out of their dorms. The Resident Tutors or another position on campus could easily arrive to let students back into their own dorms. There should be no penalization of lockouts.

#### Safety Walk and Escort Services

Sometimes people do not want to walk somewhere alone but do not necessarily have someone to call. HUPD currently manages and trains volunteers for an escort service, but this program is not aligned with the values of police abolition and community investment. HUPD should not be managing an anti-violence safety service, and such a service should employ salaried workers, not volunteers. Further, this escort service is pitifully advertised to the student body. Black and brown students especially may not want to call HUPD in fear that HUPD may cause harm even when the student was asking for help with safety.

#### Frequent Town Halls with the Harvard Corporation and Board of Overseers

One of the issues with the police state is that the state is the only arbiter of justice and accountability. Rather, the voices of the people and the victims of violence should be centered in the project of accountability. Town Halls are an important step in initiating that vision.

Police abolition at Harvard doesn't just mean dismantling the police department. It is also a project of entirely reimagining Harvard. Abolitionist geographer and organizer **Ruth Wilson Gilmore teaches us:** "Abolition is about presence, not absence. It's about building lifeaffirming institutions." Harvard, in its current state, is the opposite of a lifeaffirming institution: it has engaged in practices that harm, surveil, and terrorize, and continues to do so to this day. HAACC presents these demands as starting steps to creating the world we want to live in, not as reform of the current system. We are not interested in crafting reform. Rather, we are invested in practices of community care, solidarity, and tending to sites of struggle in this and the next world.

# EVENT TYPE:

HUPD POLICE LOG

30/01/2017

7:41 PM

### SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY

Officer dispatched to take a report of a suspicious flyer in the garage area. Officer arrived and report flyer was just advertising



IONG RANG

SURVEILLANC



Student, 2020



We hope that this list of alternative resources will serve as a practical step to immediately reduce our reliance on police and to alleviate the harm caused by calling police into communities as first-responders to social problems. However, researching alternatives to the police reminds us that abolition is an on-going process of creation and transformation. For this section to be complete, new organizations will need to be made and old ones remade. The list below includes organizations that see themselves as independent of policing and others that, while not the police themselves, remain entangled with the carceral and police state. While these resources are alternatives to calling the police, there is no guarantee these organizations will not call 911 if they deem necessary.

We sought to include those with fewer connections to police and prisons, with greater ability to accommodate increased demand, with anti-oppressive values, and with the trust of the communities they serve. When choosing between similar resources, we sought to include those with fewer connections to police and prisons, with greater ability to accommodate increased demand, with anti-oppressive values, and with the trust of the communities they serve. We also chose not to include shelter resources for people experiencing homelessness because we realized that individuals in this community have greater familiarity with these resources than we could provide in this flyer. We also found that shelter services were often ill-suited to a crisis response flyer because of waitlists and referral requirements. However, we recommend the Hildebrand Family Self-Help Center and the Somerville Homeless Coalition to anyone looking to learn more or support existing shelter services in Cambridge.

We also encourage individuals and communities to build their own capacity to prevent harm and respond to crisis. Throughout this year, we will host a series of skill-building workshops around first aid, de-escalation, mediation, bystander intervention, and other practical knowledge for responding to a crisis. We encourage readers to identify those skills that they rely on others to provide. How can you or someone in your community organize for crisis preparedness? What can you do now to prevent future harm?

### ALTERNATIVES TO CALLING THE POLICE

#### STEPS BEFORE MAKING A CALL:

 Is this merely an inconvenience? Can I put up with this and be OK?



2. No, I need to respond. Can I handle this on my own? Can I talk it out with the other person?

3. No, I need backup. Is there a friend or neighbor I could call to help me?



4. No, I need more backup. Can we use mediation to talk it through or is there a hotline I can call?

5. No. If I call the police, do I understand someone may be killed, injured, or abused?

Sign the HAACC Crisis Call Pledge at <u>bit.ly/</u> <u>HAACCpledge</u>.

Disclaimer: While these resources are alternatives to calling the police, there is no guarantee these orgs will not call 911 if they deem necessary.

#### THEFT & PROPERTY RECOVERY:

Nationally, police "solve" fewer than 1 in 5 property crimes like theft. In most cases, property is not recovered. If you have renters' insurance, check your deductible (below that, insurance pays nothing) and process for reimbursement.

# MENTAL HEALTH & SUBSTANCE USE:

Mental Health Emergency Crisis Intervention: onsite psych evals for most insured/MassHealth clients: 800-981-4357

National Suicide Prevention Lifeline: 800-273-8255 or chat online suicidepreventionlifeline.org/chat/

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<u>Substance Use Helpline:</u> call for substance use treatment, detox, & recovery services: **800-327-5050** 

CASPAR FirstStep Outreach Team: on-site rapid response overdose prevention and help for homeless people in crisis. Based out of 240 Albany St. shelter: 617-592-6895

Access-Needle Exchange: free Narcan & clean needles - 617-599-0246 - 359 Green St.

#### VIOLENCE PREVENTION:

Emerge: group therapy and anger management for people who want to change their abusive behavior 617-547-9879 or email info@emergedv.com

<u>Parents Helping Parents:</u> free stress management hotline and parental support groups **1-800-632-8188** 

#### **OTHER HEALTH:**

Poison Control Expert Hotline: 800-222-1222

<u>Cambridge EMS:</u> Non-emergency medical needs including free home visit or for answers to medical questions (for Cambridge residents only) **608-423-3511** 

Bridge Over Troubled Waters: mobile medical van for emergency & preventative health care for youth ages 14-24 experiencing homelessness 617-423-9575

# SURVIVORS OF VIOLENCE:

Boston Area Rape Crisis Center (BARCC): 24/7 crisis hotline & long-term services 800-841-8371 or chat online barcc.org/help/services/hotline

Safelink: 24/7 hotline for domestic violence counseling, emergency housing, and more services 877-785-2020

<u>Transition House:</u> 24/7 hotline for support, safety planning, and connection to resources **617-661-7203** 

#### CAMBRIDGE HEALTH ALLIANCE:

Victim crisis intervention and response: 617-591-6033

Victim resources and safety planning: 617-665-2992

<u>Center for Homicide Bereavement:</u> crisis intervention and counseling for homicide survivors 617-591-6123

#### REPORT HATE CRIMES:

<u>Council on American-Islamic Relations of MA</u> cairma.org

Mass Transgender Political Coalition masstpc.org

#### MATERIAL AID:

Material Aid and Advocacy Program: links to support services and resources for COVID times and beyond www.maapma.org/covid19resources

<u>Cambridge Mutual Aid Network:</u> uplifts neighbors through remote connection, grocery shopping and delivery, and other forms of solidarity.

https://www.cambridgemutualaid.info/

<u>Greater Boston Marxists Care Packages:</u> distributes free care packages to the public (@GBmarxists)

#### PRACTICING SAFETY BEYOND POLICING:

- Know your neighborhood. Introduce yourself to your neighbors, learn their names, make a list of their phone numbers, say hello when you walk by. Check in with vulnerable neighbors.
- 2 Learn bystander intervention, de-escalation, and street harassment responses. **ihollaback.org**

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- 3 Take a local First Aid and CPR course. cambridgeareaems.com/events/
- 4 Pods and pod-mapping: who are the people you can call on if you've been harmed, caused harm, or witnessed harm? bit.ly/PodsResource

#### PLANTING THE SEEDS OF ABOLITION:

Join or support local organizing efforts:

- 1 <u>The Black Response</u> on Twitter (@Black\_Response)
- 2 <u>Community For Us By Us</u> www.facebook. com/CommunityFUBU/
- 3 Building Up People Not Prisons Coalition
- 4 <u>SURJ Boston</u>
- 5 <u>City Life/Vida Urbana</u>
- 6 Driving Families Forward

#### LEARN FROM ELSEWHERE:

<u>Cure Violence</u>, working in 10 US cities, is a public health anti-violence program proven to reduce shootings and killings. They use trained street violence interrupters and outreach staff, public education campaigns, and community mobilization to counter violence.

Learn more about transformative justice at TransformHarm.org & creative-interventions.org/ tools/

### HISTORY OF HUPD

The Harvard University Police Department is a private police force that has existed for more than a century. Despite HUPD's central claim — that armed police officers make Harvard's campus "safe" — a review of the department's history shows that HUPD has a long history of making Harvard unsafe for racialized students, Cambridge residents, and leftist student activists. Harvard police officers have routinely subjected Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) to invasive and unwarranted scrutiny, harassed unhoused people, and reacted to anti-racist protests with force. At the same time, HUPD has excused violent behavior by white students, provided security details for dictators and war criminals, and ignored sexist and racist demonstrations that create hostile environments for women, BGLTO+ students, and students of color. A chronological history of the Harvard University Police Department, organized by the tenure of its various police chiefs, shows a police department that uses safety as a cover for its criminalization of Harvard's marginalized community members and neighbors.

#### **BEFORE 1962**

Harvard University's private police department has its origins in the late nineteenth century. Before then, Harvard relied on the College tutors, the Corporation, and public law enforcement officials to discipline students and police Harvard Yard. Harvard would occasionally hire police as security for specific events, but did not create a permanent "Yard Police" force until the 1890s. By 1913, the Yard Police employed six officers who worked out of the basement of Thayer Hall.<sup>38</sup>

In the 1920s, the Yard Police made local news by issuing citations and towing cars for parking violations. "The Harvard police have been decorating the automobiles of business men and students with tags even when the cars are parked on the public highway," reported *The Boston Globe*.<sup>39</sup> It was not clear whether Harvard had the legal authority to do so:

"The city clerk of Cambridge knows of no ordinance giving a right of tagging other than to the regular police force. Capt Michael J. Brennan of the Brattle-sq Station declares that he does not know whether or not the Harvard police have the right [to tag] . . . The police of Harvard have full constable powers. Does that power include tagging?" <sup>40</sup>

The extent of the "constable powers" bestowed on Harvard police was unclear to the general public in the 1920s and remains opaque to this day.

One thing is certain: the Harvard "Yard Police" were more concerned with writing parking tickets than with keeping open displays of white supremacy out of Harvard

#### HUPD TIMELINE

1962

1975

1977

1978

1983

1995

#### POLICE CHIEF

Matthew Toohy

**Robert Tonis** 

#### David L Gorski William A Lee

(acting chief)

Saul L Chafin

Jack W Morse (interim director)

**Paul E Johnson** 

**Bud Riley** 

Anti Nazi Protests

**EVENTS** 







Anti Apartheid Campus Escort Program HBS Harassment

Community Policing Era



40 incidents of sexual assault on campus I Too Am Harvard



blacker than me because you can rap more Jay-z lyrics.

2020

Student Brutalized by Police on Mass Ave



Commencement festivities, Harvard and Cambridge police worked together to arrest two anti-Nazi protesters, Sheila Shugrue and Nora Burke, in front of Sever Hall. The two women protested the presence of a Nazi official and Harvard alumnus, Ernst Hanfstaengl, by chaining themselves to a pole

hoods in the middle of the day, even posing for photographs on the John Harvard statue. Whatever campus "safety" meant in the 1920s, it did not extend to keeping the Klan out of Harvard Yard, 41 However, Harvard police did silence leftist speech and dissent on campus. At the 1934

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In the early 1920s, Harvard students formed a short-lived chapter of the Ku Klux Klan. The members were allowed to walk on Harvard Yard in their white robes and hoods in the middle of the day, even posing for photographs on the John Harvard statue.

Boston Public Library

and interrupting speeches with shouts of, "To hell with Hitler!" and "Down with the Nazis!" The Harvard police dug up the pole

place."43

and had the power to arrest students and non-students alike. During this period, the director of the Harvard University Police Department, Matthew Toohy, characterized his job as "the control of rambunctious students,"44 which included suppressing student protesters, but notably excluded doing anything to address the wave of male students who broke into Radcliffe dorms on "panty raids." In an interview with The Boston Globe on his retirement in 1962, Toohy reminisced, "I never took that too seriously . . . They seemed to be having a lot of fun and that is all right with us, as long as they don't fall into the clutches of the Cambridge police."45 Toohy's statement makes it clear that HUPD was invested in protecting male students and enabling their entitlement, all the while aiding in the suppression of radical speech.

so that Shugrue and Burke could be arrested by Cambridge police.42

Harvard police escalated their intimidation and control of students in the 1950s, focusing their attention on students that the University perceived to be political radicals, especially communists. In 1950, The Boston Globe reported, "Harvard University officials, with Yard police barricading the stairway to the third floor of the Phillips Brooks House, banned a meeting of the left-wing John Reed Society last night. Some 25 persons were barred from the meeting

By the 1950s, Harvard police carried guns

#### **ROBERT TONIS**

The Harvard University Police Department, as we know it now, began to form in the 1960s. In 1962, the transformation into a fully-fledged police force was solidified when the University hired Robert Tonis, a former FBI agent of 27 years, as the Director of HUPD.<sup>46</sup> Under Tonis' direction, the Harvard police busied themselves quelling student riots and disturbances, mirroring the actions of police departments nationwide during this era of great political upheaval.

According to The Globe, Harvard police were sworn in by the Cambridge City Constable, and "Harvard policemen receive training in the use of arms and can make arrests of nuisance makers other than students. They work on three eight-hour shifts."47 However, despite Harvard police's acquisition of "new responsibilities and a new efficiency,"

HARVARD BOYS HURL

BOTTLES, PUSH CARS Special College Police Finally Disperse Crowd Rumore that an organized celebration would be held on the streets of Cambridge by Harvard students last Cambridge by Harvard students has night resulted in the gathering of more than 300 students is front of the Lampson building on Plympion and Mt/Auburn siz shortly after 11 o'dock, with shouling and hisrity that buil faintly ocheed the disturbance in the same locality on Wedneday night. Bowlos wers thrown freely and parked cars were pushed into the strötz as the students triad in value to draw a packal detail of polics to the sector. Two or three adlicer pa-trolling their beats in the neighbor-hood did not disturb the Spring-strick.

bood did pot disturb the spring attract Shortly before midbight a group of special Harvard police under Charles A. Apted broke up the sesenbly and sent the youths to their respective dormitories on threatening to report there to the deam. By 12:30 o'clock this morning the striest was descrided of students at no further outbrack was expected.

Boston Globe



*The Crimson* noted that the full extent of their power was ambiguous, and that "they have no illusions about how powerful or professional they are. 'We're not a police department,' Tonis is quick to point out. 'Our interest is physical security.'"<sup>48</sup> Despite Tonis' insistence that the Harvard police were not a department, the Harvard police were certainly behaving like a fully-fledged police department. For example, "In June, 1966, the force took its greatest step in the direction of full police status. Several years ago, a campus policeman at Tufts made an arrest on the Tufts campus, a right later challenged by the arrested man's lawyer.



Court action led to a Massachusetts state law which provided university police 'with the same power to make arrests as regular police officers for any criminal offense committed in or upon lands owned, used, or occupied' by the university. The Harvard University Police were the first in the state sworn in under the new statute."<sup>49</sup>

In 1968, about six-years into Director Tonis' regime, HUPD shot a 19-year-old. A HUPD officer alleged that he had witnessed the young man stealing a motorcycle. Tonis emphasized to the press that this was the first instance in which HUPD fired a gun under his leadership. He also said that HUPD officers always carry pistols and are skilled in using them. Tonis explained that officers carry guns because "there have been instances where a gun gives an officer confidence."<sup>50</sup>

The next year, Director Tonis called for adding more men onto his 63-man force, where each officer was getting paid about \$10,000 a year, which is about \$72,000 in today's dollars. This was in response to reports of theft, strange men in dormitory rooms, an instance where someone stabbed a sophomore at Radcliffe.<sup>51</sup>

#### Tonis's Force and Student Activism

Following the US' entrance into the Vietnam War, Harvard was filled with anti-war rallies and strikes. On April 8, 1969, Harvard's chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) pinned a list of demands, including abolishing the ROTC, stopping Harvard's physical expansion, and implementing Black Studies, to the door of President Pusey's home.<sup>52</sup> The next day, around 70 students occupied University Hall, evicting deans and administrators for 18 hours. According to Pusey, "It became clear in the course of the evening that the only possible alternative [to calling in police] was to take no action at all," and so he responded to the occupation by calling in Cambridge Police and Massachusetts State Police, who were advised to remove their badges.58

#### Rampage At Harvard

Palica firo tear gas at youths who went on a vanddiim sprce systemery at Harvard University in Cambidge, Marss, aite poscola andiwar domostrations, Youthy ren through Harvard Square, boraking windows and setting a fire in the Harvard Cento far International Affairs. Other demostrations against the war were hald the update of studenty voled to atrick the rationand process. An early at the University of Maryland sparted a rack-librowing incident.



