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From the Editor

Dear Readers:

Before I take pleasure in introducing our feature articles, here are a few general reminders. First, elections for the Police Section will take place in the new year. Election details can be found on page 27. Second, the deadline for section awards has been extended to January 31st, 2023. Please put forward nominations. The details for nominations are on page 28.

This final issue of 2022 features the lead article, "America is Neither Under-Policed nor Over-Incarcerated." Barry Latzer (John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY) rebuts a recent (Aug 2022) essay in the *American Journal of Law and Equality* written by Christopher Lewis (Harvard Law School) and Adaner Usmani (Harvard, Sociology) entitled "The Injustice of Under-Policing in America." Lewis and Usmani's article is freely available for open access via MIT Press, and it is a suggested pre-read to this edition of the *Forum*.

Here is a brief synopsis for readers in a hurry. Lewis and Usmani make the argument that America is *under-policed*. The crux of their contention is that the U.S. has approximately "one-ninth the number of police officers, per homicide, than does the median developed country" (p. 90). Denominating by homicide instead of population frames the authors' claim that the police footprint in the U.S. is small compared to other developed countries. The authors argue that insufficient police saturation has immediate and downstream deleterious effects. In essence, they suspect that under-policing encourages police violence and increased reliance on the severity of sanction.

The authors present a correlation plot showing a negative correlation between civilians killed by police per million on the Y-axis and police per homicide on the X-axis. Each coordinate represents a country. While most developed countries have more police per homicide, they also have fewer civilians killed by police per million. With fewer police officers per homicide, the U.S. clusters in the middle of the graph with developing countries (with higher civilians killed by police per million). While this visual correlation does not demonstrate causation, the authors extend a plausible theoretical framework supporting causation.

Lewis and Usmani's conclusion echoes the enduring salience of the certainty pillar of deterrence theory. Their practical policy considerations comprise "First World Balance"— harmonizing prisoner-to-police officer ratios to align with developed nations.

While this summary provided some background for Latzer's rebuttal, it undoubtedly is a dilution of Lewis and Usmani's work. I recommend engaging with their article on your own and keeping an eye out for their forthcoming book, *What's Wrong with Mass Incarceration,* which will extend the full scope of their arguments and likely provide counterpoints to the critiques raised here by Latzer.

Latzer presents thoughtful criticism of Lewis and Usmani's reliance on national-level data, observing that policing in the U.S. is decentralized and local in nature. As a result, Latzer argues that big cities with higher homicide rates are a more appropriate metric than national-level data. However, this is but one of Latzer's counterpoints. Enjoy the full article on page six, and check out Latzer's newest book, *The Myth of Overpunishment: A Defense of the American Justice System and a Proposal to Reduce Incarceration While Protecting the Public* (Republic Books 2022), with a Foreward by Senator Tom Cotton.

In this edition's Practioner's Corner (p.21), see "what happens when you pour water into a bottomless bucket." In "the Business of Police Staffing: A Different Perspective," Sergeant Anthony Gibson and Senior Police Officer Terry Cherry of the Charleston, SC, Police Department, lament over the staffing crisis. Sgt. Gibson and Ofc. Cherry are both Office of Justice Programs (OJP), National Institute of Justice (NIJ), Law Enforcement Advancing Data and Science Scholars (LEADS).

Over the last several years, they have partnered with researchers to study recruitment, retention, and organizational change in policing. Their firsthand experience with these significant and perennial issues affords them great insight. In their commentary, they reject reductionist paradigms of recruitment and retention. Instead, they look at the root causes and treat the agency as a whole. Interestingly, their intra-agency Strategic Management and Research Team (SMART) comprises officers and lower-ranking staff members. As a result, perspectives closest to the problem are provided a platform to influence command decisions.

As always, I include a call for you to submit your policing articles, any police/policing-related announcements, essays, book reviews, job openings, etc., for inclusion in future issues. We have a varied and large readership that will benefit from your additions. You may e-mail your submissions to acjspoliceforum@gmail.com.

As we close out the year and prepare our tables for gatherings with loved ones, I would like to give pause in remembrance of all those who lost their lives serving their communities. Here in Connecticut, on October 12th, Sergeant Dustin DeMonte and Officer Alex Hamzy of the Bristol Police Department made the ultimate sacrifice. The posthumously promoted Lieutenant DeMonte and Sergeant Hamzy were entrapped and ambushed in a hail of gunfire. Lieutenant

DeMonte was a former student in my department. He graduated from Central Connecticut State University with a Criminology and Criminal Justice degree. By all accounts, the two men exemplified the nobility of democratic policing. They were well-respected by their community and peers, and their valor lives on.

In the bustle of the holiday season, it is easy to lose the meaning of our celebrations. As my fellow academicians work to finalize grades for the semester and the practitioners balance family time with staffing the 24/7 needs of the holiday season, let us all remember and mobilize to support those with an empty seat at the table this year.

