

Engaging College Students in 21st Century Law Enforcement

FINAL REPORT

Elsie L. Scott, Ph.D.

Ronald W. Walters Leadership and Public Policy Center
Howard University



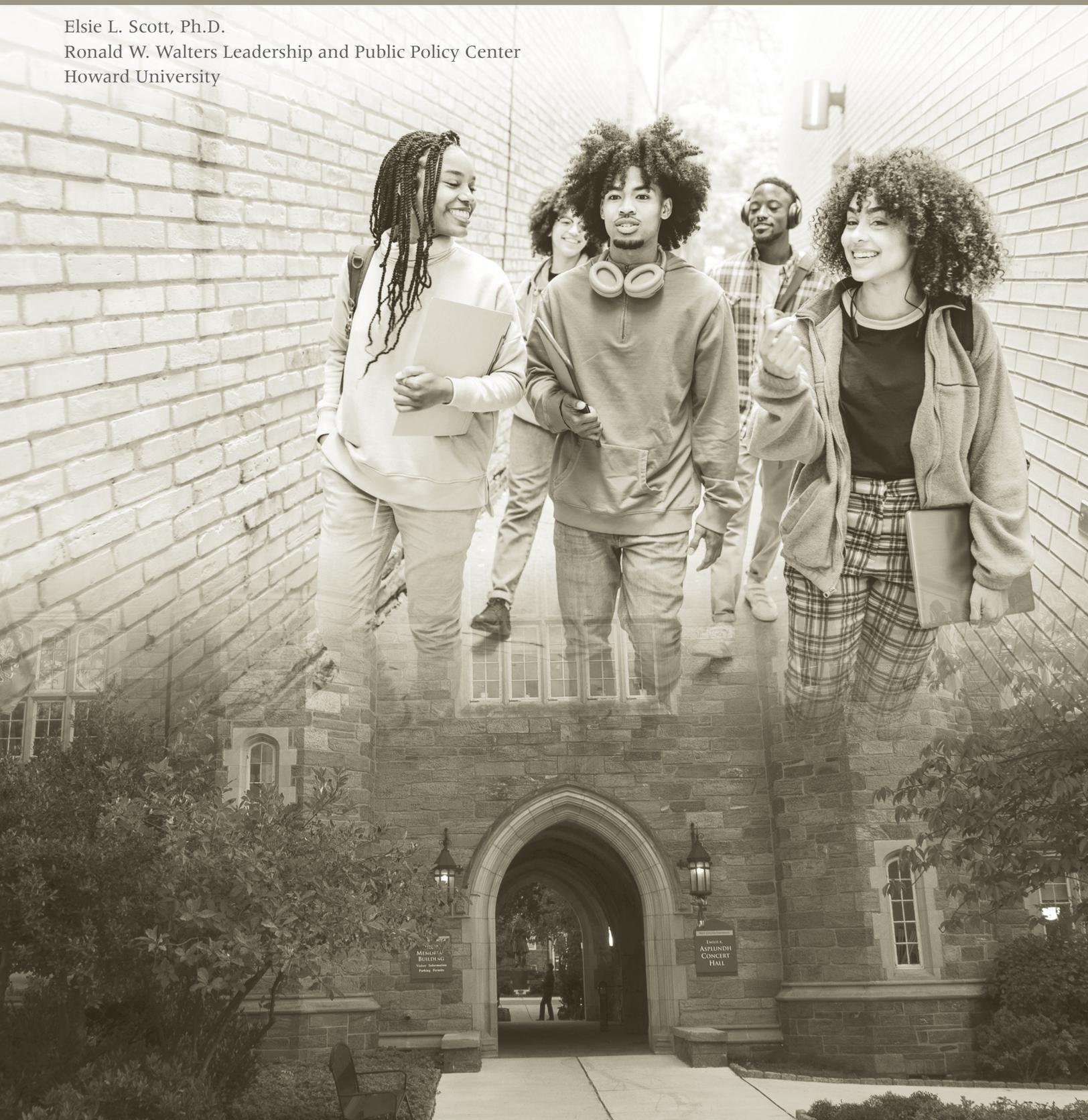
Engaging College Students in 21st Century Law Enforcement

FINAL REPORT

Elsie L. Scott, Ph.D.