They arrived with helmets, gas masks, metal shields and rifles. Just before 5am, over 400 police charged University Hall, breaking its door down with a battering ram, and began violently removing students. Students were beaten, clubbed, maced, and thrown or kicked down the steps. According to *The Crimson*, "Between 250 and 300 people were arrested in the raid, and nearly 75 students were injured."<sup>54</sup>

Among those assaulted by police included a student who was pushed by several officers out of his wheelchair and onto the cement, and a girl who was thrown against a wooden



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divider and told by a trooper, "If you don't stay there I'll break your fuckin head."<sup>55</sup> As the brutality ensued, Chief Tonis apologized to students in the crowd, maintaining that the University Police did not want to be involved in the intervention. "But," he later told *The Crimson*, "[administration is] way over our heads now."<sup>56</sup>

While some students were sent to the hospital, arrested students were transported in paddy wagons and buses to courts in Cambridge. As an alumnus recounts, "Several people were even charged with assault and battery. In the coming days, most of the charges were dropped, but a number of protesters were tried and convicted"—174 were found guilty for trespassing<sup>57</sup>—"and ordered to pay fines. Two of the occupiers were sentenced to nine months in jail. Twenty-six Harvard students were expelled."<sup>58</sup>

The call by administration to bring in law enforcement exacerbated an already polarized faculty, as "although most viewed the University Hall take-over as inappropriate, many were even more horrified by the sudden police action."<sup>59</sup> As for students, "the issue that 'radicalized' them, was the decision to call in the police to clear University Hall."<sup>60</sup>

Students went on an eight-day strike following the brutality, and in response, the Harvard Corporation instituted a university Committee on Rights and Responsibilities specifically to discipline sit-in participants, and then strike participants—of which, 16 were expelled, 20 suspended and 99 placed on warning.<sup>61</sup>

Harvard's violent and punitive response, their "only possible alternative" to capitulating to student demands, set the tone for the university's support of policing and militancy in the following years. In the Spring of 1971, Students for a Just Peace, a group made of members from the conservative groups Young Americans for Freedom and Young Republicans, organized a pro-war counter-teach-in in order "to combat the ... 'force-fed' antiwar feeling at Harvard."<sup>62</sup> Around 500 students disrupted the teach-in, which was guarded by 20 University Police officers.

The event shut down after Tonis told the moderator that the police were trying to keep out a crowd of another 150 student-disruptors from flooding in. The protesters-who chanted, sang, clapped, booed, passed out flyers, and "threw a variety of objects, including wads of paper and fruit rinds, at the stage in their successful attempt to turn the teach-in into an antiwar demonstration"63—were threatened with disciplinary action from the University and any applicable criminal charges. Students for a Just Peace recorded the faces of demonstrators on a video camera to assist in the school's identification efforts. Meanwhile, the pro-war speakers-one of whom made sure to yell "Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil!" (a Nazi victory salute) into the microphone before leaving—were helped out of the building by the University police officers and were ushered to the studio of WGBH radio, so they could talk for an hour.<sup>64</sup>

Clashes between police and left-wing college students were common in this era, and they reflected a longstanding practice in which police forces safeguarded right-wing speech, but suppressed leftist speech. Harvard police arrested anti-Nazi protesters in 1934, barricaded the entrance to a meeting of a leftwing society in 1950, and now they were arresting protesters for putting up posters and engaging in physical altercations with

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protesters. In October 1969, Harvard police followed a group of students putting up posters for an anti-war march sponsored by SDS and were present as Cambridge Police arrested the students on charges of "idle and disorderly conduct, disturbing the peace, and defacing private property."<sup>65</sup>

The next year, Paul Sedgwick, an MIT student, was convicted of assaulting a Harvard police officer, despite Sedgwick's charge that he was victimized by the officer and statements of witnesses denying that he struck the officer.<sup>66</sup> Then, in February 1972, two SDS members were arrested and charged with assault and battery following an altercation with Boston Police at a protest for Irish civilians who were killed by British troops. Ira Helfand, one of the students arrested, was suspended from Harvard two days before his graduation the previous year for being part of a group that allegedly harassed Sargent Kennedy (at the time secretary to the Corporation) at an SDS rally.<sup>67</sup> The rally called attention to Harvard's lack of action after two small children died in a marsh owned by Harvard in Jamaica Plain. About a month after the demonstration, Harvard agreed to fill in the pond.<sup>68</sup>

#### Relationship with Cambridge Residents and CPD

The Harvard police aided the Cambridge Police multiple times. In April of 1970, there was a demonstration in Harvard Square, organized by an unknown group and disavowed by local radicals. The Cambridge Police arrived in a horde, tear-gassing the protesters. According to one person involved in the demonstration "They came from out of nowhere." The truth, however, is that the horde came from Harvard Yard. The Cambridge officers were stationed in the Cambridge Fire Station just outside the Yard, awaiting a signal. When that signal came, they moved through the Yard, aided by a University policeman who unlocked a gate and let them out and into Harvard Square. Tonis explained this collaboration to The Crimson: "the Cambridge Police 'felt it was a necessary tactical movement to prevent injury to the men.""6

During the summer following this incident, according to a *Crimson* reporter, "that indefinable and elusive group of people that made Cambridge The Place to Be for three summers suddenly vanished." The article continues:

"About the only thing that remained the same in Cambridge this year was the police, who 'kept 'em moving' in the Square on weekend nights, who made sure they maintained high visibility at all times, and who one weekday early in the summer arrested 30 freaks on charges of drunkenness in a late-night sweep through the Square. After that episode, which was passed off as 'routine' by police officials, those few street people who remained in the area decided that it was time to pack the old backpacks and find a new city in which to spend the summer. 'I want to enjoy what little freedom I've got left,' said Reggie Young, one of the 'drunks' arrested by the police. 'I can't take this kind of bullshit.' He left town."70

The University's previous efforts to break up gatherings of "hippies, motorcyclists, teeny-boppers and other assorted Harvard Square types," included enacting a HUPD-enforced 8pm curfew on Forbes Plaza (an outside area where the Smith Campus Center now stands). In regard to complaints made about people gathering at the plaza—for destroying shrubbery, urinating, playing music, stealing from local sandwich shops, and trying to sleep there— Tonis said, "I fully realize that these people have to go somewhere, but I feel they should behave themselves—not make a sewer of the place."<sup>71</sup>



The trend of the University and its police being more concerned about protecting Harvard property than the safety of those who were vulnerable in the Cambridge community continued during this time. In the spring of 1971, a collective of women from the Cambridge area—including members of Bread and Roses, Gay Women's Liberation, the Old Mole Women's Caucus, working-class women from Radcliffe College, and unhoused women—gathered inside the building at 888 Memorial Drive and successfully built a Liberated Women's Center there for ten days.

The space hosted dancing, singing, painting, karate classes, childcare, shelter, and safe socialization for lesbians. The Center spoke with members of the surrounding Riverside community, a predominantly Black neighborhood whose Planning Team had for two years asked for Harvard to turn 888 Memorial Drive into affordable housing.<sup>72</sup> They then finalized three demands of the university:

"That Harvard build low-income housing on this, the Treeland Site, in accordance with the demands of the Riverside Community. That Harvard provide a women's center to serve the needs of women of the Boston area. That Harvard give us full use of this building, with full facilities (heat, plumbing, electricity, etc.), until it is necessary to tear it down in order to break ground for the Riverside low-income housing."<sup>73</sup>



However, given that the building was Harvard-owned and used for design workshops and classes at the time, the University called for the eviction of the women. In the meantime, Harvard turned off the power and heat in the building, making it freezing cold for the remainder of the takeover, and "sent in an electrician to padlock the switch box controlling the electricity," which the women removed with a saw.<sup>74</sup>

The women ultimately left in a march on their tenth day because they were informed of a police bust scheduled for that afternoon. They left a letter tacked on the door, which *The Crimson* included in its reporting:

"Dear Cambridge Police. Harvard Cops, and [Metropolitan District Commission]: We waited and waited but you never came. Where were you? Hope to see you in the near future. Keep up the good work. Yours in struggle, (signed) Jane Does 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. The signatures refer to Harvard's 'Jane Do[e]' injunction obtained last Tuesday, a temporary court order directing the women to vacate the building immediately.

[...] Had there been a bust, Tonis said, 'They would have gone in and broken in as they had to and arrested them all, charged them with trespass, destruction of property, and also interrupting a class, which is a special state law.' He added that - despite rumors that the MDC would be called in - 'it would have been the Cambridge police with our assistance on the outside.'

'I thought they were going to stay until the police took them out,' Tonis said. 'They

fooled me. The police are glad. Everybody is glad.' After the women left the building, a handful of Harvard policemen gathered around the locked door until a Cambridge plainclothesman broke into the building with a crowbar. One Cambridge police

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detective, afraid the door was sabotaged, warned a Harvard patrolman, 'Be careful when you open the door. I wouldn't put anything past those bastards.'"<sup>75</sup>

Afterward, instead of working for the needs of the Riverside community or addressing any other demands, the University turned 888 Memorial Drive into housing for graduate students and did not assist in the founding of the new Cambridge Women's Center, which was built in Central Square months later.

These examples are only some of the many cases in which HUPD worked with CPD to protect property, terrorize marginalized groups, and fail to address the root causes of crime and harm during the Tonis era. From then to the present day, the power and jurisdiction of each department have blurred with the other, showing that there should be no distinction drawn between university police and city police departments, rather, both work together as a force of violence within and beyond the walls of the university.



#### New Security Measures

Following a 1973 wave of armed robberies in campus residential areas, the University police implemented the Security Student Patrol, a group of students patrolling respective routes from 12am-8am in search of criminal behavior and fires to report to police officers. Despite undergraduates' feeling that the Patrol was useless,<sup>76</sup> Tonis' force championed its growth as it jumped from 14 students to 114 within a year.<sup>77</sup> A majority of student guards were recruited through the financial aid departments of the College, Law School, Graduate School and Divinity School and were offered a little more than \$3 per hour, which Harvard Law School student and Patrol supervisor Sandy Meier said enriched the guards who were on financial aid.<sup>78</sup>

Beyond its justification as a profitable opportunity for poorer students, Police Sergeant George Hall found that the Patrol's "unskilled tasks"-finding broken locks and fire exits, locking and unlocking buildings, and reporting building damage and "serious crimes"-were effective in "taking non-police functions away from the police. And when [student guards are] off duty, they're just as suspicious as ever. Police go home after work; the student guards are always around." Additionally, Meier stated that "Before the patrol began there was a two-toone ratio between crimes in dormitories and in administrative areas. Now it's one-to-two. We've driven crime into the fringe areas."75

Another example given in support of the utility of the Patrol was that one of the student guards caught a Cambridge youth who was stealing stereo equipment, which led to the youth's arrest.<sup>80</sup> Evidently then, HUPD measured the Patrol's success in how much easier it made their job, how heavily it made students paranoid of each other, where it "drove" crime to, and how it assisted in locking up Cambridge youth—none of which equate to reducing harm. One student reflected: "Cambridge is the sort of urban community where opulent dormitories full of expensive stereo equipment gleam only blocks away from extreme poverty and oppression. But causes were not an issue when the crime wave came late last fall. Its appearance was a fact of life, so the rhetoric was that of fear and paranoia."<sup>81</sup>

Additionally, Harvard piloted a variety of other security measures in 1973 that remain today, including putting fish eye peepholes in dorm doors, locking entryways and

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main doors to Houses, using the electronic card-swipe system to get into buildings, and locking five of eight of the gates around the Yard at night. This was part of a \$2.2 million automation plan that also called for a network of electric computer cables snaking through the underground steam tunnels, so



areas could be surveilled on closed circuit televisions—a move protested by a group called PANIC (People Against National Identity Cards).<sup>82</sup> robbed and assaulted to press charges after police capture suspects. Since a large number of the suspects are teenagers, most people are reluctant to 'get them into trouble.'

And because the recurring belief of the University police and administration was that these preventative measures were to keep "traffic from 'off the streets'"<sup>83</sup> from entering Harvard—in other words, 'protecting' Harvard from the rest of Cambridge—the police force was irritated when Harvard community members did not seek punitivity for Cambridge folks:

"Another problem which [Stephen S. J.] Hall and other University crime fighters bring up is the failure of many of those However, Hall says that many of these 'youngsters' are not just good kids off on a one time fling. 'We're dealing with some pretty hardened juvenile delinquents, a lot of them carrying knives and guns. They're not naive youngsters and we're not going to help them by letting them off easy.' Even in cases where adults were involved, many victims decided not to press charges.'<sup>84</sup>

Thus, while Hall saw Cambridge youth as inherently criminal beyond repair, a "fact of life," and simultaneously championed



#### Hall saw Cambridge youth as inherently criminal beyond repair, a "fact of life," and simultaneously championed the integrity and vulnerability of Harvard youth.

the integrity and vulnerability of Harvard youth, he predictably viewed the sole role of HUPD as protecting its [elite, white, wealthy, male] students by removing from society anybody who threatened those students or their property. The approach of disappearing people perceived as threats is incompatible with a vision of transformative justice and abolition: one in which no one is considered as disposable or unredeemable. It is unsurprising that Hall criticized the decision of Harvard community members to make sure that those teenagers were not imprisoned. When members of the Cambridge women's collective called on Harvard to provide affordable housing—a proposal that actually addresses houselessness, rather than criminalizing it—this proposition was ignored in favor of further investments in policing and criminalization.

#### Transition

On the eve of Robert Tonis' retirement as Chief of Police, Cambridge residents were dissatisfied with policing. As the city crime rate rose, CPD spent the summer of 1974 brutalizing citizens and "engaging in 'racist activities,"<sup>85</sup> and the University Police grew in equipment, membership, and funding; yet were generally deemed insufficient.<sup>86</sup> For example, during the 1974 academic year, Harvard spent over \$1,000,000 on security, only for its losses from theft to grow 46% in value from the previous year.<sup>87</sup> Additionally, in the fall of 1974, the University police were called "dangerously slow" to respond to a woman being assaulted at the Carpenter Center<sup>88</sup> and faced criticism after failing to notify the Kirkland House community of an attempted rape there.<sup>89</sup> As one Crimson writer put it:

"Tonis's successor will inherit cruisers, a professional staff, the security patrol, and new communications system and everything else Tonis has added to the Harvard University Police. But despite all the equipment and manpower, the new police chief will also inherit the task of figuring just what it will take to reduce, or at least level off, Harvard's whopping crime rate."<sup>90</sup>

The solution to this inherited task, according to one reporter, was the next "tough" police chief, David Gorski, "planning a training period during which cops will be schooled in criminal law, in 'stop and frisk' procedures, and in arrest tactics."<sup>91</sup> During the 1974 academic year, Harvard spent over \$1,000,000 on security, only for its losses from theft to grow 46% in value from the previous year.

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#### DAVID GORSKI

The Harvard Corporation appointed a special committee to find a successor to Chief Tonis. In November of 1974 the committee presented its choice, David Gorski.<sup>92</sup> Gorski started as a cop with the Minneapolis Police Department, then became chief of the police department in Golden Valley, a small, wealthy white suburb of Minneapolis.<sup>93</sup> In Gorski's short reign as Chief, he tried to reform and modernize the department, was met with fierce union resistance, and was quickly forced out.

#### **Crime Task Force**

Gorski's first attempt to "modernize" the Harvard Police was to create a "Task Force" made up of five patrolmen, a sergeant, and Lieutenant Larry Murphy wearing gray berets.<sup>94</sup> This Task Force was a big step towards creating the HUPD that we know today, complete with computerized surveillance and harassing patrols. The Task Force patrolled Harvard property every night in plain clothes and unmarked cars. Murphy,

"I can arrest a youth from Cambridge for trespassing, I've done it before and I think it's good. When a student is drunk, I'll just grab his roommate and tell him to take the drunk student home to Mather House or wherever he's going." the leader of the Task Force, entered all the times and locations of "crimes" into a central computer, which would then tell Murphy when to schedule patrols.<sup>95</sup> Apart from modernization, another goal of the Task Force was to "reduce response time" by having officers patrolling the campus constantly.