May your laughs be hard and your spirits strong.

Happy Holidays,

Eric Dlugolenski

Editor, *Police Forum*

From the Chair

Greetings!

I hope everyone is enjoying the holiday season and staying healthy. It is a busy time whether you are in academia and finishing up the term, or a practitioner attempting to balance family life with the added demands and work stressors often associated with the holidays.

As the Police Section goes, we have some exciting things planned for ACJS and going forward. The Police Section has been working with other ACJS Sections to participate in a joint section while at ACJS in National Harbor, MD. Never fear, though since the Police Section will have our own reception and awards ceremony as well. We are also working on having an official Twitter account (if Twitter exists into the future) and will notify the section when this is up and running. We are also in the process of completing our executive board and soon you should see a ballot in your inbox. Please vote!

We are also participating in ACJS's "60 for 60" plan for the 60th anniversary of our meeting. This plan entails 60 student members having their conference registration fee paid so they can attend the 2023 meeting. We will be sponsoring two students for as part of this. The section will also be putting together as well as sponsoring police panels of interest during the meeting as well.

For now, those are all the updates. Have a safe and wonderful holiday season and a Happy New Year!

Veronyka James

Chair — ACJS Police Section

In this Issue

"America Is Neither Underpoliced Nor Overincarcerated"

Barry Latzer, Professor Emeritus of Criminal Justice, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY

In their essay entitled "The Injustice of Under-Policing in America," Christopher Lewis and Adaner Usmani (2022) make an intriguing argument that certainly grabs attention. They say that the United States has an insufficient number of police to properly deter crime, which sounds at first like some sort of conservative law-and-order argument. But there's another side to this coin. Lewis and Usmani also say that we over-rely on long prison sentences, and this combination of under-policing and over-incarcerating makes the United States criminal justice system ineffectual and unique (in a bad way) among "first world" countries. We need, they argue, to be more like the rest of the developed world. To achieve a proper first world balance, the United States must massively shift resources from incarceration to policing. Such a shift in resources would mean reducing our prison population to about 300,000 inmates (their figure), which, by my reckoning, would require an extraordinary 79 percent reduction.

To arrive at this startling conclusion Lewis and Usmani make the following assertions. First, they say, the United States has around 212 police officers for every 100,000 total residents, which ranks it in the forty-first percentile of today's developed world. Second, using homicide as the measure of violent crime (since homicide, unlike other offenses, is similarly defined across nations), America has about one-ninth the number of police officers per homicide as the median developed country. Third, judging by arrests per homicide, the United States provides low levels

of certainty that violent offenders will be apprehended. Fourth, measured by prisoners per homicide arrests, the U.S. instead emphasizes severity of treatment. And since, Lewis and Usmani add, certainty is a more effective path to justice than severity, we should emphasize certainty more and severity less. Fifth, and last, "the burdens of incarceration and homicide are more disproportionately borne by the disadvantaged than the burdens of arrest and police violence" (p. 103). Thus, Lewis and Usmani's conclusion: the United States should shift resources from imprisonment to policing as this will reduce homicide as well as the burdens of incarceration even though it will increase the burdens of arrest.

As I will show, this argument is built on a house of cards. The premise – that the United States has far fewer police per capita than Europe and other similarly developed countries – is false. It is based on national data as opposed to data derived from localities, especially high crime localities. National data are misleading for the United States, which has a uniquely local policing structure. Most first world countries have centralized police systems with law enforcement officers distributed over a relatively small geographic area as befits the modestly sized European countries. The United States, by contrast, has 14,700 locally controlled police departments with an estimated 473,000 full-time sworn officers working in thousands of cities and counties spread over a vast area (Goodison, 2022). Crucially, 68 percent of these local police departments serve populations of less than 10,000 residents (Goodison, 2022). These are localities with relatively little violent crime, especially homicides.

Cities with 10,000 or fewer residents had homicide rates of 3.0 per 100,000 in 2019 (a typical year for this statistic), whereas cities with one-half million to one million residents had rates of 12.5 – over four times as many (FBI, 2019, table 16). Violent crime in the developed

world is overwhelmingly a big city phenomenon. Thus, if we are to measure the numerical adequacy of police to address violent crime in the United States we should be looking at the number of officers in big cities with high homicide rates. The police per capita figure for the entire United States is not nearly as meaningful as the per capita figure for large-scale urban jurisdictions, and in particular, those jurisdictions that must regularly deal with elevated rates of violent crime.

When we examine the per capita policing figures for the twenty U.S. cities with the most homicides we find that the mean is **328.2** per 100,000, 55 percent higher than the national figure of 212 (Table 1). This municipal figure is only slightly lower than the average police per capita for the European Union, which is **337** per 100,000 (Aebi, 2021, table 1.2.4). Furthermore, 12 European countries report per capita figures under 300 (Aebi, 2021, table 1.b).