The Task Force was developed at a time in Cambridge when "violent crime" was thought to be on the rise and more policing was thought to be a way to prevent it. Murphy, the Task Force Coordinator, lamented that when he joined HUPD in 1964, there were very few violent incidents but 30 years in later in 1976, as the policing of Harvard and Cambridge increased, so did the levels of violent crime.96 The FBI listed Cambridge among the top ten U.S. cities with the highest overall per capita crime rate. The Task Force was Chief Gorski's response. The idea was to calculate Harvard's share of the crime rate and track the impact of policing through computerized modernizations.97

#### Discrimination Against Cambridge Residents

The criminalization of Cambridge community members was exacerbated by the Task Force. Murphy, whom Gorski chose to lead the Task Force, was quoted explaining how he policed students versus community members differently:

"I can arrest a youth from Cambridge for trespassing, I've done it before and I think it's good. When a student is drunk, I'll just



grab his roommate and tell him to take the drunk student home to Mather House or wherever he's going."<sup>98</sup>

*The Crimson* reported that undergraduates "comprised only a small percentage of the arrests made by the Harvard Police," and recounted a recent incident where HUPD officers merely confiscated a student's marijuana plants.<sup>99</sup> Gorski himself confirmed that the "nice-guy era" of simply warning non-student trespassers were over.<sup>100</sup> Instead, Gorski said, HUPD was going to start arresting them. Gorski also confirmed that except for when narcotics are being sold where HUPD has "no choice" but to take action, HUPD's stance towards students' drug use on campus was "pretty relaxed."<sup>101</sup>

Even though Task Force Coordinator Murphy boasted about criminalizing Cambridge residents unfairly, he also "guessed" that Cambridge resident teenagers "commit over half of Harvard's crimes."<sup>102</sup>Another population that Murphy was convinced was committing the crimes on campus was Harvard employees, who he said were responsible for most of the larcenies committed.<sup>103</sup> Murphy appeared pleased with the new Task Force; he told *The Crimson*: "A lot of people think we just hand defendants over to the Cambridge Police, it's not true. We're a real police department."<sup>104</sup>

When Gorski first took power as Chief, he emphasized the importance of "community policing" and praised the Student Security Patrol as a "very effective supplement" to HUPD. However, the Student Security Patrol group hit a snag when its student administrators were caught in a financial scandal. In February of 1975 three student patrol members blew the whistle on the operation to Harvard faculty.<sup>105</sup> *The Crimson* investigated and reported that first year

law student Samford L. Maier Jr. had been paying himself for shifts he did not work, paying himself while he was on vacation, and hiring his friends against University protocols.<sup>106</sup> Most would call this behavior "embezzling" but Harvard officials puzzlingly described it as "improper," "careless and casual," but not deserving of criminal charges. Gorski did his own investigation and decided to take "no punitive discipline" against Maier,<sup>107</sup> while regularly overseeing the arrest of Cambridge teenagers for trespassing. As an adult, Maier went on to lead Citibank, develop a reputation as a "corporate fixer" in South America's finance sector, and oversaw the failure of South Canterbury Finance Bank which ended up receiving a \$1.7 billion taxpayer-funded bailout.<sup>108, 109</sup>

#### Gorski's Modernization

Another change Gorski implemented was the funding structure of HUPD. Up until Gorski's tenure, each college and graduate school "bought" a specific amount of policing from HUPD to patrol its individual campus.<sup>110</sup> Gorski, convinced that his new computer system would tell him where to put officers, did not want to be limited by the funding structure. In June of 1975 the Corporation approved Gorski's change, HUPD officers could be deployed wherever, whenever, without regard for funding limitations.<sup>111</sup>

Following the new funding system and the implementation of the Task Force, Gorski unveiled a new computer and software system called the Management Information System. The idea was to centralize the information needed to police: HUPD officers would feed the computer all police logs and daily police activities and the computer would produce statistical evidence about where police were most needed and when. This move was in line with Gorski's reform agenda of "security consciousness," "crime deterrence," and reliance on modern technology. "Thinking about crime is a lot like going for a physical or buying life insurance," Gorski said.<sup>112</sup>

The union accused Gorski's refusal to hire more officers and reorganization of HUPD as a secret plan by the University "to rid itself of unionization in the police force."

# Conflict with the Police Union

Gorski's ideas about reforming and modernizing the Harvard Police came to a head, and eventually their undoing, when it came time to negotiate a new union contract with the Harvard Patrolmen's Association. Negotiations first stalled around the issue of hiring more cops. Lawrence Letteri, president of the union, said that he wanted HUPD to hire twelve more cops, citing a 17% increase in "crime" as the impetus. Gorski disagreed, arguing that instead of hiring more cops the force should focus on crime prevention activities and internal reforms, such as reallocating people according to need, rearranging shifts, and delegating shifts based on ability rather than seniority.<sup>113</sup> "It would be a sad



commentary on the state of affairs here if the University had to hire more security personnel while cutting back on faculty," Gorski told The Crimson.114 The Crimson reported that Gorski and Letteri were also at odds over the future of HUPD in general: Gorski's emphasis on modernizing and moving in a "technically-oriented direction" did not speak to Letteri's old school investment in the police union as the driving force behind HUPD.<sup>115</sup> Because of these disagreements, contract negotiations stalled. The union accused Gorski's refusal to hire more officers and reorganization of HUPD as a secret plan by the University "to rid itself of unionization in the police force."116 The union's distrust and dislike of Gorski grew intense and was shared by HUPD officers, who felt resentful that they were being forced to do much more under Gorski's new high-tech police force without a raise.

In March of 1977 Gorski resigned.<sup>117</sup> The dispute between Gorski and the police union proved impenetrable. "They tell us we're professionals now, that we're supposed

to be scientific cops just like on T.V.... no way," a HUPD officer told The Crimson, speaking about Gorski's re-vamping efforts.<sup>118</sup> The union asserted that Gorski's changes were so drastic that they lowered morale in the force.<sup>119</sup> While the University loved Gorski's new approach to policing, the union resisted it at every step. Months after the union forced Gorski out, Gorski's legacy still haunted the union, with negotiations stalling for months over disagreements about what to do with Gorski's policies.<sup>120</sup> This may have been the first time that the union demanded a say in not just economic conditions of the officers (pay raises, benefits, etc.) but also over the policing tactics and policies used.<sup>121</sup> Eventually the union and acting-Chief Lee reached an agreement which included promises of more officers and a salary increase but which mostly kept Gorski's policies and mission in place.

Even though Gorski was forced out, his transformation of the Harvard University Police Department from "a refuge for portly janitors"<sup>122</sup> into a "professional crime fighting organization,"<sup>123</sup> had taken hold.



#### SAUL CHAFIN

In 1978, Saul L. Chafin was appointed to lead the police department, filling a thirteen month vacancy after Gorski resigned. He came to the force from University of Massachusetts (UMass) Amherst, and according to the president of the UMass student government at the time, "Chafin, who is [B]lack, has been particularly effective in handling several racial incidents on campus recently." <sup>124</sup>

Chafin joined HUPD during a period of rock-bottom morale—or in other words, the force's frustration at its inability to quell Cambridge's crime rate and their subsequent internalized pressure to fix the police's "image."

#### Chafin's Transformation of the Force

In September 1979, Chafin was openly pushing toward permanent professionalization; the department's budget was over \$2 million—in part spent on new emergency equipment, better radios, and new police cruisers—and they took on "a more administrative and computer oriented style,"<sup>125</sup> including the use of software that kept track of crime reports and their locations. A *Crimson* reporter wrote: "Many of the officers are understandably wary about the shift to the more professional image, and nostalgically refer to the days when they could fight crime without relying on computer printouts."<sup>126</sup> Meanwhile, more watchmen and student security guards were hired as the police force remained at 41 officers, which further threatened the ego of officers who felt their duties were being stripped from them.<sup>127</sup> To be clear, this was following a summer where the biggest "crime" complaint in Cambridge was "loud parties and groups of kids on street corners, and peeping toms."<sup>128</sup>

#### Student-Led and Institutional Responses to Harm

As the department fixated on their declining sense of authority and legitimacy, and as students theorized that the department was not accurately reporting crimes,<sup>129</sup> other University members imagined new methods of safety. In the Spring of 1980, women at Radcliffe formed the Students Organized for Security (SOS), an organization seeking "to work with the University to establish prevention programs oriented more towards the protection of people than of property."<sup>130</sup> Their initial set of demands called on the University to better protect its students, to establish a rape hotline, and to establish an office for crime-related problems among students.13

Meanwhile, the Freshman Dean's Office partnered with Chafin to institute a program wherein trained sophomores were to teach first-years about security problems at Harvard and make them "more aware that there is a crime problem in Cambridge."<sup>132</sup> While students involved in security, including those in the SOS, found this program important, one added that the program should not just be about awareness, and "[b]y not choosing a policy of improving physical security measures such as a better escort service or a hotline, the University is continuing its policy of shifting responsibility for safety on to students and denying its responsibility to protect us."<sup>133</sup>

The fallacy of mere awareness being the solution to harm became clearer that fall, when an undergraduate woman was raped in the middle of the night outside Hilles Library in the Radcliffe Quadrangle. Nobody from the university police department's growing

#### The permanent solution is to alter the power structure and attitudes that lead to violence against women.

body of watchmen or student guards was around to help, because no security guards had been assigned to the Quad nor its co-ed housing that was then geographically part of the Radcliffe College campus. Meanwhile, each River House had its own watchman.<sup>134</sup> The Mather House Master remarked that "it was 'ludicrous' for the University to employ six guards to make people walk their bikes through the Yard while the Quad Houses lacked their own permanent guards."<sup>135</sup>
Later that semester, the president of SOS, Elisabeth Einaudi, and Boston Area Rape Crisis Center worker, Peggy Mason, wrote an op-ed for The Crimson contextualizing a "Take Back the Night" women's march planned for that weekend:

"Late-night studying, early-morning jobs, odd-houred athletic workouts and rehearsals characterize student life at Harvard/Radcliffe. For a woman to limit her participation because of the threat of rape or assault is to restrict her education. This is why the University must become involved. We will march on Saturday to assert each student's

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... When the woman who has been raped tries to reintegrate herself into society, she encounters enormous obstacles ... the woman is made to bear society's guilt. It is her fault that she was sleeping in her bed when a man broke in or that she walked home from the library alone.

... We laud the efforts of the police department; however, women are still being raped, assaulted and harassed. The University can do more, both on a direct and indirect level. It can provide floodlights and extend patrol hours. It can also encourage women themselves to take basic steps to overcome the threat of violence and recover their independence-by providing free and easily accessible self-defense courses. The present self-defense course given by Arthur Fitzhugh of HUPD offers a glimmer of hope. However, it is not regularly given and depends on the student's ability to rent necessary equipment, secure a room and guarantee attendance of twenty people.

The above suggestions are only temporary solutions. The permanent solution is to alter the power structure and attitudes that lead to violence against women."136

The SOS again took matters into its own hands the next year as it pioneered a "Safety in Numbers" campaign that encouraged students to walk home in groups, and it distributed pins that indicated the people wearing them were available to walk classmates home safely.137

### Court issues assault complaint against Harvard's police chief

A Cambraille District Court A Cambraille District Court against Harvard University Police Chief Soul L. Chath in connection with an altged Feb 10 asseult on a former student security general. Steven N. Verr. a student at Ibe Graduate School of Arts and Sec-tenders sought a complaint against Chalin on the ground stat the pro-tion a school addite it of the school addite it of the school addite it of the the chief had asseulted him follow-tion a school addite of the school addite it of the school addite it of the the school addite it of the school addite it of the the school addite it of the school addite it of the the school addite it of the the school addite it of the school log a verbal argument. According to court testimony. Verr met Chafta in the chief's office on Feb. 9 to discuss whether the storient had received a letter from the university's Administration toard. Verr told Chafter that he havial doesn't merit an assault and ; battery." Challin's attorney, Wolfer Horr, ley, sarght a dential of the com-plants on the grounds that there was "insufficient credible evi-dence" hat been a "laying on ef-bands." It calso pointed out that Verf. white o cade at the West Point Williary Accomp, had had a proto-lem with other cadeis before he [gf]. had not seen the letter and agreed to return to the chief's office the b) result we the could so energy the linear day. When Very required the next day, the chief informed than that the letter indicated that Very was no longer enrolled as a student and Provenerging bad to be discharged as a charact. jeant. The will other cade is before he ight. Vere, according to tostimony. He further noted that Verr had had. Iten called Chafin a "tackey" server a problem with a Harvard student, real times. A fackey, Chaff not do the server, following the court. "Is the lowest term to de- a kinglity having, saids." In righted grade a person, I was hart by that the called a testimony, I have no op and wanted him out of (the office)." the but offer the complaint to is. Aller Verr ignored a warning suc." He set a blay 20 trial that,-----aud cantumed calling blan a lack: " DEXTER SRNE" geard.

Boston Globe

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### Who Gets **Protection?**

Thus, despite a decade of reforms, increased spending, professionalization, escorts, patrolmen, and student training of "awareness," HUPD and the University proved unsubstantial in protecting its women. They did not adequately shift blame off victims nor remove the pressure women faced to organize against harm they received. And in the years to follow, there was a gruesome trend of HUPD arbitrarily staying out of harm against women.

In 1982, over the course of two months, five women were attacked in Harvard's Arnold Arboretum: three were raped (one at knifepoint), one was assaulted, and one was stabbed. Because the city was responsible

for the security of the Arboretum according to a lease, neither Harvard nor HUPD felt any inclination to assist in security measures there aside from the university donating \$2,000 toward the community's \$50,000 goal for funding patrols.<sup>138</sup>

While HUPD left it to local women from Jamaica Plain, a neighborhood six miles south of Cambridge, to band together and offer self-defense classes to each other at the Arboretum that summer, Chafin invested in a new radio system in September that provided "unprecedented communication with other nearby police departments" and allowed HUPD to "monitor and broadcast to all police agencies in the metropolitan area bounded by Rte 128."139 Among those areas bound by 128 is indeed Jamaica Plain—HUPD decided to monitor, among many areas outside of campus, a community whose rapes and brutalizations they had just decided were not their problem.

In October of 1982, a student in Canaday Hall, a freshman dormitory, was robbed by an armed assailant, and four days later a first-year was followed home from the Science Center by a man who was making lewd gestures to her then tried to block her from getting into her entryway-only fleeing when she started screaming. Upon receiving several complaints from Canaday students, including the two aforementioned, HUPD Captain Jack W. Morse responded, "We don't see where Canaday is a problem," and that "problems 'could have been anywhere."" He continued, "We try to define where the problems are and put the patrolmen there."140

This begs the questions: If a first-year being robbed at gunpoint was not their problem area, if a first-year being followed home and harassed late at night was not their problem area, if a woman being raped at Radcliffe was not their problem area, then what was? What did they consider problems?

Unsurprisingly, a 1984 *Crimson* article reports: "A special meeting of the University security council earlier this month in the wake of two juveniles being charged for raping a freshman in her dorm room resulted in no major changes in security policy, police department sources said yesterday.

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The meeting, which was called by Dean of Students Archie C. Epps III to discuss the January 7 incident[, c]oncluded that so-called acquaintance rape—the type of r[a]pe alleged by the freshman—can best be guarded against by increased awareness among students[,] the sources said."<sup>141</sup>



Thus, even as Chafin urged for the professionalization of the force and the increased presence of student security guards, he repeatedly failed Harvard students and neighbors during a surge of harassment and sexual violence. Apparently, these issues were a lesser priority than material accumulation of the force, and therefore they were portrayed as the responsibility of students, and primarily marginalized groups, to solve. Chafin's tenure as chief demonstrated the inefficacy of giving more money to the institution that has never truly desired to protect its most vulnerable people. Moreover, HUPD's failures starkly contrasted the inspiring, creative solutions that neglected communities built as responses to harm they faced and out of care for each other.