Table 1

Twenty U.S. Cities With Highest Homicide Rates

City	Homicide Rates	Population	Total Officers	Officers Per 100K
St. Louis, MO	66.07	300,521	1,201	399.6
Baltimore, MD	55.77	597,239	2,465	412.7
Detroit, MI	39.80	663,502	2,517	379.4
New Orleans, LA	39.50	394,498	1,154	292.5
Baton Rouge, LA	38.26	220,648	616	279.2
Kansas City, MO	30.93	495,964	1,299	261.9
Cleveland, OH	27.77	381,829	1,560	408.6
Memphis, TN	27.73	650,410	2,058	316.4
Newark, NJ	27.14	281,422	1,187	421.8
Cincinnati, OH	23.40	303,335	1,024	337.6
Philadelphia, PA	20.06	1,589,014	6,584	414.3
Mobile, AL	20.13	244,775	482	196.9
Milwaukee, WI	19.83	590,923	1,850	313.1
Chicago, IL	18.26	2,707,064	13,160	486.1
Pittsburgh, PA	17.98	300,548	1,013	336.9
Indianapolis, IN	17.91	883,699	2,121	240
Stockton, CA	17.77	313,604	459	146.4
Tulsa, OK	17.29	401,700	842	209.6
Washington, DC	16.72	705,749	3,809	539.7
Oakland, CA	16.24	434,036	740	170.5

Note: Murder rates: Wikipedia, "List of United States cities by crime rates." Police data: FBI, *Crime in the United States, 2019*, table 78 (civilian police employees not included). Nashville, TN, homicide rate 16.30, was not listed in table 78, and was replaced by Oakland, CA, homicide rate 16.24.

Despite the comparable officer per capita rates, Lewis and Usmani point out that the United States has far fewer police per homicide than other developed countries – about one-ninth the number in the median developed country, they claim. While this may be so, there are two components to the officer-homicide ratio: the number of police and the number of homicides. Lewis and Usmani emphasize the number of police, but it is the number of homicides in the United States that makes the difference. The greater the number of homicides, the smaller the

police-homicide ratio. Contrary to Lewis and Usmani, the low U.S. ratio reflects the enormous number of homicides in the United States more than any shortage of police.

We can see this when we compare homicides in United States and European cities. London, for instance, with around 9 million people, had only 109 homicides in 2015, whereas New York City, with 8.5 million, had 352 that year. Berlin (3.6 million) had a mere 48 homicides in 2016, while Los Angeles (4 million), had 293 (U.N. office on drugs and crime; FBI, 2015, table 8; FBI, 2016, table 6).

Table 2 compares cities with the highest homicide rates in the European Union and their counterparts in the United States. As is evident from even cursory examination, the American cities have far higher rates. The European mean is 4.1 per 100,000, and the American mean, at 27.9, is nearly seven times higher.

Table 2

European and American Cities Ranked by Homicide Rates (descending order)

United States		Europe	
City	Homicide Rate	City	Homicide Rate
St. Louis, MO	66.07	Bijelo Polje, Montenegro	9.2
Baltimore, MD	55.77	Krasnodar, Russia	7.6
Detroit, MI	39.80	Kaunas, Lithuania	5.4
New Orleans, LA	39.50	Moscow, Russia	5.2
Baton Rouge, LA	38.26	St. Petersburg, Russia	4.9
Kansas City, MO	30.93	Riga, Latvia	4.8
Cleveland, OH	27.77	Klaipeda, Lithuania	3.9
Memphis, TN	27.73	Vilnius, Lithuania	3.9
Newark, NJ	27.14	Vlora, Albania	3.8
Cincinnati, OH	23.40	Bratislava, Slovakia	3.5
Philadelphia, PA	20.06	Marseille, France	3.5
Mobile, AL	20.13	Novi Sad, Serbia	3.4
Milwaukee, WI	19.83	Shkodra, Albania	3.4
Chicago, IL	18.26	Brussels, Belgium	3.2
Pittsburgh, PA	17.98	Debrecen, Hungary	3.0
Indianapolis, IN	17.91	Niksic, Montenegro	2.
Stockton, CA	17.77	Nis, Serbia	2.7
Tulsa, OK	17.29	Tuzla, Bosnia & Herz.	2.7
Washington, DC	16.72	Celje, Slovenia	2.6
Oakland, CA	16.24	Tallinn, Estonia	2.6

UN office on drugs and crime.

Certainty

Lewis and Usmani (p. 92) next argue that when measured by arrests per homicide, the United States provides low levels of certainty that violent offenders will be apprehended. There's validity to this claim, but once again, the reason for the relatively poor performance of the United States is not so much inadequate numbers of police, but rather, a superabundance of crimes.

Police in the United States clear at best 65 percent of known homicides, which is quite low compared to Europe (Liem, et al., 2019, p. 82). Homicide clearance rates in Italy have hit as much as 78 percent, in Holland, 77 percent, France, 80 percent, and in England and Wales, 85 percent (Liem, et al., 2019, p. 96). An advanced quantitative study of four European countries (Finland, Holland, Sweden and Switzerland) over a six year period, 2009-2014, found an impressive average clearance rate of 88 percent (Liem, et al., 2019, p. 89). The U.S. average for those same years was 59 percent (Vera institute).

Notably, the four nation study also found remarkably low homicides: from an average 38 per year in Switzerland to a high of 149 a year in Holland (Liem, et al., 2019, p. 88). In that same time period, 2009-2014, police in the United States were expected to solve 88,206 murders, 14,701 per year on average (FBI, 2014, table 1).

It is also noteworthy, though not decisive given the small sample, that the European countries with the highest clearance rates did not always have high police per capita rates (Table 3). Finland solves almost all of its murders with a mere 143.5 officers per capita. The Netherlands, with the lowest clearance average of the four – 77 percent – had the highest police per capita average: 298.9.

Table 3

Police Per Capita, Homicides, General and Homicide Clearance Rates Across Four European Countries

Country	Homicide/ Hom Rate	Clearance Rate	Police per capita
Finland	103/1.9	98.2	146
Switzerland	38/0.47	95	290.8
Sweden	82/0.88	82.6	211
Netherlands	149/0.94	77.1	278.5

Aebi, et al., 2021, table 1.2.4.1; Aebi, et al., 2014, table 1.2.4.1. Data for Switzerland is for 2016 only as earlier data is not provided.

This isn't to say that the American police performance is laudatory or that more police wouldn't result in more arrests. There is, in fact, a very high positive correlation between the size of a police force and the number of arrests (Latzer, 2022, 81). However, the main reason for the relatively poor American showing is the high volume of crime – not only murders, but all of the other offenses that police are expected to solve. If we look only at violent crimes reported to U.S. police in one year (2019), we find 16,425 murders, 139,815 rapes, 267,988 robberies, and 821,182 aggravated assaults (FBI, 2019, table 1).

A secondary factor is the lack of cooperation with U.S. police by citizens, either because of dislike or mistrust of law enforcement or fear of reprisals by perpetrators. This is said to be especially problematic in low-income African American communities, which often have high murder rates (White, K., Cook, P. J., & Pollack, H. A., 2021).

Severity

Lewis and Usmani contend that our punishments are too severe compared with other first world countries. They measure severity by the ratio of prisoners to arrests (p. 92). However, this is not the best measure of severity because current prisoners may have been sentenced years

before the latest arrests and we don't know how severe their punishments were without time-served data. Except for murderers (imprisoned for a median 13.4 years), American prisoners do not serve especially long stretches behind bars (Latzer, 2022, 110). In fact, two-thirds of the offenders recently released from state prison had served less than two years (Carson, 2020). Current European data on time-served are difficult or impossible to obtain, but there is a better measure of severity: the ratio of prison *admissions* to arrests, and in Europe, the ratio of prison admissions to criminal suspects (Aebi, et al., 2021, table 1.2.2.0). (According to Aebi, et al., *European Sourcebook*, table 1.2.2.0, "suspects" includes persons who may be in any of the following categories: 1. suspected of crime by police, 2. interrogated by police, 3. arrested, 4. cautioned by police, or 5. formally charged.)

Prison admissions, like prison rates, exclude less severe sanctions, such as diversion, jail, and probation. Unlike prison rates, however, admissions ordinarily reflect the treatment of defendants in the year of arrest. Moreover, admissions data are available in both Europe and America.

In 2016, the mean number of prison entries per 100,000 for all the European countries reporting was 184. The number of criminal suspects per 100,000 was 1,347 (Aebi, et al., 2021, tables 4.2.3.1, 1.2.2.1). The ratio of prison admissions to suspects was **.137**.

United States prisoners admitted in 2016 numbered 606,000 (Carson, 2018). Based on a U.S. population estimate for 2016 of 323,127,513, the rate per 100,000 of prisoners admitted was 187.5. Arrests in 2016 totaled 10,662,252, for a rate per 100,000 of 3,299.7 (FBI, 2016, table18).

The ratio of prison admissions to arrests was **.0568**. The ratio of prison admissions to arrests indicates that Europe was 2.4 times more punitive than the United States.