# **PAUL JOHNSON**

After Chafin left the force to become head of police at Northwestern University, Paul E. Johnson was appointed to lead HUPD in November 1983. Johnson, HUPD's second Black police chief, came to Harvard from the Boston Police Department, where he had worked for 25 years, from 1957 to 1982.<sup>142</sup>

During Johnson's 12-year tenure as Harvard's police chief, HUPD officers repeatedly targeted students of color and Cambridge residents. Students and residents filed many reports about this racist discrimination, but the University failed to treat the allegations seriously. Instead, Johnson continually insisted that the officers were just doing their jobs or blamed the problem on a few "bad apples."<sup>143</sup>

# Racist Discrimination within Harvard's Gates and Beyond

One incident from Johnson's first year on the job involved HUPD's arrest of eight Black Cambridge youths in 1984. The young people's parents filed complaints against HUPD for holding their children at the police department without allowing them to call home, as well as arresting them on unreasonable grounds and harassing them during booking. Johnson's response was simply to deny that there were any discriminatory policing practices at play.<sup>144</sup>

Moreover, Black and brown students on campus were often left reeling from frequent harassment at the hands of HUPD and the lack of meaningful change afterwards. For example, in 1989, Cambridge Police, with Harvard Police present, ordered Andre Williams and Craig Cochrane, two Black students, off of a Harvard shuttle and searched their belongings.145 Police said they mistook the pair for a white suspect in a nearby convenience store robbery and defended the officers' behavior as "proper and professional."146 After CPD absolved the officers, the students filed a complaint with Johnson and Cambridge's Police Review and Advisory Board.<sup>147</sup> Even though the students clearly did not match the description of the suspect, and the students were detained and searched without probable cause, the board unanimously decided to dismiss the case, recommending that the "police force institute racial sensitivity workshops for its officers."148

Then, in 1991, an officer stopped a student at the Business School and asked for his student ID. The student, who said he had been stopped by campus police on two other occasions since September, said that the University's policy requiring students to surrender their IDs to police officers on request is being "applied disproportionately to Black male students at Harvard, reflecting their personal prejudices in performing their duty." The student also said that when he refused to show his ID, the officer pushed him against the wall and put a finger in his face. These are just a few examples of the racism that community members experienced from HUPD.149



### Student Complaints and HUPD's Response

HUPD officers also deployed force against Harvard students protesting against South African apartheid. One notable incident in 1985 led twenty students to file formal complaints of police brutality against HUPD. When anti-apartheid activists gathered outside an event attended by a South African government official, Harvard police responded by "enter[ing] panic mode and stag[ing] a military-style break through the protestors and assorted students heading to and from lunch." In a letter to The Crimson, students alleged that HUPD officers charged them, "pushing aside, grabbing, elbowing, choking, and trampling protestors." At least two students were injured and twenty filed complaints with the University's Committee on Rights and Responsibilities, a faculty committee originally formed in 1969 to discipline student protestors. The Committee ultimately placed 10 students on probation

and admonished 11 others. No HUPD officers were punished.<sup>150</sup>

The HBS student, who said he had been stopped by campus police on two other occasions since September, said that the University's policy "applied disproportionately to Black male students at Harvard, reflecting their personal prejudices in performing their duty." Several similar incidents over the next few years demonstrated that HUPD did not

Anti-apartheid activists on campus also alleged that HUPD tapped their phones... they used their dorm phones to discuss plans for a fictitious raid on a University office scheduled at a specific time. HUPD officers showed up at the location at the appointed time.

reform its tactics. In 1987, Harvard's South Africa Solidarity Committee asked Harvard to investigate HUPD's "excessive use of force" against students protesting a speech by another South African government official, but without success.<sup>151</sup> Anti-apartheid activists on campus also alleged that HUPD tapped their phones. Students Anthony Ball and John Ross told The Boston Globe that they suspected that Harvard was listening to private conversations related to their organizing. University officials denied the charges, so Ball and Ross decided to lay a false trail. They used their dorm phones to discuss plans for a fictitious raid on a University office scheduled at a specific time. HUPD officers showed up at the location at the appointed time, fueling the students' suspicions that HUPD was indeed monitoring their telephones.<sup>152</sup>

Perhaps as an attempt to pacify students lambasting HUPD for its anti-Blackness and brutality against protesters HUPD announced a new security plan in February 1992. The plan followed a community-policing model with the hopes of making the department "more accessible to the community." Police officers would have a designated house or dorm, allowing students and officers to become familiar with one another.<sup>153</sup> Two months after the announcement, the Black Students Association distributed a flyer called "On the Harvard Plantation" condemning the hostile environment on campus created in part by harassment Black students experienced from HUPD.<sup>154</sup> Students seemed generally skeptical of HUPD's sincerity when it came to responding to the complaints of BIPOC — Andre Williams was quoted in an article saying that Johnson seemed like "'he was just trying to appease [him]" in conversations following the police officers harassing him on the shuttle bus.

The experiences of white students during this time stood in stark contrast to the constant harassment students of color faced. For example, in November of 1990, *The Crimson* reported the arrest of Bernard Mansavage, a white first-year student, for assault and battery and attempting to evade arrest. He was placed into custody, but his case was ultimately dismissed with the condition that he pay court costs and apologize to the officers involved. The incident was not placed on his permanent record — Johnson explained that, "'He's not a bad kid, there was just some alcohol involved."<sup>155</sup>

In contrast, Inati Ntshanga, a Black student, was treated as a suspect while working for the Harvard University Campus Escort Program (HUCEP). In the course of his duties, Ntshanga was dispatched to take five students to McCurdy Track. Once they arrived at the track, the students, "took off their clothes and ran relays around the track while drinking beer." Ntshanga then left to respond to another request, and a short time later HUPD officers arrived at the track. Ntshanga was told to return, and when he got there, officers told him to, "'put [his] hands where [they] could see them," and questioned him, all while joking around with the five white students.<sup>156</sup>

Throughout the time that Johnson was chief, officers failed to extend the grace and understanding that they had for white students to Black students, despite Johnson's insistence that there couldn't be racism on his force since he was Black.<sup>157</sup> Instead, officers treated Black students as unwelcome guests, which not only made students feel that they did not belong, but was also taken as license on the part of officers to brutalize these students.

# Discrimination within the Department

Moreover, in the early 1990s, complaints of racial profiling and sexual harassment were leveled by Harvard's own security guards. Security guards were not HUPD officers, but they were employees over whom Johnson had disciplinary and firing power. In 1993, *The Crimson* reported that six present and former security guards alleged that, "supervisors mistreated them because they are minorities."<sup>158</sup> The complainants included an Asian-American guard who claimed that she was sexually harassed by a supervisor; a Black guard who argued that he was disciplined more severely for falling asleep at his post than a white guard who was guilty of the same thing; and a Black guard who alleged incidents of racial harassment at the

The Black Students Association distributed a flyer called "On the Harvard Plantation" condemning the hostile environment on campus created in part by harassment Black students experienced from HUPD.

hands of two supervisors. A year earlier, a Black graduate student who worked as a dispatcher for the University' escort service alleged to *The Crimson* that her supervisor was verbally abusive to her "in an incident she termed 'definitely racial."<sup>159</sup> These complaints reinforced student complaints of racist discrimination by HUPD. "The fact that this is coming from the guards inside the department proves our point," said Zaheer Ali '94, president of the Black Students Association.<sup>160</sup>

Such complaints were almost always outrightly denied by guard supervisors, spokespersons for HUPD and the University, or by Chief Johnson himself. The complainants were also subject to retaliation. For example, a guard who charged that her supervisor "issued a sexist command' and referred to her as a 'girl'" argued that the same supervisor retaliated against her by "put[ting] down that I was late when I wasn't."<sup>161</sup> And a Russian guard, who disclosed information to *The Crimson* under the requirement of anonymity due to concerns over his immigration status, was eventually fired by Johnson after complaining that "he was harassed by his supervisors and assaulted by a colleague."<sup>162</sup> Such incidents of retaliation necessitated a University security guard union steward to publicly condemn the "management of the Harvard Police Department to date" because "his bosses engaged in a 'pattern of retaliation' against guards who accused their supervisors of discriminatory practices."<sup>163</sup>

While Harvard officials may have hoped that hiring a Black police chief would insulate HUPD from charges of racist discrimination, HUPD officers continued to profile and harass students of color and community members under Johnson's leadership.

While Harvard officials may have hoped that hiring a Black police chief would insulate HUPD from charges of racist discrimination, HUPD officers continued to profile and harass students of color and community members under Johnson's leadership. Johnson routinely dismissed complaints and failed to hold officers accountable for their actions. Throughout his time at HUPD, the department contributed to an unsafe environment for Black and brown students, Cambridge residents, and employees.

# FRANCIS D. RILEY

When Riley left his position as Lieutenant Colonel and Commander of the Division of Investigations and Intelligence for the Massachusetts State Police to become the HUPD police chief, he entered an embattled campus. A 1995 *Crimson* article asserts that, "One of the most significant issues facing Riley in his new post is the question of improving how police officers handle racially sensitive issues," a reference to the well-documented instances of racial profiling that occurred under the Johnson administration.<sup>164</sup>

Consequently, Riley argued that his tenure as HUPD police chief would be marked by two things: the diversification of HUPD's police force and investment into community policing models that would foster better relationships between the force and the broader Harvard community. Reporting from The Crimson that documents Riley's first year as Chief celebrates his success in implementing such initiatives, arguing that, "Gone are the public complaints of racism against HUPD officers."165 Such reports allege that racism disappeared from Harvard's campus within the short span of a year due to Riley's "no toleration for racial insensitivity" policy, new "multicultural and ethnic sensitivity" training programs, efforts to recruit "women and minorities in order to diversify the department's patrol unit," and his frequent meetings with student leaders and attendance at College meetings.<sup>166</sup>

*The Crimson*'s early reporting on Riley characterizes his tenure as Chief as ushering

HUPD into an era of post-racist accountability, and yet, history proves otherwise. Under Riley's leadership, the well-funded and infrastructurally-upgraded department continues to be plagued by allegations of racial profiling and harassment-from officers, students, and members of the broader community. Meanwhile, the University's administration has allowed HUPD to remain unaccountable to the community it allegedly protects and serves by fighting against public access to police records in court. Finally, the sustained high rate of sexual assault on campus suggests that HUPD's presence is not an active deterrent of violent crime and that other models of community care and violence prevention are better uses of University resources.<sup>167</sup>

# Upgrades to Infrastructure

In 2002, the University substantially invested in HUPD infrastructure by moving the force's headquarters from 29 Garden Street to their current location on 1033 Massachusetts Ave; the 29 Garden Street location was to be extensively remodeled in order to serve as a HUPD sub-station. While The Crimson article documenting this change does not provide the dollars-and-cents breakdown of this infrastructural improvement, the bill was probably quite steep, as, "The new location's technological amenities include a palm print scanner that allows one detective to gain access to stored evidence...[and] more hidden cameras than were used in the old building."168 Other building amenities noted in the article include parking facilities, locker rooms, a gym, more office space, "twelve brand new leather chairs...in the chief's new conference room," and "a temporary holding cell with a built-in bathroom, which [HUPD spokesperson Steven G.] Catalano said will ensure that those detained will not be able to leave."  $^{\!\!\!\!^{169}}$ 

# Calls for HUPD Transparency

Not long after HUPD's office upgrades, sustained calls for HUPD transparency came to a head. In 2003, The Harvard Crimson, represented by the American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts (ACLU-M), filed a lawsuit against Harvard University in order to access more detailed HUPD crime reports and records, rather than the abbreviated police log that HUPD makes available to the public. Despite Riley's emphasis on community policing, which would ostensibly include increased transparency between the department and the student body, Crimson President Amit R. Paley ('04) alleged that for three years the University denied requests to release incident reports "about matters ranging from racial profiling to sexual assault."170

These refusals, according to The Crimson, were justified under the pretenses of Harvard not being subject to public records laws because of its status as a private university, while spokespeople from the University alleged that the release of more detailed information could potentially violate the privacy rights of students whose names and identifying information were included in the records. However, representatives for The Crimson argued "that because HUPD officers are special state police officers deputized in Middlesex and Suffolk counties, they should be subject to the public records law, which stipulates that records produced by agents of public institutions be available



upon request."<sup>171</sup> The case was dismissed by Middlesex Superior Court Justice Nancy Staffier in March 2004, appealed, and ultimately struck down by the Supreme Judicial Court in 2006 on the grounds that HUPD is a private police force.<sup>172</sup>

Harvard's refusal to create avenues of accountability and transparency between the community and HUPD is alarming for a number of reasons. As Paley notes in a 2004

"It's ironic that the same Harvard administrators and lawyers who believe in accountability and openness in government reject those principles when it comes to the University." Crimson article, "Harvard likes to keep its secrets." Paley contextualizes the University's refusal to release HUPD records and reports within a much longer timeline of institutional opacity, including the suppression of information surrounding the University's 1920 Secret Court which expelled students and faculty who were "gay or associating with gays" and then-College Dean Harry Lewis's attempt in 2002 to stealthily alter the College's sexual assault policy so that "some form of 'corroborating evidence'" was required before investigations of "peer to peer assaults" were initiated by the University.<sup>173</sup> Such institutional opacity was especially concerning and hypocritical to Paley given the University's condemnation of the Patriot Act: Paley writes, "It's ironic that the same Harvard administrators and lawyers who believe in accountability and openness in government reject those principles when it comes to the University."174

# Violence on Campus

Even as writers for the publication often celebrated Riley's leadership in his first decade as HUPD Chief, Crimson articles from the early 2000s allude to the ways in which the presence of HUPD was not an active deterrent to crime. For example, a 2004 article characterizes the 2003-2004 school year as "a dark winter. Ten assaults in less than four months have left the Harvard community shaken." In response to this wave of assaults, some of which notably had been perpetrated by a University employee, "HUPD increased the presence of police officers on foot, riding bicycles and in cars across campus, targeting areas where the assaults have occurred and the routes students frequent. Chief Riley said these focused patrols, originally introduced as a response to the assaults, are now here to stay." 175

However, as reported by The Crimson, the safety committee that the University convened in response to this wave of assaults proposed a number of solutions that did not center the police. These included installing 24 hour universal keycard access for students to their dorms (at this time, keycard access was shut off at 2:30 AM); pressuring the City of Cambridge to install more lighting in key areas such as Cambridge Common; and the centralization of University communications regarding assaults so that students were made aware of incidents in a more timely manner.<sup>176</sup> Other proposals, such as the revamping of SafetyWalk, a "volunteer-run walking escort service" that had been allowed to go defunct by the University despite the fact that the University's blue light phones still prominently featured

the number, had the potential to decentralize police responses, even as the proposed iteration of SafetyWalk would have routed calls for escorts through HUPD dispatchers. Such proposals indicate that even the upper echelons of University administration envisioned safety as exceeding the bounds of the Harvard University Police Department.

Despite the increase of HUPD patrols in the wake of the 2004 assaults, sexual violence and other forms of interpersonal harm have continued to persist at Harvard.

Moreover, it is worth noting that despite the increase of HUPD patrols in the wake of the 2004 assaults, sexual violence and other forms of interpersonal harm have continued to persist at Harvard. Citing "Forty instances of forced sexual contact on or near campus [that] were reported to the Harvard University Police Department and other local law enforcement in 2013," The Crimson declared that Harvard had the highest number of sex offenses in the entire Ivy League in a 2014 article.<sup>177</sup> In 2015, The Crimson reported that, "Reported Campus Rapes Nearly Double[d] from 2013 to 2014," that a 2014 campus-wide survey revealed that "31 percent of surveyed senior women at Harvard College reported being victims of some kind of sexual misconduct," and that the overwhelming majority of women who had been raped "did not file a formal report."178 And in 2016, The Crimson reported that the number of campus rapes had increased yet again.179

Such statistics indicate the obvious—that sexual violence at Harvard is a serious problem that needs to be reckoned with. And yet, Riley has been on the record as minimizing the problem and shifting the onus of responsibility onto survivors. For example, in a 2016 *Crimson* article, Riley is quoted as saying, "Although reported crime at Harvard is low (and about 93% of it is property crime), it is important for students, faculty, staff, and visitors to remember we are located in an urban setting and must contend with many of the crime and safety issues that exist in the city."<sup>180</sup>

This statement is minimizing, as it suggests that HUPD's chief of police regards sexual violence as a relatively small problem at Harvard. Furthermore, Riley's assertion that community members must remember that "we are located in an urban setting" suggests that students should regard the city (and by extension, its racialized, working class, and/ or residents experiencing houselessness) as innately dangerous and that the majority of sexual violence is perpetrated by those who do not officially belong to Harvard's community. Both of these intimations are untrue, and carry damning racist and classist undertones. Finally, read in conjunction with the self-defense classes that HUPD offers for Harvard affiliates, Riley's admonishment that Harvard community members must be mindful of living in a city where crime occurs places the responsibility of violence prevention on community members themselves. Thus, the chief's own statements on the record suggest that he regards sexual violence as neither a statistically significant problem on campus nor a problem that HUPD officers are particularly effective at preventing.

# **Racial Profiling**

While the safety of all community members is claimed to be of utmost importance, it is notable that calls in the name of public safety on Harvard's campus have correlated with increased instances of racial profiling. One such instance occurred in 2007, three years after Harvard's "dark winter" of assaults prompted HUPD to increase patrols of routes that students frequent. That year, Cabot House residents called the University police on a group of students from the Black Men's Forum (BMF) and the Association of Black Harvard Women (ABHW) who had convened on the Quad for the annual "BMF-ABHW Challenge."

According to a *Crimson* article, members of were met by the police, questioned about whether they had obtained permission to hold the event on the Quad, and admonished to "keep the noise down" as they "played games of dodgeball and capture-the-flag."<sup>181</sup>Although the students had received the appropriate permissions to hold their event on the Quad, they were still met with a degree of censure by HUPD, who instructed them to keep their volume levels down in a common and outdoor space.