Although the ratio of prison admissions to arrests is more fitting than the prisoners-to-arrests formula adopted by Lewis and Usmani, the conclusion that Europe imposes more severe punishment than the United States may be incorrect. While Europe sends more suspects/arrestees to prison per capita, I suspect that the time inmates actually spend in prison is greater in the U.S. by a considerable degree. This certainly was the case from 1980 to 1999 (Blumstein, A., Tonry, M., & Van Ness, A., 2005, table 13). When it comes to the present-day, however, this assertion is only conjecture because sentencing data are inadequate proof of time-served and Europe does not provide time-served data.

Consequences of First World Balance

Lewis and Usmani contend that adopting their proposals to dramatically increase police officers and correspondingly reduce imprisonment would drive down homicide and other serious crime (p. 99). They do not define "serious crime," which I take to mean offenses that ordinarily result in imprisonment rather than less severe sanctions. The authors apparently believe that more police/less imprisonment will deter offenders. "The empirical literature on deterrence," they say, "is unequivocal that increasing the size of police forces is a much more efficient way to prevent crime than increasing the length of prison sentences for those who are apprehended and convicted" (p. 99). This may be so, but the literature does not address radical reductions in imprisonment to accompany increases in police size, as Lewis and Usmani recommend.

There is a powerful link between police and incarceration, without which law enforcement would be far less effective. I have shown elsewhere that the correlation between arrests and prison admissions is strongly positive (r = 0.8795) (Latzer, 2022, 82). Diminish that linkage and one reduces the deterrent effect of policing.

If, as Lewis and Usmani propose, we were to slash the number of prisoners from 1.4 million (2019 figures) to around 300,000, we would be seriously eroding the deterrent benefit of law enforcement. The authors do not explain how we are to achieve this extreme reduction in incarceration – whether by sharply reducing prisoner time-served, effectively decriminalizing certain offenses, or some combination of the two – but any proposal along these lines would be catastrophic for crime control.

The police have little discretion but to arrest when a murderer or other serious offender is apprehended. Such an offender must face a credible threat of imprisonment otherwise it is difficult to see how he would be deterred from additional law-breaking. Likewise, the adoption of so-called first world balance would severely degrade general deterrence. Once potential offenders realize that they will not be imprisoned at all, or will serve very little time for their crimes, there will be little to restrain them. In short, police deterrence is inextricably linked to the threat – and it must be a credible threat – of relatively extensive incarceration for serious crime.

If the deterrent effect of imprisonment is reduced then increasing police size will lead to more arrests, not fewer, because the number of crimes will rise and the increase in the number of police will facilitate more arrests. And since no realistic alternatives to imprisonment exist for serious offenders our policy options will be extremely limited.

Another problem with dramatic reductions in imprisonment is the loss of retribution. If there are insufficient penalties commensurate with serious offenses, which are voluminous in the United States, the criminal justice system will fail to provide retribution at the appropriate level. This will undermine confidence in the system and could even spur vigilantism (Latzer, 2021, p. 134).

Given the risks of undercutting both the deterrent and retributive goals of the justice system, first world balance would be disastrous for the United States. Fortunately, I do not expect much public or elite support for the Lewis-Usmani proposal. If crime rates continue to rise there may be efforts to expand the number of police officers, as was done under President Bill Clinton and then-Senator Joe Biden in the 1990s (Latzer, 2016/2017, p. 222). But there will be no effort to massively reduce the prison population, which perforce will receive more prisoners as crime escalates.

Conclusion

While I applaud Lewis and Usmani for addressing a far-reaching and significant issue in criminal justice system, namely, the distribution of resources between policing and imprisonment, I am not persuaded by their argument for "first world balance."

They have not proven that the United States is significantly under-policed because they did not examine police per capita in the urban locations in which the overwhelming majority of murders and other violent crimes occur. They are correct to conclude that relatively low police clearance rates in the United States diminish the certainty of apprehension. But they mistakenly attribute this to an insufficient number of police without taking into account the high crime rates

in the U.S. when compared with Europe. They also overestimate the severity of punishment in the United States compared with other first world nations because they use an inappropriate metric (the ratio of prisoners to arrests) instead of the ratio of prison admissions to arrests. The latter measure indicates that the United States is less punitive than comparable countries, although this conclusion must be provisional until even more appropriate data become available.

In light of the above, their conclusion – that the United States should adopt a first world balance between policing and imprisonment – is not supported. Moreover, it is a dangerous policy position to adopt. Hiring more police officers while diminishing the justice system's ability to punish the arrested offenders is a prescription for more crime, not less, as it undermines the principal incentive to desist from law-breaking. It also runs the risk of degrading the retributive capacities of the justice system.

Barry Latzer, J.D., PhD, was a Professor of Criminal Justice at John Jay College, CUNY, for over three and a half decades, where he was a member of the Masters' and Doctoral faculties. Latzer wrote and published six books, including a treatise on state constitutional law, and approximately 70 scholarly articles, research reports, magazine articles, book reviews, and op-eds. His most recent book is *The Myth of Overpunishment: A Defense of the American Justice System and a Proposal to Reduce Incarceration While Protecting the Public* (Republic Books 2022), with a Foreward by Senator Tom Cotton.

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Appendix

In a private communication with the author, Lewis and Usmani argued that the proper comparison with U.S. high-homicide cities is other first world high-homicide cities. While this point is well taken it is difficult to obtain such data. Here in Table 4 are data showing police per capita in selected first world cities. There is no indication of U.S. under-policing here, but this is too small a sample to support credible inferences.

Table 4

Police Officers Per 100,000 Population, Selected First World Cities

City	Population	Number of Officers	Per 100K
Chicago	2.7 million	13,160	486
Berlin	3.68 million	16,500	449
New York	8.4 million	36,500	436
Paris	7 million	30,200	431
London	8.8 million	34,372	391
Montreal	1.7 million	4,500	259
Sydney*	8.2 million	17,727	216

*Data are for New South Wales, AU

Sources:
London: https://www.met.police.uk/police-forces/metropolitan-police/areas/about-us/about-the-met/structure/; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demography_of_London
Berlin: *The Berlin Police*, file:///C:/Users/blatz/Downloads/imagebroschuere_englisch%20(1).pdf
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_cities_in_the_European_Union_by_population_within_city_limits#:~:text=Cities%20by%20population%20within%20the%20city%20boundary%20,1%20July%202022%20%2037%20more%20rows%20
Paris:https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paris_Police_Prefecture#:~:text=In%20addition%20to%20the%20Pr%C3%A9fecture%20de
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grand_Paris
Montreal: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Service_de_police_de_la_Ville_de_Montr%C3%A9al
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New York City: FBI, *Crime in the United States, 2015*, table 8.
Los Angeles: FBI, *Crime in the United States, 2016*, table 6.

Practitioner's Corner

The Business of Police Staffing: A Different Perspective

With some exceptions, there is one word to describe the recent trends in law enforcement staffing levels: predictable. The workforce crisis storm was coming, and we watched it build – catalyzed by one high-profile and widely syndicated policing encounter after another. The storm is still battering the policing profession, fueled by anti-police rhetoric, expanding roles with diminishing resources, increased turnover, and decreased career interest. At the same time, law enforcement organizations continue to find solace in antiquated, misguided methods to recruit and retain personnel. Simply put, law enforcement agencies must transform into a modern, insightful, and business-driven industry as it relates to attracting and preserving talent or risk being unable to meet the fundamental demands of public safety. Policing organizations must reframe their thinking around staffing and consider innovative alternatives to entrenched practices and perceptions. One of the most beneficial ways to do this is by fusing the strengths of researchers with the influence of police practitioners.

Retention and Recruitment

Mantras such as "Recruitment and Retention" are memorable and easy to digest. However, this particular mantra is missing an important word when considering its actual application. "Recruitment and *then* retention" is more accurate to describe the commonly deployed strategy of personnel management in policing. The days of having a room full of candidates for a single-digit vacancy number are over for many police agencies around the nation. As a profession, we became complacent in our recruitment success as shifts in the

generational workforce and socio-cultural expectations of policing outpaced our ability and willingness to adapt.

It is understood that retaining a police officer is more efficient than recruiting, selecting, hiring, training, and deploying a new one. Yet there seems to be a continued push for recruiting new officers through social media campaigns, career fairs, hiring bonuses, and other monetary incentives as tenured officers' resignations amass. What happens when you pour water into a bottomless bucket? Well, it never fills up much like law enforcement staffing numbers. Attracting and hiring new officers is not meant to sustain an agency unilaterally; instead, it is meant to support an agency through more predictable attrition and retirements. Realizing this, at the Charleston Police Department, we challenged ourselves to look past successes in hiring and critically review how we can retain our most valuable asset: our current employees. With the invaluable help of a researcher, we implemented an evidence-based strategy to gauge our officers' intentions to stay with or leave the agency. As practitioners, we were able to take high-level data back to our leadership that identified what our agency was doing well and, more importantly, what our agency could do better from the viewpoint of the officers. As a result, the department's first Strategic Management and Research Team (SMART) was formed and comprised entirely of non-command officers committed to facilitating the project's organizational recommendations and changes across the ranks.

Processing: A Direct Flight

In terms of recruiting and hiring, there is nothing more frustrating than having candidates excited about becoming police officers only to be met with a process more akin to a multi-stop, multi-hour layover travel itinerary. Many travelers prefer direct flights because of the monotony

of boarding, departing, landing, and getting to another airport gate, only to repeat the same process. Agencies with direct flight hiring processes are much more attractive than agencies with multi-stop hiring processes. Innovation in recruitment means nothing when you cannot expeditiously and accurately get your candidates to their destination – whether that be a job offer or rejection letter. To do this, hiring managers and recruiters cannot be afraid of data, process mapping, measurable assessment criteria, flexible schedules, deadlines, and the ability to make adjustments. In Charleston, for example, we built, rebuilt, and continue to recalibrate an assessment process that has allowed us to hire the most police officers in agency history in 2020 and 2021 with 2022 on track to beat both prior years.