Impacted students condemned the profiling and strongly criticized community members' use of HUPD as the enforcer of racialized assumptions of belonging and unbelonging. Paraphrased in *The Crimson*, then-president of the Black Men's Forum, Bryan C. Barnhill, argued that "the call to HUPD was 'disturbing' because of the 'assumption that we didn't belong there."<sup>182</sup> Moreover, Barnhill asserted that the affected students "want to show that subtle forms of racism exist, such as seeing a group of black people on Harvard property and assuming they don't belong there..."<sup>183</sup> Among the ideas proposed by Barnhill was a "campaign called 'I am Harvard,' aimed at 'eliminating the notion that Harvard isn't a place for minorities, women, and other sorts of people that defy your standard Harvard profile."<sup>184</sup>

In 2014, Black students at Harvard launched a creative campaign that bore striking similarity to the campaign proposed by Barnhill. Called "I, Too, Am Harvard," the campaign raised objection to the fact that, "Our voices often go unheard on this campus, our experiences are devalued, our presence is questioned..."185 The "I, Too, Am Harvard" campaign included a series of photos of Black students holding signs. While some signs featured declarative assertions and quotes from scholars and activists, others directly quoted the various racist remarks said to Black students at Harvard. Among the latter were "You're dressed like you might shoot me right now-such a thug," and "are you all so fast because you spend so much time running from the cops?"186 Signs such as these highlight the fact that the myth of Black criminality continues to underscore many Black students' experience on campus, creating an unsafe environment and opening the door to increased surveillance and policing.

Unfortunately, HUPD and the University act in ways that do in fact criminalize racialized community members. Despite Riley's assertion that HUPD is "committed to providing a safe, secure, and welcoming environment for everyone," the actions and protocols of his officers prove otherwise.<sup>187</sup> For example, in 2019, the building manager for Houghton Library called HUPD on several students of color who had received permission to hang an art installation for their class, "SPANSH 126: Performing Latinidad," in front of the library. According

"The call to HUPD was 'disturbing' because of the 'assumption that we didn't belong there." Moreover, Barnhill asserted that the affected students "want to show that subtle forms of racism exist, such as seeing a group of black people on Harvard property and assuming they don't belong there...'"

to *The Crimson*, the students were asked to prove their Harvard affiliation by showing their student IDs, and during the interaction, the students' professor "expressed the view that the ethnic identity of the students was a factor in the police being called."<sup>188</sup> This instance exemplifies how HUPD is weaponized to make many students of color feel fundamentally unwelcome on their own campus.

Moreover, when the police are called on BIPOC community members, there is always the potential for violence to be meted out. Under Riley's watch, HUPD and its local law enforcement partner agencies have committed such acts of violence against greater Harvard, Cambridge, and Boston community members in the name of "public safety."

In 2018, a Black undergraduate experiencing a potentially narcotics-related mental health crisis was brutalized by Cambridge Police (CPD) officers after his

In 2018, a Black undergraduate experiencing a potentially narcotics-related mental health crisis was brutalized by Cambridge Police (CPD) officers after his friends called Harvard University Health Services (HUHS) seeking medical care for him.

friends called Harvard University Health Services (HUHS) seeking medical care for him.<sup>189</sup>HUHS transferred the call to HUPD, who then transferred the call to CPD, even though, as *The Crimson* notes, "Harvard College has an 'Amnesty Policy" outlined in the student handbook that states that, if a student seeks medical help for an intoxicated friend, neither the student nor the friend will 'face disciplinary action from the College.'<sup>190</sup> As many undergraduates and graduates noted, the transferral of this call over to not one but two different police departments seemed to be the ultimate disciplinary action in this instance.

Furthermore, as The Crimson states, HUPD officers routinely seek to evict persons experiencing houselessness from University spaces available to the public for infractions such as sleeping, even as students guilty of the same "offense" are not responded to in the same way.<sup>191</sup> HUPD's antagonism toward people experiencing houselessness, and particularly Black community members experiencing houselessness, has culminated in violence. For example, a 2020 Crimson article reports that HUPD Officer Anthony T. Carvello has "received criticism for his use of force" in three separate recent arrests of Black men experiencing houselessness at the Smith Campus Center.<sup>192</sup> It bears noting that this particular officer is "one of the department's defensive tactics instructors, a position in which he teaches HUPD officers best practices for de-escalating situations."193

# DURING THE SEARCH FOR A NEW CHIEF, WE CALL FOR ABOLITION

Despite Riley's claim that he would usher HUPD into an era of diversity and community-accountable policing, the same issues that plagued the department before his arrival continue to persist. Internally, the department continues to be characterized as a racist, sexist, and homophobic "Old Boys" Network," as evidenced by a 2020 investigative piece by The Crimson that prompted the University to initiate a review of the department.<sup>194</sup> Within Harvard's campus and its immediate surrounding areas, key swaths of the population are made to feel unsafe and unwelcome by HUPD, and this unwelcome has tipped into outright police brutality on multiple occasions. And within the broader Boston/Cambridge community, HUPD has been condemned for its policing and surveillance of protesters at both a 2019 Anti-ICE protest in front of Amazon's Kendall Square offices and a 2020 Black Lives Matter vigil at Boston's Franklin Park-two neighborhoods at a significant distance from Harvard's campuses.<sup>19</sup>

In partial response to these mounting scandals, in June of 2020, Riley announced that he would be stepping down as police chief after a quarter-century of acting in this role.<sup>196</sup> Harvard University has already begun convening a search committee to find his replacement, and according to *The Crimson*, "The person who the search committee taps to succeed Riley will be tasked with leading a university police department that has weathered criticisms for its treatment of

minority officers and its policing behind the backdrop of a national movement against police brutality."<sup>197</sup> The wording of this statement is eerily similar to *The Crimson*'s write-up of the institutional corruption and malfeasance that Riley was meant to root out when he initially accepted the position of chief of HUPD.

Not much has changed in twenty-five years, and it is for this reason that campus activists and members of the broader community have condemned HUPD as an irredeemable and unreformable institution. In a recent open letter, the Harvard Prison Divestment Campaign and the Harvard Ethnic Studies Coalition called for the abolition of HUPD and extended an invitation to Harvard administration to partner in restructuring the institution along anti-carceral lines, writing:

"Instead of funding police that harass students in the midst of mental health crises, Harvard must invest in mental health care and crisis response that prioritizes care, not punishment. Instead of paying police to harass homeless people in Harvard Square, Harvard must invest in housing security for our most vulnerable neighbors in Cambridge, particularly given the expanse of Harvard's real estate holdings."<sup>198</sup>

And after HAACC's direct action on July 28, 2020, we released the following statement on Medium: "HAACC joins the voices of campus police abolition groups across the country, demanding that universities abandon the misguided practice of handing over the responsibility of student safety to armed cops who are then deputized to terrorize local communities."<sup>199</sup> Such calls attest to the fact that there is a growing population of community members who believe that another world is possible—one without HUPD. "Instead of funding police that harass students in the midst of mental health crises, Harvard must invest in mental health care and crisis response that prioritizes care, not punishment. Instead of paying police to harass homeless people in Harvard Square, Harvard must invest in housing security for our most vulnerable neighbors in Cambridge, particularly given the expanse of Harvard's real estate holdings."

Excerpt from "Black Lives Matter: Abolish HUPD"

# WHAT DOES HUPD DO?

Federal and state laws require HUPD to maintain and to disclose data on campus crime. Federally, the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act<sup>200</sup> requires this among all colleges and universities with federal financial aid programs. In Massachusetts, Section 98F of the Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 41<sup>201</sup> requires colleges and universities with officers to keep and maintain daily records of all crimes reported. The Massachusetts law also stipulates that these records be kept "in a form that can be easily understood"<sup>203</sup> and that they include "all responses to valid complaints received, crimes reported, the names, addresses of persons arrested and the charges against such persons arrested." Finally, the Massachusetts law requires that these daily logs be provided to the public without charge and at reasonable times. There are a few exceptions about what logs must be maintained in this way, including records about handicapped or incapacitated individuals; records about domestic violence, rape, or sexual assault; records concerning the arrest of a person for assault, battery, or violation of a protective order where the victim is a family member; and records about the arrest of an individual under 18.

In accordance with these laws, HUPD maintains daily written crime logs available to the public. Two official logs are maintained at HUPD stations. Additionally, HUPD publishes the last 60 days of logs online in PDF form—though they acknowledge that the online logs are "not the official logs"—and these online versions are removed from the HUPD website after 60 days. Additionally, in our experience, the online logs are subject to publishing delays.

# We analyzed 11,654 logs from over five years (January 1, 2015 through August 16, 2020) of HUPD activity.

In an attempt to understand the activities of HUPD, we analyzed 11,654 logs from over five years (January 1, 2015 through August 16, 2020) of HUPD activity. Initially, we sought to analyze the logs available online (which were in PDF form)—but the deletion of the online logs after 60 days and the difficulty of analyzing the PDFs with traditional data analysis programs rendered this approach difficult. Nevertheless, we were able to obtain and analyze some data through a combination of downloading recent logs from the HUPD website and older logs from web archives.

However, the vast majority of logs for this time period could not be found online. As a result, several of this report's authors con-

#### Police Logs

4/7/16 2:19 PM	SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY	4/7/16 2:19 PM	UNIVERSITY HALL 1 HARVARD YARD CAMBRIDGE	CLOSED
	patched to a report o to be in the area.	of an unwanted guest	in the area. Officers arrived and report ind	ividual was affiliated

atched on the report o vidual and discovered	f an individual possi that he was drinking	bly drinking an alcoholic beverage. Of ginger ale, not an alcoholic beverage.	ficers arrived and spoke
FIGURE BING DESCOTORES			
Incident Type	Date & Time Occurred	Location	Disposition
SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY	11/15/18 4:29 PM	HUIT - 65 OXFORD 60 OXFORD ST CAMBRIDGE	CLOSED
tched to a report from	n an individual that c results as the indi	an unknown individual was sitting in a w vidual was just studying.	rindow staring at them.
red and report negative	e results as the indi	an unknown individual was sitting to a vidual was just studying.	1
		A STORY ST	1
	SUSPECIOUS ACTIMITY	Incident 1999 Occurred SUBPROVISACTMITY 10558 43999 Eched to a report from an individual that ed and report negative results as the indi	Incodent 1999 Occurred Location SUBPROVERATING ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL AL

10/1/15 7:02 AM	ASSIST CAMBRIDGE POLICE	10/1/15 7:02 AM	8 STORY ST 8 STORY ST CAMBRIDGE	CLOSED
Officer assi in.	sted Cambridge Police	officers with r	emoving persons sleeping in an area that they we	re not authorized to be

tacted HUPD about procuring more logs. Although HUPD acknowledged that they have, in the past, sent members of the public Microsoft Excel versions of the logs that cover specific periods of time and/or incidents of interest, HUPD refused to send our team Excel versions of the logs, and they required that we collect this information in-person (in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic) by taking pictures of the official printed-out logs kept at HUPD headquarters.

The HUPD officer coordinating our data collection subjected our in-person visits to last-minute delays after a member of his household was potentially exposed to COVID-19. In light of this, we asked, again, for virtual copies of the logs and/or for another officer to accompany us instead. The coordinating officer refused these requests. After a week of delays, the coordinating officer was able to accompany us to HUPD headquarters to take photographs of the logs (which, it turned out, appeared identical in form to the PDF copies housed online). Needless to say, this risked exposing the two members of our team who took these photographs to COVID-19. Once the pictures were taken, we assembled a transcription team to transfer the data into Microsoft Excel for further analysis alongside the data downloaded from online.

### INCIDENT LOCATIONS IN HUPD POLICE LOGS 2015 - 2016



### INCIDENT CLASSIFICATIONS IN HUPD POLICE LOGS 2015 - 2020



# ANALYSIS OF THE HUPD PUBLIC POLICE LOGS

Incidents recorded in the HUPD logs are classified by type. The majority of records fall into one of the following categories: theft report, suspicious activity, unwanted guest, assist Cambridge police, and noise complaint. Other incident types include motor vehicle accident, trespass warning, vandalism, annoying calls/texts/emails, and fire. A full list of the incident types that appear in the data we collected appears in Figure 1, along with the frequency of each incident type in our data.

We hone in on several of these incident types. The "suspicious activity" type (2,208 out of 11,654 logs) is a broad category that includes reports of suspicious individuals, objects, noises, letters, phone calls, and other notable experiences that prompt calls to HUPD. In order to better understand the nature of these incidents, we conducted an exploratory qualitative analysis of the incident descriptions (longer text that accompanies each log and includes a description of the reported incident). In many cases, the description itself was uninformative (e.g., "Officers dispatched to a report of suspicious activity."), reflected an unnecessary dispatch of services (e.g., "Officers dispatched to a report of a motor vehicle idle in the area. Officers arrived and report individual was an Uber driver just waiting for a pickup."), or reflected a misinterpretation by the caller (e.g., "Officers dispatched to a report of past suspicious activity. Officers arrived and report just young kids trying to fix a chain on their bicycle." "Officers dispatched to a report of an individual repeatedly ringing the doorbell in the building. Officers arrived and reported that the individual was a resident who had been locked out and that all was well," and "Officers dispatched to a report of an individual in the building who may not have authorization to be there. Officers arrived and report individual was allowed to be in the building."). In some of these cases, the individual whose "authorization" was questioned turned out to be a student (e.g., "Officer dispatched to a report of an individual in the area who may not have authorization to be there. Officer arrived and report individual was a student and was allowed to stay in the area.").

This latter category, in particular, begs questions of bias. Who is deemed "suspicious" when inhabiting their own study spaces or entering their own apartment building? What are the ramifications of someone patrolling their classmates and neighbors by calling HUPD instead of being in community with and recognizing these people? What students have their "authorization" questioned by police forces? Certainly, this evokes national incidents of racism succinctly summarized as "existing while Black," wherein non-Black people call police on Black people for engaging in mundane behaviors, such as "sleeping in university common rooms ... moving into apartments, leaving apartments...[or] sitting in their cars"-behaviors that, as shown in the data, have elicited calls to HUPD.<sup>202</sup> Of course, the lack of demographic data within HUPD reports prevents such analyses for HUPD specifically. Nevertheless, the connections are clear and thus worth raising, particularly when such incidents elsewhere have been linked to physical and psychological harms for Black people.<sup>203</sup>

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

BUSINESS MANAGER

To

LEHMAN HALL

February 12, 1943

# HUPD Cooperation in the Time of COVID

		Yesterday at 5:34 Pl	also
is	Re: Contact Us - General Questions		
в 1	To: Steven		
	Hi Mr. Catalano,		
Hat	Thank you so much for helping us get a hold of the records last week. I know that were unavailable when Amanda and Marina came in. Is there a way we could get in person to HUPD?	the January through April 2020 logs a hold of them without having to come	ay.
and a second	Thank you,		)r
pe			manyan
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tin			
hi	Steven Catalano	Yesterday at 5:35 PM	
nr	RE: Contact Us - General Questions	sc	
	To:		
	No.		

Within the "suspicious activity" category, as well, are incidents that suggest mental illness or emotional distress (e.g., "Officers dispatched to a report of an individual screaming and throwing clothes in the area. Officers arrived and report individual gone on arrival") or poverty (e.g., "Officers dispatched to a report of two individuals searching through recycling bins behind the building. Officers arrived and reported individuals gone on arrival").

In these kinds of cases, the data suggest that the individuals are typically "gone on arrival." Otherwise, reports indicate that officers respond by sending the individuals "on their way" or issuing a "verbal trespass warning" for Harvard property. Thus, even in these discrete interactions, we see HUPD prioritizing the protection of property over the needs of community members. As abolitionists, we care to imagine a world where, instead, non-carceral responders assess these individuals' needs and connect them with food, shelter, money, or mental health services.

# Within the "suspicious activity" category, as well, are incidents that suggest mental illness or emotional distress.

Other common and related incident categories are "unwanted guest" (1,224 out of 11,654 logs) and "trespass warning" (374 out of 11,654 logs). Incidents classified as "unwanted guest" involve an individual deemed "unwanted" on Harvard University property. These individuals could be sleeping (e.g., "Officer dispatched to a report of an unwanted guest sleeping on the patio area. Officer arrived, located individual and sent them on their way.") or simply spending time on Harvard University property (e.g., "Officer dispatched to a report of an unwanted guest in the lobby of the building. Officer arrived and report individual gone on arrival."). Typically, the "unwanted guests" are either gone by the time HUPD arrives or are asked to leave. A related incident type, "trespass warning," occurs when HUPD delivers an official trespass warning to the "unwanted guest." It is unclear (based on the data at hand) what exactly warrants a trespass warning over and above simply being asked to leave, although at times the logs describe "suspicious" behavior. However, the choice to escalate to a "trespass warning" can have dangerous consequences.

At times (e.g., when an individual had prior trespass warnings), HUPD escalated the trespass warnings to criminal "trespassing" (66 out of 11,654 logs), which, in some cases, resulted in an arrest. We found several instances where the arrested individual was experiencing houselessness: where the individual's address listed alongside the arrest was "homeless" or a shelter. In one particularly egregious circumstance, HUPD sought a criminal complaint against a 61-year-old person who was houseless, but only after first calling an ambulance to transport them to a medical facility. In another, HUPD, upon finding evidence of a break-in, arrested a 29-year-old person who was found asleep in a basement, and only after the arrest did HUPD search them and find a knife and marijuana (HUPD's choice to note these things, despite the absence of charges for a weapon or marijuana, begs the question of post hoc justification for



their actions). This fits within HUPD's history of violent interactions with people who are experiencing houselessness<sup>204</sup>. In this way, HUPD criminalizes houselessness and poverty, not unlike police departments across the United States. Taken together, the "unwanted guest," "trespass warning," and "trespassing" incident types indicate that many of HUPD's activities involve the violent protection of Harvard University property at the expense of the health, safety, and wellbeing of members of the surrounding community.

We found numerous records where HUPD was involved in handling situations that would be more appropriately handled by other Harvard staff. For example, it is unclear why HUPD would attend to a possible chemical spill (e.g., "Officer dispatched to a report of a possible chemical spill. Officers arrived and spoke to two individuals who state there was an unknown substance found on the floor when they entered the lab. At this time, an individual from [Environmental Health and Safety] was notified and stated the unknown substance was most likely water."), when instead Environmental Health and Safety could be dispatched directly. We also found numerous noise or odor complaints in the data, where the complaints were levied against residence halls (e.g., in Straus Hall, "Officer dispatched to a report of loud noise coming from the common room. Officer arrived and report room quiet."). Surely, residential staff would be better equipped to handle these inquiries.

Many HUPD logs (1,391 out of 11,654 logs) indicate that the incident involved assisting another police or municipal departments (e.g., incident types "assist Cambridge

police," "assist state police," "assist Boston police," "assist other PD," "assist CPD theft report," "assist BPD theft report," "assist transit police," "assist Somerville police," "assist other agency," or "assist police"). The incident descriptions associated with these logs indicate that they reflect typical HUPD activities: investigating complaints, ambiguous noises or packages, "suspicious activity," disputes or arguments, thefts, and the like. Logs classified as assisting other police departments also included taking reports of sexual assaults, towing vehicles, investigating motor injuries, assisting other police departments in making arrests, breaking up parties, and investigating reports of individuals with weapons. One record also indicates that HUPD assisted the Boston School Police in tracking a stolen phone, potentially contributing to the school-toprison pipeline. Another indicates that HUPD assisted in monitoring a "demonstration"-activity which received criticism recently when it was revealed that HUPD officers were present patrolling George Floyd protests in Boston.<sup>205</sup>

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Overall, these records indicate that HUPD regularly assists public law enforcement, an institution with a known history of violence, racism, and harm, particularly in Boston and the surrounding areas.

# TYPES OF ADDRESSES LISTED ALONGSIDE ARREST RECORDS IN HUPD LOGS 2015 - 2020

SHELTER (17.2%)

# Figure 2

This figure summarizes addresses listed with arrest records. When an arrest occurs, the arrested individual's address is listed per Massachusetts state law. A significant proportion of arrested individuals were either experiencing houselessness (had "homeless" listed as their address) or listed a shelter as their address.

# Analyses of Recorded Arrests

HUPD's police logs also record arrests. In our data, there were 116 arrests, representing 1.0% of all records. Along with the arrest record, HUPD records the address of the individual(s) placed under arrest per Massachusetts state law. In cases where the individual was experiencing houselessness, HUPD listed "homeless." We found that the majority of those arrested supplied residential addresses, but a vast number were also listed as "homeless" or provided the address of a shelter. Figure 2 presents a breakdown of these residence types (in cases where the arrested individual was under the age of 18, no address was listed). We also investigated what kinds of incidents resulted in arrests. As described earlier, non-Harvard affiliates' presence on Harvard property can result in arrest, and this is the most frequent incident type for arrests ("trespassing"). A high proportion of arrests were also for thefts, assaults, and "warrant arrest" (when HUPD encounters or questions someone and then discovers there is an active warrant for their arrest). Figure 3 presents a breakdown of the incident types present in HUPD arrest records.

**RESIDENTIAL (65.5%)** 

**UNKNOWN (3.4%)** 

JUVENILE (1.7%)

**HOMELESS (12.1%)** 

Taken together, the high proportion of people experiencing houselessness whom HUPD has arrested, along with the high proportion of arrests for trespassing, suggest that some of HUPD's more violent actions are against people experiencing houselessness.

### INCIDENTS IN THE HUPD POLICE LOGS CLASSIFIED AS ARRESTS 2015 - 2020



# **INCIDENT TYPE**

# Additional HUPD Activities

Of course, the logs-which document complaints-do not capture all of HUPD's activities. HUPD can also be hired to provide "crowd control and security" at University events.<sup>206</sup> This involves paying a patrol officer \$63/hr for a minimum of four hours (including administrative work) or a party detail \$75.30/hr, with higher rates for holidays and overtime. Notably, HUPD's website states that Harvard-only events with more than 100 people or any event with alcohol and more than 100 people may require hiring a HUPD detail. We question which members of the Harvard community (whose "safety" the police details allegedly "protect"207) are actually prioritized when HUPD is dispatched to monitor campus events.

# CONCLUSION

Though HUPD may technically abide by federal and state disclosure laws, the quality of the logs (e.g., numerous, ambiguous descriptions of "suspicious activity") and the conditions of their official maintenance (e.g. not readily available and requiring time-intensive, in-person retrieval) shatter this illusion of transparency. The data we were able to collect did tell a story: one in which HUPD continually prioritized the protection of property over health and humanity and were involved in numerous needless, questionable, and even violent interactions with members of the community.

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100



# FOLLOW THE MONEY

"People asked in other ways, but were always told 'No, how do you pay for it?' So they found the line item."

### - Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

Uncovering HUPD's finances and operations is essential to fully understanding what is at stake in abolishing HUPD and reinvesting in the communities. Knowing HUPD's budget, how it is spent, and how HUPD operates makes it possible to truly envision a more peaceful, community-oriented and egalitarian system for responding to Harvard's "policing needs." However HUPD, a private police force, is not required to release its budgetary information to the public. To repeat for emphasis: HUPD's financial information is not publicly available. Its police officers have arresting power, guns, and keys to all the Harvard dorms, but its budget and internal files are a black box inaccessible to the public.<sup>208</sup>

Despite HUPD and Harvard's refusal to make this information public, it is possible to estimate HUPD's budget. For 2011– 2012 HUPD reported an operating budget of \$12,560,585 for its police and security services, which amounts to \$14.4 million in 2020 dollars.<sup>209</sup> At the time, its personnel included a total of 80 sworn officers and 19 civilian personnel. Today its force appears to be about the same size according to the staff and officers listed on its website,<sup>210</sup> suggesting HUPD's current budget is likely at least around \$15 million.

A comparison of HUPD with other similar police forces suggests this number is in the right ballpark. For example, Yale Police Department (YPD), also a private police force, enjoyed an operating budget of \$10.3 million in 2007 "drawn almost entirely from Yale University funds," and the headquarters of YPD were assessed at over 5.6 million.<sup>211</sup> Assuming Harvard's ratio of police budget to student and faculty population is similar to Yale's police budget ratio and that the budgets have not increased since 2011, HUPD would have a budget of \$21.74 million.<sup>212</sup> Of course, this is likely a conservative estimate because it does not account for HUPD's likely budget increases over the years. By contrast, the City of Cambridge sustains a population of almost 119,000 people and spent \$64 million on its police force in FY20. If Harvard's ratio of police budget to population is similar to Cambridge's, HUPD's budget would be \$19.28 million.213

Beyond these overall budget numbers, there are specific budget items the public can deduce about HUPD's operations.

# WHUPD POLICE LOG

9/26/15 2:56 AM

EVENT TYPE:

# PROPERTY DAMAGE

Officer dispatched to a report of vandalism to a fence. Officer arrived and report no vandalism done to fence, it was just old and rotted.

anne bereit mit beite beite bereit bereit werten eine eine eine eine beite beite beite beite beite beite beite

# **HUPD ESTIMATED SALARIES**



According to the 2017 HUPD union contract, a HUPD officer's starting pay in 2019 was \$28.33 an hour, which amounts to a yearly salary of about \$54,393.60.<sup>214</sup> This number would be higher for officers with experience or technical training. After two years on the force, the yearly pay increases to \$76,742.40.<sup>215</sup> An officer who becomes an Acting Sergeant receives this regular rate plus 20% for the period worked, or about \$92,000. These are almost certainly underestimations as they don't account for overtime. Further, assuming pay rates haven't decreased since HUPD's reporting in 2011, its Chief of Police could be paid over \$200,000 per year, while a shift supervisor could be paid over \$90,000.<sup>216</sup>

These salary assessments don't even begin to account for all the vehicles, supplies, and other equipment - including weaponry that Harvard students' tuition dollars and the endowment returns pay for. HUPD authorized the use of sidearm automatic weapons, collapsible batons, and chemical spray as of 2011, and it's possible the list of authorized weapons has grown since then. At the time of reporting, HUPD also had a patrol fleet of 25 cars, vans, trucks, SUVs and motorcycles, as well as 20 bicycles. Even with conservative estimates, the original value of HUPD's fleet would be over half a million dollars.<sup>217</sup> The additional costs of the department's uniforms, guns, batons, pepper spray, TASERs, and other equipment add up quickly.

Why are HUPD expenditures so important? Because fifteen to twenty million dollars is a lot of money — and it could be funding

The Phillips Brooks House Association is a student-run, community-based non-profit at Harvard that manages over 80 programs with 1500 volunteers. It had expenditures of just over \$2 million as of a few years ago. Thus, even cutting HUPD's budget in half would open up an estimated \$7.5 to \$10 million for positive programming such as this.

things other than Harvard's private police force. Students, faculty, and staff persistently run into so-called budget constraints from Harvard when seeking funding, even for the most basic expenditures such as wages. For example, prior to unionizing, many students at Harvard were paid as low as \$12 per hour for their work.<sup>218</sup> During the pandemic, law students were advised to rent their own office space if they couldn't study at home. Harvard seriously considered furloughing maintenance workers in the middle of a global pandemic and recession. Other campus initiatives are severely underfunded compared to HUPD. The Phillips Brooks House Association, for instance, is a student-run, community-based non-profit at Harvard that manages over 80 programs with 1500 volunteers, but had expenditures of just over \$2 million as of a few years ago.<sup>219</sup> Thus, even cutting HUPD's budget in half would open up an estimated \$7.5 to \$10 million for positive programming such as this.

Transparency around HUPD's budget and operations is also important because HUPD doesn't just operate on campus - they police far beyond the buildings and borders of the University. HUPD in fact boasts that "HUPD officers are sworn special State Police officers with deputy sheriff powers" which grants them "the authority to respond to any crime on campus and any 'breach of the peace' on city streets in Cambridge, Somerville, and Boston."220 Just as the public has a right to inspect and demand changes to Cambridge's police budget, as its citizens have been doing<sup>221</sup>, the same community members are policed by HUPD and should have equal rights to its data.

Finally, comprehension of HUPD's budget will advance the current movement for defunding the police. Since HUPD was formalized in the 1930s, public discourse around and understanding of the police has changed. The nation is rising up. People are resisting the racist, classist, and sexist systems that police forces embody. Now, in the midst of the uprisings, and a permanently changed political landscape, it is time to seriously reevaluate the HUPD budget and defund Harvard's police force. In these defunding conversations, it is helpful to present numbers, calculations, charts, graphics, and persuasive reasoning to show why a decrease in HUPD funding and reinvestment in more affordable, cost-efficient, and effective alternatives is necessary.

Harvard should not be deploying its police officers against Black and brown and poor people in the area in the name of "public safety." When Harvard looks to budget changes in the face of this current economic crisis, we must ensure that HUPD's budget is on the chopping block. Cutting funding from HUPD, or abolition altogether, could pave the way for Harvard instituting community care alternatives—such as health and mental health services, housing services, and sexual assault recovery resources.



When Harvard looks to budget changes in the face of this current economic crisis, we must ensure that HUPD's budget is on the chopping block. Cutting funding from HUPD, or abolition altogether, could pave the way for Harvard instituting community care alternatives—such as health and mental health services, housing services, and sexual assault recovery resources.

# HUPD POLICE LOG 9/15/15 3:02 AM EVENT TYPE: SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY

Officer dispatched to a report of a restroom door being locked for a substantial amount of time. Officer arrived and report door was not locked it was just stuck.

# **ABOLITION AS** HEALTHCARE

Medicine is built upon investigating, innovating, and implementing ways to relieve suffering. As medical students, we were drawn to the profession for its purported commitment to indiscriminately serving our community through careful diagnosis and treatment of root causes of suffering. And vet, our University repeatedly excludes one deadly offender with lifelong health effects for countless Americans from discussions in our classrooms and hospitals. One in 1000 Black men will die from it in their lifetime.<sup>222</sup> There is no vaccine or medication for it, but we have known its name for a long time: police brutality.

# A PUBLIC HEALTH EMERGENCY

The annual number of murders by police officers rivals the number of deaths resulting from other major public health threats such as measles, mumps, pneumonia, and influenza in young people.<sup>223</sup> In 2013 alone, injuries suffered from police violence led to a conservative estimate of more than 100,000 emergency room visits.<sup>224</sup> Alarmed by these statistics, scholars from Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health called for data on police killings to be considered a "notifiable condition," which means it would be required by law to report to governmental public health agencies for careful and public monitoring. In other words, police killings are a public health issue.

The hyper-surveillance of Black, Indigenous, and Latinx communities leads to their disproportionate representation in police violence statistics. For example, in 2019 alone, approximately 1000 people had their lives taken by law enforcement officers.225 Black individuals made up nearly one-quarter of those individuals; despite making up only 13% of the general population. Black individuals are 3.5 times more likely than white individuals to be killed by police and less likely to be armed when killed.<sup>226</sup> The threatening existence of police causes harmful chronic stress among people of color.

One in 1000 Black men will die from it in their lifetime. There is no vaccine or medication for it, but we have known its name for a long time: police brutality.

Experiencing or witnessing police brutality is associated with adverse physiological responses that increase risks for conditions such as diabetes, stroke, ulcers, cognitive impairment, autoimmune disorders, accelerated aging and death.<sup>227</sup> Exposure to police killings of unarmed Black men also harms the mental health of Black Americans in the general population.<sup>228</sup>

I once sat on a bench outside the Cambridge Public Library after 🕷 getting off a bar shift at 2am to enjoy a meal I 👔 wasn't able to eat during work. Why did HUPD feel the need to park their car next to me and roll their windows down to watch me do this? 🛽 Obviously they take issue with unhoused community members, which I'm not, but their hyper vigilance of the activities of unhoused folks caused them to treat me the same SCHOOT

**LOCAL RESIDENT 2020** 

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For people of color who live with mental illness, there is an additional heightened risk of being a victim of police interactions and violence. This exacerbates psychological distress and is associated with increased suicidal ideation, attempts and psychotic experiences.<sup>229</sup> Yet, the police force at large has become a proxy for frontline mental health workers despite receiving little to no training in this area. In Cambridge, only one third of officers have received a mere 40 hours of training in mental health.<sup>230</sup> According to a 2015 study conducted by the Treatment Advocacy Center, people suffering from untreated mental illness comprise at least 25% of all fatal interactions with law enforcement.<sup>231</sup> As Christopher White of Mental Health Foundation writes, police intervention can escalate the situation and exacerbate the distress for the individual with mental illness.<sup>232</sup> Common police responses to mental health crises include yelling, using excessive force, and aiming a gun, which may trigger victims to react in fight or flight response. There is a clear need for de-escalation tactics by trained mental health professionals in these moments; not further arrests, exhibitions of force, and least of all, shootings. These interventions have the consequence of increasing the criminalization of mental illness. A prime example of these tragic results occurred not too long ago in the Boston community.

# DIAGNOSING A BROKEN SYSTEM

Terrence Coleman, a young Black man residing in Boston, was only 31 years old when his life was cut short by the Boston Police Department (BPD). At the time of his death, Coleman was experiencing symptoms related to paranoid schizophrenia—a disorder characterized by delusions and hallucinations. On October 30, 2016, his mother called 911 in an attempt to intervene in the crisis—a decision that, tragically, proved fatal.<sup>233</sup>

Two days prior to the call, Terrence's mother, Hope Coleman noticed that her son became withdrawn, uncommunicative, and unwilling to come inside from the cold. After talking with Terrence's therapist, Hope called 911 to ask for medical assistance, and specified that she did not need or want police officers to respond, warning that

# "I regret calling for help...It's on my conscience. I should've never called, but my son needed help. I didn't ... want to kill him."