We achieved this by identifying three non-negotiable expectations for the process. First, we prioritize responsiveness and a personalized approach. Our candidates are not a number, and our team deliberately answers any questions, mentors candidates throughout the process, gets to know them individually and ensures their assessment experience is positive regardless of the outcome. Second, we use data to drive our decisions. We are not under the fallacy that we know everything, so we rely on our data to get better and be more precise. Third, we strive never to lose the art of communication and the heart of service. Helping a successful candidate through the process is great for an agency and exemplifies agency commitment, but the challenge is in helping the unsuccessful candidate. As the recruitment and selection team, we are the architects of our police department and, to some degree, of the law enforcement career as a whole. The once unsuccessful candidate may be the future police officer at our department or another department across the country but taking the time to identify areas of growth has implications that extend far beyond a single hiring process.

A New Mindset: A Challenge from Terry Cherry

Policing is tightly bonded to the academic field of criminal justice, giving the criminal justice discipline considerable influence over the thoughts and perspectives of neophyte officers who later develop into executive leaders. Although criminal justice has an obvious place in law enforcement philosophy, it should not be the only ideological contributor. Instead, the business and administration fields should be coalescing with law enforcement agencies through the rank-and-file officers and influencing the upper echelon of policing leadership. To address recruitment and retention, the entire policing organization must first recognize and accept that policing is a business. Specifically, the business of public safety. A law enforcement organization has both internal shareholders with its sworn officers and professional personnel and external shareholders with its community and elected officials.

The organization must focus on maintaining internal and external buy-in from these shareholders or the department's stock, or brand reputation and perceived legitimacy, can plummet. When the agency's brand reputation diminishes significantly, its recruitment and retention efforts will follow suit. There is little incentive to work for a business that does not value its human talent or its consumer base. If police officers are expected to provide exceptional customer service to community members, they should expect the same care and personalized support from within their ranks. Failing to prioritize the motivations and needs of police officers but expecting them to carry the burden of the shortcomings plaguing the career is not working and will not work. If executive leaders continue to execute recruitment and retention strategies through a narrow homogeneous lens, they will continue to hire very few new officers and may lose multiple officers with experience and practical knowledge. Unfortunately, officers that

choose to remain are then obligated to work mandatory overtime and are stripped of their work-life balance. If policing continues to view itself as anything other than a business, it will continue to perpetuate this vicious cycle.

Police organizations and leaders must also start marketing the profession as a white-collar career rather than a blue-collar job. Policing requires a dynamic and sophisticated set of soft and hard skills that are very different from the robotic manual labor tasks stereotypically associated with the working class. Many educated and diverse individuals are interested in making a social impact and taking part in civic service over money and corporate influence. Therefore, it is the responsibility of police chiefs and sheriffs to run police organizations like a highly successful business, marketing the position of a police officer as a lucrative and prestigious opportunity in line with federal agents, doctors, and lawyers. Recruitment and retention will improve when progress is allowed to flourish and police hiring practices begin to focus on the importance of screening for inclusivity in the organization, not exclusively from the profession.

The challenge is to revolutionize the way that policing practitioners and academics study, discuss, and address the subject of police staffing. If we continue to implement stale strategies and maintain status quo conversations around the topic of recruitment and retention, the law enforcement industry is doomed to keep the same predictable shortages. Innovation occurs when individuals willingly step outside the traditional box and begin addressing problems from a creative vantage point. Practitioners and academics must use evidence-based practices, business principles, and collaborative imagination to reframe and restructure police staffing.

Anthony Gibson is a sergeant at the Charleston Police Department and is a 2022 NIJ LEADS Scholar. His work focuses on research implementation in the areas of recruitment, retention, and organizational change. He also has a B.S. in Psychology and a Master's in Public Administration.

Terry Cherry is a senior police officer and currently serves as the recruiter for the City of Charleston Police Department. She is an active NIJ LEADS Scholar, and her research interests include police staffing, recruitment, organizational behavior, and leadership. She holds a B.A. from UCLA, an MBA from Pepperdine University, and is currently working on her DPA at Valdosta State University

Police Section Elections

This a formal announcement that the Police Section will host elections for open board positions in the new year. Please be sure that your membership is in good standing so that you can vote. Follow-up reminders will be sent out via the membership e-mail distribution list. Open positions include Vice-Chair and Secretary. Current board members are in talks with ACJS administrators to confirm the number of Executive Counselors. The results of these talks will be shared with the membership when the information becomes available. Please vote so we can carry on the work and tradition of the section!