Terrence would not react well to seeing the police. By the time EMTs arrived, Terrence was inside his bedroom, and calmly refused to be taken to a hospital. Terrence then tried to leave the apartment and was stopped by a police officer in the foyer of the building. When EMTs and Terrence started arguing, hearing raised voices, multiple police officers barged in, tackled Hope and shot Terrence multiple times with a gun. Hope denies that her son showed violent behavior or has any history of engaging in violent behavior.

"I regret calling for help...It's on my conscience. I should've never called, but my son needed help. I didn't ... want to kill him." These were the words spoken by Hope while discussing a civil lawsuit she filed against the city of Boston.<sup>234</sup> The There is a clear need for deescalation tactics by trained mental health professionals in these moments; not further arrests, exhibitions of force, and least of all, shootings. These interventions have the consequences of increasing the criminalization of mental illness.

Boston Police Department clearly has the blood of Terrence Coleman on its hands. After learning of Terrence's illness, Hope's communication with his therapist, and the deployment of police despite Hope's wishes, the situation begs several questions: Why did the police respond to this incident? Why did Hope feel that 911 was the only number she could call for help? What would have happened if trained mental health workers had responded to the incident instead? As medical students, we ask: what is the point of studying to treat Terrence Coleman's schizophrenia if we don't condemn the system that actually killed him? So many wounds, deaths, and traumatic experiences could have been prevented had our healthcare system not been entangled with a racist, militarized institution.

In May 2020, the leadership of the American Medical Association (AMA) released a statement declaring that police brutality and racism are critical determinants of health in Black and Brown communities.<sup>235</sup> They specifically urged institutions to "review and reconsider their policies and relationships with law enforcement that may increase harm to patients and patient communities." We stand in categorical support of AMA's declaration and seek to uphold our responsibility as future physicians in ensuring that their call to action be taken seriously by Harvard. As future members of the health workforce who have pledged to "do no harm," we must acknowledge that the carceral state has actively harmed, oppressed, and terrorized society's most vulnerable communities. We must work to abolish that carceral state, as it is the root cause of what killed Terrence Coleman, and so many others.

# HUPD IS THE PROBLEM

To do this, we must start by questioning why it is that the police are deployed on college campuses. As a functional extension of the city police department, the Harvard University Police Department is not exempt from the critique of police above. HUPD receives the same training as the Cambridge Police Department (CPD), patrols with firearms, and regularly assists the BPD, CPD, MA State and Transit Police in arrests. This unequivocally justifies HUPD's classification as a law enforcement agency that inflicts violence not only onto the student body, but also the most marginalized communities in the greater Boston area.

In May 2020, the leadership of the American Medical Association (AMA) released a statement declaring that police brutality and racism are critical determinants of health in Black and Brown communities.

This statement was corroborated by HAACC's recent effort to obtain HUPD's police logs. Analyses of these documents revealed that some of HUPD's most frequent actions include removing "unwanted guests," monitoring "suspicious activity," and responding to "disturbances." It is both notable and alarming that their logs do not allow for the categorization or flagging of an event as being related to mental health,

# HUPD POLICE LOG

3/11/15

2:49 PM

EVENT TYPE:

VANDALISM

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Officer dispatched to take a report of vandalism to breakfast food. given the high incidences of interactions between law enforcement and persons with untreated mental illness. This demonstrates that HUPD either does not know how to treat cases of mental health with the sensitivity they require, or that they simply do not care enough to do so.

In one incident, HUPD reported that they assisted CPD in responding to an individual "yelling and causing a disturbance in the middle of the street." That individual was gone by the time they arrived. The CPD has publicly touted the mental health training they deliver to their force, which includes HUPD.<sup>236</sup> But after filing a report to receive an official itinerary of the training from the CPD, we learned that the most recent trainings in 2019 and 2020 dedicated less than five hours toward "de-escalation," four hours toward "implicit bias," and zero toward "use of force." While we cannot know for sure if the aforementioned incident was a mental illness exacerbation, we do know that HUPD would not have had the skills to help someone in need of care. As the system currently stands, people living with mental illness are brutalized rather than protected, and are made threats rather than given treatment.

# A NEW APPROACH TO CARE

Ruth Wilson Gilmore, famous scholar-activist, defined racism as "the state-sanctioned and/or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerabilities to premature death."<sup>237</sup> The Public Health Critical Race framework applies this definition to understand that race itself is not a risk factor, but rather that proximity to violent social contexts is concentrated among Black and Brown communities.<sup>238</sup> The violence and detrimental health effects wrought by police officers can be understood in this framework as an outcome of a system based on control, exclusion, and state-sanctioned violence.

Through this lens, abolition is the upstream intervention required to end the violence while traditionally viewed as the lack of carceral institutions, Gilmore urges us to view abolition as "not just the closing of prisons but the presence, instead, of vital systems of support that many communities lack."<sup>239</sup> Similarly, Yoshiko Iwai, Zahra Khan, and Sayantani DasGupta propose a practice of Abolition Medicine, which would "interrogate the upstream structures that enable downstream violence, like police brutality, in addition to reimagining the work of medicine altogether as an anti-racist practice."<sup>240</sup>

Abolition work understands, contextualizes, and provides solutions to poverty, mental illness, trauma, and harm. It includes safe, secure, and permanent housing; it includes community-based care; it includes engaging, culturally and socially relevant education practices; it involves trust and accountability for survivors of harm. Harvard University has the chance to implement these practices for the health of all of their students and community members by enacting HAAAC's demands. The Public Health Critical Race framework applies this definition to understand that race itself is not a risk factor, but rather that proximity to violent social contexts is concentrated among Black and Brown communities. The violence and detrimental health effects wrought by police officers can be understood in this framework as an outcome of a system based on control, exclusion, and state-sanctioned violence.

# HARVARD'S BLACK BOX

The Harvard University Police Department looks like a public police force, operates like a public police force, but is not regulated like a public police force. Like most private university police forces in the United States, HUPD is exempt from the public records laws that govern public police forces. Harvard police carry guns and can arrest students and non-students alike, but they are still not required to release their records to either the public or the press. They perform coercive, and sometimes spectacularly violent, functions, and they have no accountability to the public as a private university police force.

The issue of private university police has been the subject of numerous court cases in recent years. In 2016, the Indiana Court of Appeals ruled that the University of Notre Dame's police department was subject to public records laws. In its ruling, the court argued that, "There is a danger that the public will be denied access to important public documents when a private agency is exercising a public function."<sup>241</sup> This ruling was later overturned by the Indiana Supreme Court.<sup>242</sup>

In other states, the outcome has been different. In 2016, the Salt Lake Tribune sued Brigham Young University for its police records after a sexual assault victim named Madi Barney sued BYU for expelling her. A Utah judge ruled that the records should be public, but BYU appealed the ruling in the state Supreme Court. In the meantime, the Utah legislature passed a law (SB197) making private university police subject to the state's public records laws. In December 2019, the Utah Supreme Court declined to decide the case, noting that the new law, "unequivocally include[s] the University Police as a 'governmental entity' subject to the statutes disclosure provisions."<sup>243</sup>

The issue of private university police has been the subject of numerous court cases in recent years. In 2016, the Indiana Court of Appeals argued that, "There is a danger that the public will be denied access to important public documents when a private agency is exercising a public function.

Unlike Harvard, the Yale University Police are subject to public records laws. In 2008, Connecticut's Freedom of Information Commission ruled that the Yale University Police Department functioned as a "public agency" performing a "fundamental government function," and was therefore bound by public records laws.<sup>244</sup> Yale decided not to contest the ruling. In a press statement, the University acknowledged "the unique and public law enforcement role that its officers play in the City of New Haven."<sup>245</sup> At least seven other states have required private university police forces to abide by public record laws.<sup>246</sup>

Harvard has fought against the disclosure of police records. The Harvard Crimson, the college student newspaper, sued the university in 2006 for information on HUPD force by the college's newspaper, under the state's public request law. In 2003, the newspaper sought certain documents from HUPD, the Boston **Police Department and** the Cambridge Police **Department. HUPD** was the only police department to deny the request, arguing that [the law] did not apply to them, as a private institution.

In Massachusetts, state law only requires that university police keep a daily log of all crimes reported to them, which is also in keeping with the Jeanne Clery Act, a federal law requiring universities to publish statistics about crime on campus.<sup>247</sup>

In contrast, Harvard has fought against the disclosure of police records. *The Harvard Crimson*, the college student newspaper, sued the university in 2006 for information on HUPD force by the college's newspaper, under the state's public request law, G.L. c. 66, § 10.<sup>248</sup> In 2003, the newspaper sought certain documents from HUPD, the Boston Police Department and the Cambridge Police Department. HUPD was the only police department to deny the request, arguing that G.L. c. 66, § 10 did not apply to them, as a private institution.

In suing for the records, The Crimson argued that HUPD officers were deputies in Suffolk and Middlesex counties and authorized to act as public officers in the state "with broad police powers unique to public law enforcement agencies."249 The court dismissed the case and The Crimson appealed. The Supreme Judicial Court agreed with the lower court's dismissal of the case, finding that because Harvard University is a private institution and the "public records law, and its implementing regulations, are applicable to documents held by public entities," the law could not be used to compel a private university to make its records available to the public.

The Massachusetts courts reason that private universities like Harvard and Northeastern are not required to comply with public re-

cord laws because such private police forces have fewer powers than state, municipal, and county police forces. But many disagree with the courts, citing that these private university police are authorized by Massachusetts General Laws 22C, § 63. This law allows the state to appoint campus police officers as special State police officers so that the university police may "have the same power to make arrests as regular police officers for any criminal offense committed in or upon lands or structures owned, used or occupied by such college, university, or other institution or hospital." The appointments last for three years and the university must pay a fee to the county for each appointment. In addition, many HUPD officers are deputized in Middlesex and Suffolk counties.<sup>250</sup> As sheriff deputies, they are "authorized both to serve criminal process and to make arrests in certain circumstances."251

Since the Crimson case was decided by the Supreme Judicial Court, **Massachusetts legislators** have introduced numerous bills to amend public records laws to include private police, but those bills have never become law. Representatives of the Association of Independent Colleges and Universities in Massachusetts, of which Harvard is a member, have lobbied and testified against these public records bills.

Since the *Crimson* case was decided by the Supreme Judicial Court, Massachusetts legislators have introduced numerous bills to amend public records laws to include private police, but those bills have never become law.<sup>252</sup> Representatives of the Association of Independent Colleges and Universities in Massachusetts, of which Harvard is a member, have lobbied and testified against these public records bills.<sup>253</sup>

HUPD's ultimate problem is its existence, not its repeated refusal to be transparent with the public. There should not be a private university police force, no matter how transparent. That being said, it is nevertheless concerning that HUPD and the University guards its police records so fervently despite HUPD's so-called mission to keep the community safe. It makes one wonder, what exactly is HUPD hiding? A truly safe campus would allow avenues of accountability to ensure the police are not abusing their power, but such accountability is difficult to realize when the police hide much of what they do behind their legally-protected status. As such, the University must immediately subject HUPD to public records requests, even if Massachusetts law does not require them to do so.

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# THE MORAL CASE FOR ABOLITION

Historically and contemporaneously, institutions like Harvard have operated as the intellectual foot soldiers for the carceral state, creating and maintaining the ideologies that continue to undergird its violent workings. Through much of its knowledge production, the academy has functioned as a site of legitimation for punitive, anti-Black laws and policymaking, the result of which has been the massive expansion of the prison-industrial complex in all its death-dealing forms. In this current moment of reckoning, Harvard has the opportunity to be accountable to its community. It can engage in reparatory work for its complicity in naturalizing these violent systems of policing, beginning with abolishing its police force.

In conversation with the Harvard Prison Divestment Campaign, abolitionist organizer Mariame Kaba made the case that universities can be critical as strategic sites of sustained intervention. The university in its most liberatory form can be a locus for radical imagining and experimentation; it can be a space in which challenges to the oppressive status quo can be forcefully articulated, where novel and creative insights can be generated, and where new ways of caring for one another can be modeled.

Abolitionist Ruth Wilson Gilmore has repeatedly emphasized that abolition is about presence, not (merely) absence; it is about building life-affirming institutions and prefiguring the world we would like to inhabit.<sup>264</sup> Toward that end, abolishing campus police presents us with the occasion to not just eliminate a violent institution but to reimagine community safety, practice

non-punitive, victim-centered forms of accountability including restorative and transformative justice, and build life-sustaining institutions that allow our communities to have their needs met and thrive. The abolition of campus police along with the implementation of non-carceral, community-led approaches to harm offers us the opportunity to make the case to those beyond the university's walls that a world without police and prisons is indeed possible. It shows that we can transform the conditions that make resorting to carceral "solutions" appear necessary and build relationships that are rooted in care, not violence.

A continued reliance on violent policing to address harm evinces not only a profound failure of moral imagination and leadership; it betrays the promise of an educational institution. For one thing, a sustained dependence on the violently militarized police to resolve instances of violence exposes a profound breakdown in the assertedly analytical and truth-seeking functions of the university. If the university were truly dedicated to caring for its students and community members, it would actively engage with and address the root causes of harm; it would not deploy a force that has been proven to actively perpetrate and perpetuate that harm. Further, if we cannot conceive of and construct radically different, freedom-expanding futures at a university-a setting putatively centered on in-depth study and speculative inquirythen the institution has failed to live up to its purported mission. Most importantly, as long as the institution refuses to support and elevate efforts that seek to disrupt the epistemic consensus around what is possible, the university is derelict in its ethical duties to the community.

Finally, as activists have articulated, budgets are moral documents; they are statements to the world about what and who we value. Amidst the impending financial crisis brought on by the



coronavirus pandemic, Harvard has already signaled that it will be implementing various cost-saving initiatives that may include program, staff and wage cuts. If such austerity measures leave Harvard's campus police force untouched, then the University is indicating that its moral priorities center around a continued investment in violent, anti-Black institutions at the expense of efforts that would advance the material needs of its community.

Ultimately, for better or worse, when Harvard acts, the world watches and institutions follow. For the entirety of its history thus far, Harvard has failed to wield such power for the collective good, instead opting to produce and promote scholarship and discourse that has rationalized and perpetuated the prison industrial complex, a system it continues to profit from. Harvard has the opportunity to take steps to right these wrongs. Harvard can take corrective action for its persistent role in producing and reproducing the logics and technologies of the carceral state by dismantling its police force and embracing non-punitive, community-centered interventions to harm. In doing so, Harvard can demonstrate moral leadership in realizing an expansive vision of what it means to be in community with one another without relying on violence workers. Until Harvard acts accordingly, one can only conclude that the institution views some members of its community as disposable and as worthy of suffering harm, and that Harvard has no concern for the wellbeing of its Black students and community members in particular.

HUPD POLICE LOG 09/02/2017 10:42 am

# SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY

244 81 2

EVENT TYPE:

Officers dispatched to a report of an individual in the restroom for over an hour. Officers arrived and report door was locked but no one was inside.

### **Endnotes**

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### FOLLOW THE MONEY

208 Harvard and HUPD's refusal to release these numbers is likely similar to its resistance to making changes to Harvard's investments. Harvard University's various endowments, which amount to \$41 billion, are a controversial topic. Most recently, a group of student organizers that comprise the Harvard Prison Divestment Campaign has called upon the University to divest its holdings from the prison-industrial complex. The University has refused, with spokespeople such as President Larry Bacow and Senior Fellow William Lee, a member of the Harvard Corporation that manages the endowment, repeatedly claiming that the endowment is apolitical and should not be used for social justice movements. Alexandra A. Chaidez, "Bacow Tells Prison Divestment Group He Responds to 'Reason,' Not 'Demands'" The Harvard Crimson (February 15, 2019), https://www.thecrimson. com/article/2019/2/15/bacow-meets-with-divest/. Efforts to uncover HUPD's funding streams and expenditures may also be painted as an effort by rogue, marginalized political justice groups to control Harvard, instead of the essential accountability and transparency move that the entire Harvard community needs.

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### **APPENDIX: HUPD STORIES**

### HUPD STORIES

#### Testimony from Harvard Professor:

I had a few encounters with the Harvard Police. I teach a class about performance. It's an active performance. Students work very hard on it every year. Typically, towards the end of the semester, we do a performance outside, on the Yard. Every single year, we have had some sort of interaction with the Harvard Police during this performance.

Once, during this performance, the Harvard Police asked me what I was doing. I thought, What does it look like I'm doing? I told them that I was teaching. They continued to watch us and follow us around the Yard. They also demanded that students stay close to their backpacks, which was challenging since the students were carrying props for the performance.

What struck me as particularly interesting was that the Harvard Police were singling us out and wasting our class time. We're a class of predominately Black and brown students. There were other students, white, in the Yard, playing cricket even, and the Harvard Police paid no attention to them.

Every year that I teach this class, it escalates. In 2017, the students, per my instruction, were creating an installation in the yard. The Harvard Police demanded that we take our stuff down. They said we don't have permission to be on the yard. It was a whole thing. I was forced to reach out to the Dean of the College, a white dean, to handle the situation. Only then did HUPD allowed us to continue.

This past year, I took preventative measures. I was sick and tired of facing this harassment from the police. It's especially concerning for my class because attracts a lot of undocumented students and students of color who already have bad experiences with the police. We only have an hour and twenty minutes for this class. I didn't want to waste that time on dealing with the Harvard Police. I took preventative measures by talking to Yard Operations ahead of time. I reserved the day, I reached out to multiple deans, and I wanted to make sure that this was the year that the Police would finally let me teach my class in peace.

I get confirmation from the Yard Operations manager. She went my office. She wrote down everything that we were planning to . I gave her a schedule. I told her which locations we would be walking through on the yard and what the nature of the performance was. I told her where we would hang the different banners and installations.

Then, the day of the performance arrived. The students were supposed to hang the banners on the trees outside of Lamont but it was under construction. So we decided to hang the banner on the fence instead. I notified Yard Op of this change. The three students, three young women of color, all of whom happened to be undocumented,

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hung the poetry installation on the fence. Meanwhile, I am sitting in my office preparing other aspects of the performance with our guest artist and a group of students. All of a sudden, one of the three young women shows up to get me, telling me that the Harvard Police demanded that they take their banner down.

So, I left my office to, once again, to navigate the tense and difficult situation where the Harvard Police refused to let my class go on in peace. I meet with the Police and I ask what is the problem. They said that "you do not have permission to hang our signs." They asked for my and my students ID, telling me that there is no way that I have permission to do this. One of the men with the police officers—not sure who he was though he was with them— was getting in my face quite aggressively. They forced the students to take the art down and once again, I had to call a white dean to 'defend me.' The Police could not believe that I could possibly be a professor at Harvard; that is not how they read me.

So I asked them if they were racially profiling my students. They immediately became offended. They decided that I was escalating the situation and they called for back-up. So two more HUPD officers showed up. They tried to explain to me that it was not about race; it was about permission to use the Yard in this way. I explained to them that I had permission from Yard Operations. I even showed them the emails with Yard Operations.

Still, the dean had to come down and talk to the officers. Once she, a white woman, talked to the Police, the officers left us alone. But it was too late. The damage was done. My class was about performance. It was poetry on a sign. But by the end, the class was traumatizing. The students were repeatedly asked for their IDs. This is a class where students recite poetry and play with language in beautiful ways. I spent the rest of the entire day meeting with students in my office, who were processing the upsetting event, telling me stories of their various encounters with HUPD, where they were harassed, followed just because they dared to be visible in a certain way. I had one student tell me that HUPD harassed him while he was moving into his dorm. He was moving in furniture so his Harvard ID was upstairs, so the Police gave him a hard time and a memorable "welcome" to the School.

Meanwhile, I am receiving threats and getting racial slurs posted on my Harvard office door. While faculty are racially-profiled and harassed by the Harvard Police, the same police department seems to be too busy to investigate the hate crimes happening on their own campus. This is Harvard. You have a University with one side of its mouth saying that Black Lives Matter and we want diversity and inclusion for all, but on the other side, its own Police Department racially profiles and harasses Black and brown students and faculty.

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When HUPD came to a "community policing" meeting for tutor staff to the House, one officer had a Blue Lives Matter sticker on his holster, blatantly lied to our face about the fact that BPD hand had definitely been making low level drug arrests for years prior and at that very moment in time, and then when asked about what they would do differently than a tutor to

address marijuana use on campus (which is not permitted for federal grant reasons), the officer responded that they "try to scare them."

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We are regularly told by other administrators training us that HUPD often "does not take a student centered approach" and it's up to us to "provide context."

When HUPD contacted me about a student having a mental health breakdown, I ran over to the student's dorm room and interrupted HUPD as they started banging down the door of a suicidal student at 2am. That HUPD officer was ultimately much softer and compassionate in the room once I explained the situation and that I knew the student, and had indications he would be responsive to me. However, the presence of the officer ultimately startled the student when they opened the door, and later, they asked me why the officer was there and if they were in some sort of "trouble." There is just no way to remove out the punitive enforcement role of a police officer, and if Harvard is trying to teach students differently. I would argue that students' mental health crises are no time for the university's fantasies.

We are often told in mental health crisis situations that the most important thing is "that" the student gets treatment, but administrators don't seem to realize that "how" students end up getting treatment can create situations of medical trauma and further alienation from both the university and their own sense of self, making healing and stabilization more difficult. We know better than this, and should do better by our students.

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I heard from my sophomore advisee who was struggling to take care of her friend who was experiencing severe depression that she didn't want to talk to tutors in moments of crisis because tutors would just call HUPD. Apparently, the last time the tutors called HUPD, HUPD "scared the hell out of her" friend (who is a very small, thin young woman). So now, tutors were not people they could trust. HUPD is a liability to the work of tutors.

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As an undergraduate student living in Mather House (one of the twelve upperclass houses on Harvard's campus), it was very common for me to dine with armed HUPD officers during lunch. Sometimes they would be seated in the main dining area, but often they would dine in the private dining rooms with limited seating. I enjoyed eating in these private dining rooms because they weren't as loud as the common eating area, and I could get some work done if

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I needed to. However, whenever HUPD officers with guns came into these private dining rooms to eat, these safe spaces were no longer safe. The police officers were never unkind to me. In fact, there are a few occasions when they would greet me with a nod, smile, or "Hello." But I could never look past their badges, their uniforms, or those guns... I always felt surveilled in those moments when an armed HUPD officer sat two chairs away from me, munching on his salad or burger. Violent scenarios would flash through my mind, and I would work hard to suppress them, telling myself, "That would never happen. They are here to protect us." And yet, I felt more safe when I ate alone or with my peers in those private dining rooms than I felt when those officers with guns would dine with us.

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A few months ago, I (a Black, visibly queer, woman) was on the second floor of the Smith Center above Pavement Coffee. As I was approaching my friend's table, I saw the HUPD logo behind her table where there used to be an additional coffee shop. As I was sitting down, a made a comment about the officers wanting to be near the donuts. My comment was literally that bland and said in a conversational tone and volume only for her. At that point, a HUPD officer (older, heavyset, white man) came storming out of the HUPD office and began velling "HI HI HI HI HI" at me. I was honestly just confused. I wasn't even sure he was talking to me but he was staring right at me so I responded, "uhhh....hi". At that point, he's just standing there glaring at me with his arms crossed. I then asked, "is there a problem here?" He started screaming again "WHAT OH NO THERE'S NO PROBLEM HERE I'M JUST SAYING HI TO YOU." I realized he must have thought I was an undergraduate who might be more intimidated by him so I asked him why he'd came out there so aggressively. He started up again, "OH I'M JUST SAYING HI THAT'S NOT A PROBLEM IS IT??" A few moments later he went back in office. I admit I hung around and made louder and more snippy comments for a few minutes, but I obviously didn't feel comfortable studying there if an immature and aggressive officer was likely to come charging out at any minute so I left. My story is pretty tame, but I often think about what would happen with an officer that aggressive if any other variable had been in play. I made a comment about the encounter to one of the security officers at Smith Center when I walked out. He said something like, "Yeah I know who you're talking about. He doesn't know how to hold his cool. I try telling him to calm down." Harvard, why are you endangering your Black and queer students like this? This officer obviously wanted to intimidate me. I ended up leaving Smith, so I guess it worked.

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I lived on the Harvard campus from as early as I can remember until I was around 16. I had many interactions with the HUPD...too many to list here. In my early years my interactions with Harvard were mostly positive. I thought the police were cool, the good guys of the community, and would often strike up conversation with them. When I was 13 I remember having a conversation with one of them in which I asked them which they would rather be shot by, an uzi or a shotgun (he answered uzi). Around the same time my mother would call them to search of me if she couldn't find me. At one point they were called on me because I began stealing bicycles, however I was able to talk myself out of trouble. On several occasions I had no qualms calling them when I felt in danger. One of the most memorable encounters was when I was older, maybe 18-20. My friends (POC) and I (white) were



smoking weed down by the river. We were approached by 3 undercover HUPD officers. They quickly told me to leave. Without question I left, I imagined they remembered me from when I used to live on campus. As I walked away they began questioning my friends. I watched from a distance as they finished questioning them and as the officers left they told me to "find new friends". Several weeks later we were smoking weed near the gym and the same lead detective caught us again. This time they didn't spare me and took all of our IDs (which they mailed back to us several weeks later). It wasn't until years later that it occurred to me that most likely the reason they told me to leave the first interaction was because of my race and not because they might have recognized me. Because of the gym incident for years I was banned from Harvard property but I was able to fall back into their good graces because of an event much earlier in which I helped them apprehend a person who threatened someone on the T with a knife. I have a few other stories about HUPD. Both in which I was criminalized by them and in which I benefited from them. If you're interested in more stories we can talk.

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I live near Harvard square, and I regularly bike/walk around the neighborhoods. There have been multiple occasions where HUPD cars were speeding, well over the speed limit, and made me feel unsafe as a biker and as a pedestrian. I once completely flipped over the front of my bike because I braked for an HUPD car that approached an intersection unsafely, driving straight into my pathway (without even stopping before the crosswalk, where a pedestrian who was waiting to cross-which HUPD should have seen and stopped forchecked to see if I was ok after HUPD straight up just drove away!) I once biked through an intersection as the light turned green, when an HUPD vehicle that had been at a full stop (while the light was red) absolutely BOOKED it out of the intersection, only to slam on the brakes for a right turn shortly after, and almost hit me when it made the turn with no signal and without checking for bikers. (Literally, are you good? Where are you going so urgently? Relax, jesus.) I once ran out of a crosswalk to avoid a speeding HUPD car that clearly had no intention to stop or even slow down for me, a pedestrian legally and very visibly crossing Cambridge Street. Other times, I feel like HUPD speeds up to make it seem like they're gonna hit me for jaywalking. (For real though, is a pedestrian unlawfully crossing a street your biggest issue right now? If so, why are you not questioning the legitimacy of your job. Also PERSONALLY I don't think jaywalking deserves any punishment, let alone being put at risk for getting MAIMED by a police vehicle.) Furthermore, the presence of/surveillance by HUPD police around areas off Harvard campus generally makes me feel unsafe — what are they protecting? (Money & whiteness, I know.) Why are they policing as though this entire section of Cambridge belongs to Harvard? Why do they always target folks who don't "look" like Harvard students? (Literally, y'all GATE your spaces so just close the god damn gates and leave us alone. Also your STUDENTS are the ones causing problems, keep them inside the gates while you're at it.) I once sat on a bench outside the CPL after getting off a bar shift at 2am to enjoy a meal I wasn't able to eat during work. Why did HUPD feel the need to park their car next to me and roll their windows down to watch me do this? Obviously they take issue with unhoused community members, which I'm not, but their hyper vigilance of the activities of unhoused folks caused them to treat me the same way. (And even so, WHY? Where do they want houseless people to eat? Where do they expect them to sleep if they don't have housing? HUPD policing the unhoused is literally actualizing the plot of The Purge, where "crime" is selectively made legal and then weaponized as an opportunity to completely eradicate the individual lives and communities of houseless people. We get it, y'all want Harvard to be a wealthy white utopia, try to be more low key about that huh.) Also!!! Fuck Cambridge PD too but WHY is HUPD taking on shit that's already being done

by Cambridge PD? Do we really need more than one police force, if any???? Beyond my stance against policing as a whole, I simply do not understand why Harvard needs its own police, why its police are present anywhere off campus, why they are even allowed to initiate contact with the community (or have any contact at all), and why their behavior goes so unchecked by Harvard. HUPD is the intersection of two evils: Harvard and the police. Fuck all of y'all. (Not HAACC, appreciate y'all giving us this platform to speak, peace and love to you oflks).

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In the Fall of 2018 I was second-year law student. I was interacting with a non-Harvard affiliated man who began harassing me when I decided to end our interactions. One time he said I was lucky that he was not a "bad boy" because, if he was, he knew where I lived and could seriously hurt me. He also said he would "stage a protest" at the law school if I continued to reject his calls and messages. For over a month he would call and text me from different numbers that I would immediately block. My friends would walk me home from class and I stopped going out alone when it was dark (which in the Fall in Cambridge is sometimes earlier than 5 pm) because I was so afraid. When the calls didn't stop and I continued to feel unsafe, I decided to reach out to the Harvard Police Department. I figured that they could do something about it and I might find a solution without me having to engage with the also problematic Cambridge Police Department. It didn't really happen that way. I showed up at their offices and they had an officer interview me. I gave them as much details and evidence as I could. I was crying and I told them I was afraid. They asked if he was a Harvard student, I said no. They asked if I lived in the dorms, I said no. By that point it was very clear that they couldn't really do anything for me. They said my only option was to file a report with the Cambridge PD and go through the process of getting a restraining order. I was very clear that I did not want to do this. First, because he would be notified of it and angering or triggering him gave me even more anxiety, and second, because I did not want to criminalize this man. I just wanted him to leave me alone. So . . . the HUPD gave me a red plastic "danger" whistle, told me to sign up for self-defense classes, and gave me a ride home. The officer was kind and said he would look into it but ultimately nothing they did or could do made me feel safe. I even tried signing up for the self-defense classes but none were available for the rest of the Fall. I spoke to the Officer one more time after that, when he asked me for more information and again suggested that I contact the Cambridge PD. I didn't, so I continued to be hyper-vigilant, careful, and afraid. Eventually, after about a month, the calls and texts stopped.

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The Dean Of Students at Harvard Law was trying to force me to take medical leave because she refused my accommodations request. I was trying to process what was happening and didn't respond to her email for 2 days (over a weekend). I ended up getting a "wellness check" call from HUPD. As a part of that "wellness check" they were required to connect me with the Dean of Students. DOS literally used the police to bully me into talking with her.

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officers currently respond can be more effectively and justly handled by people without those awesome and terrible powers.

I went to an event where President Bacow would be present to peacefully protest his refusal to divest Harvard from the prison-industrial complex. President Bacow had a female HUPD officer with him, clearly acting as his bodyguard. When I held up my sign which said something like "Divest Now!" his bodyguard asked me to take down the sign. I was appalled. Why didn't a police officer who works for the best university in the world know about the First Amendment? We were standing outside on the sidewalk, which is obviously public property. Later, after the protest, I was walking back to campus when a HUPD officer on a bike spotted me and flagged me down, asking if he could ask me any questions. I said "No, thank you" and went on my way, terrified that he would follow me. But it shows the degree to which HUPD surveils protestors at this school—even something as simple and innocuous as holding up a sign will spark HUPD attention and even possible harassment.

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I was at a protest in April of 2019 at the Institute of Politics at the Kennedy School. After the protestors left the event, the Harvard University Police Department followed us. They found us, they lingered around, and we felt rapped in the building. We didn't know what they wanted. Were they going to arrest us for trespassing at our own school? When you protest in the name of racial justice at Harvard, expect the Harvard leadership to send their cops after you. It was shameful that President Bacow would retailate against protestors in this way.

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From a tutor:

When HUPD showed up while I was doing a mental health check on a student in their room, the student shut down when they saw police officers. They reported that they were scared, mortified to have their peers see police officers in their room, and guilty for creating a fuss. The only way I was able to agree to get them to go to HUHS was to have officers walk a far distance away from us. If police hadn't been present, I think the (otherwise straightforward) mental health check would have gone more smoothly, and they would have been more willing to go with me to get help.

I've also been present when HUPD detained two seniors in X House on the 6th floor, who were residents of the 6th floor, after a student called to report suspicious males in the hallway... The university drills it into all students' heads that they should call HUPD whenever they are in doubt, but this practice takes lots of situations that should be a 2 and ratchets them right up to a 10. That's what happened in this case. If on the off chance there were actually nefarious intruders who posed a threat or would not leave, this would be a one-in-a-hundred type situation where Cambridge PD could be called. No need for HUPD.

I have also seen HUPD harass homeless people in the square. After marijuana was decriminalized in Massachusetts, I watched as a swarm of officers descended on a small group of homeless people moments after one lit up a bowl of marijuana. The appropriate reaction would have been to tell the person that it is still illegal to smoke in public and tell them to put it out. Instead what happened is the officers detained all four people for approximately half an hour, ran their names to check for outstanding warrants, and then told them to disperse, one at a time, in opposite directions. One in particular was visibly shaking with fear, for understandable reasons. Arrest is state-sanctioned kidnapping, and incarceration (even jail, let alone prison) in the United States is basically hell on Earth. Harvard doesn't need to have employees with state-sanctioned kidnapping power, let alone state-sanctioned killing power. It's plenty stable and powerful enough without such employees, and nearly every situation to which HUPD

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