Police Section Awards

The Police Section of the ACJS confers two awards annually at its general business meeting during the ACJS Annual Meeting. All Police Section members are encouraged to nominate individuals for the following awards. Nominations are due to Veronyka James, Police Section Chair, by the deadline of January 31st, 2023. E-mail nominations to Veronyka.James@harriscountytx.gov. Any questions about the awards can be directed to Dr. James. Awardees are selected by a committee of at least three Police Section members.

Outstanding Service Award

Awarded to people who are deemed deserving of special recognition for their outstanding contribution to the Police Section. The Police Section Outstanding Service Award was established as an annual award to honor the person who has provided significant service to the Police Section.

O.W. Wilson Award

Given to recognize outstanding contributions to police education, research, and practice. The nominee should be a practitioner, policy maker, researcher, or educator who, over a number of years, has exemplified and supported the following ideals:

1. Quality higher education for the police field.
2. Careful and scientific police research.
3. Cooperation and collaboration among police educators, researchers, policymakers, and practitioners.
4. Effective, equitable, and accountable policing.

The nominee is not required to be a member of the Police Section.

Award Procedures

1. Nominations for each award must be submitted to the Chair of the Police Section by January 31st, 2023.
2. Nominator must be a current Police Section member.
3. Submission of supporting materials with nominations is encouraged but not required.
4. The nomination is to include a brief summary of the nominee's contributions in accordance with the award criteria; an explanation of the significance of these contributions; and a current vitae or resume of the nominee.

ACJS Lifetime Membership

Please remember that you still must pay the Police Section dues annually to remain a member of the Police Section. Membership is $37 per year and includes a subscription to *Police Quarterly*. Payment of dues is made to ACJS.

Call for Papers, Authors, Applicants

If you are working on a project and need authors for book chapters or encyclopedia entries, let us know. We'll include that call in *Police Forum* for free.

Or, if you are hosting a conference or seminar and need participants, let us know that too. We'll be happy to help spread the word for free.

Or, if you have a job opportunity—particularly of interest to those teaching or researching in areas related to policing—we'd love to help you announce that position. Send any announcements that you would like to have included in the next issue of *Police Forum* to acjspoliceforum@gmail.com

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Submission Guidelines for *Police Forum*

Format Criteria

The format criteria for all submissions are as follows: reasonable length (less than 30 pages), double-spaced, and in a font similar to 12 pt Times New Roman. All submissions should be in Word format. All charts, graphs, pictures, etc. must be one page or smaller and contained within standard margins. Please attach these at the end of the submission as appendices. Due to formatting limitations, all appendices must be in a Word, Excel, or similar format - PDFs cannot be used.

Feature Articles

Feature Articles can be quantitative or qualitative. Tables, figures, and charts should be kept to a minimum and should be inserted at the end of the document with an appropriate reference to placement location within the text. The page limits are flexible, however, the editors reserve the right to edit excessively long manuscripts.

Practitioners Corner

Articles written from the perspective of persons currently or formerly working in the field, expressing personal observations or experiences concerning a particular area or issue. Page limits are flexible, however long articles may be edited for length.

Academic Pontification
Articles for this area should focus on making an argument, presenting a line of thought, or formulating a new conceptual idea in policing.

Point/Counterpoint
Authors are encouraged to work with another person to develop a point/ counterpoint piece. The initial argument should be between 2 and 5 pages. The initial argument should contain roughly 3 to 5 main points. Following the exchange of articles between debating authors, a 1 to 3-page rejoinder/ rebuttal will be submitted.

Research Notes
Research notes should describe a work in progress, a thumbnail outline of a research project, a conceptual methodological piece, or any other article relating to research methods or research findings in policing.

Reviews
Book reviews on any work relating to policing. Reviews of Internet sites or subjects concerning policing on the Internet are also welcome.

Policing in the News
News items of interest to the police section are welcomed in any form.

Legal News in Policing
Reviews of court cases, legal issues, lawsuits, and legal liability in policing are welcomed submissions.

Letters to the Editor
Questions, comments, or suggestions about a given Criminal Justice topic, article, or research.

This Date in History
Submissions on prior hot topics, research, or research methods in Criminal Justice from the past.

Good News
Submissions relating to professional and personal good news for our members - promotions, new jobs, marriages, etc.

How to Submit

Submissions may be made electronically by sending a copy in a Word format to acjspoliceforum@gmail.com.

Disclaimer

The editor(s) of this publication reserve the right to edit any submissions for length, clarity, or other issues.

Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences
Police Section

Executive Board

http://www.acjs.org/page/PoliceSection

Membership: Join online at www.acjs.org

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