Ronald W. Walters Leadership and Public Policy Center

Howard University





This project was supported, in whole or in part, by cooperative agreement number 2015-CK-WX-K014 awarded to Howard University by the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. The opinions contained herein are those of the author(s) or contributor(s) and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice. References to specific individuals, agencies, companies, products, or services should not be considered an endorsement by the author(s), the contributor(s), or the U.S. Department of Justice. Rather, the references are illustrations to supplement discussion of the issues.

The internet references cited in this publication were valid as of the date of publication. Given that URLs and websites are in constant flux, neither the author(s), the contributor(s), nor the COPS Office can vouch for their current validity.

This resource was developed under a federal award and may be subject to copyright. The U.S. Department of Justice reserves a royalty-free, nonexclusive, and irrevocable license to reproduce, publish, or otherwise use and to authorize others to use this resource for Federal Government purposes. This resource may be freely distributed and used for noncommercial and educational purposes only.

Recommended citation:

Ronald W. Walters Leadership and Public Policy Center - Howard University. 2021. *Engaging College Students in 21st Century Law Enforcement: Final Report*. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

Published 2021



Contents

Director’s Lettervii

Acknowledgements ix

Executive Summary xi

Introduction 1

Literature Review 5

 Minority recruitment 5

 Barriers to minority representation in law enforcement 7

 Diversity in law enforcement recruitment.10

 Conclusions12

Women in Law Enforcement15

 State of women in law enforcement.15

 Issues pertaining to women in law enforcement16

 The case for women in law enforcement19

 Conclusions21

 Focus Groups.23

 Demographic findings24

Focus group discussion . . . . .	.28
Conclusions . . . . .	.31
Convenings. . . . .	.33
Overview. . . . .	.33
First Convening: “Youth and Police: Finding Common Ground,” Part 1 . . . . .	.33
Second Convening: “Youth and Police: Finding Common Ground,” Part 2. . . . .	.36
Third Convening: Addressing Gender Diversity in Law Enforcement. . . . .	.43
Presentation of Study Findings . . . . .	.53
Project Conclusions and Recommendations . . . . .	.55
Conclusions . . . . .	.55
Recommendations . . . . .	.57
Afterword . . . . .	.61
References . . . . .	.63
Appendix A. List of Staff and Consultants . . . . .	.73
Appendix B. List of Police Convening Attendees . . . . .	.75

TABLES

Table 1: Age of Participants . . . . .	.24
Table 2: Gender of Participants. . . . .	.25
Table 3: Race/Ethnicity of Participants. . . . .	.25
Table 4: Academic Status of Participants. . . . .	.26
Table 5: Participants with Negative Encounters with Police Officers . . . . .	.26
Table 6: Participants with Positive Encounters with Police Officers . . . . .	.26
Table 7: Participants with Family Members in Law Enforcement . . . . .	.27
Table 8. Would Consider a Law Enforcement Career . . . . .	.27
Table 9: Preferred Law Enforcement Agency for Participants Looking for Law Enforcement Careers . . . . .	.28



Director's Letter

Colleagues:

Recent years have seen a diminution of trust between many African American communities and law enforcement officers charged with protecting them. This lack of trust in turn could discourage members of those communities from seeking law enforcement careers, and the resulting underrepresentation widens the gulf of understanding between them. Many communities have facilitated forums and outreach programs to bridge this divide to improve trust and communication between community members and law enforcement.

African American college students, however, have often been left out of these community efforts, despite being at the forefront of movements protesting the tragedies that arise from police use of force—and despite being the target of recruitment campaigns from law enforcement agencies seeking their next generation of officers.

In 2016, the Ronald W. Walters Leadership and Public Policy Center at Howard University, led by Dr. Elsie L. Scott, convened focus groups at the campuses of four Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Predominantly Black Institutions to talk about student perceptions of policing, police-community relationships, and law enforcement careers. Three additional convenings between students and representatives of law enforcement were held at Howard University. This report details those meetings and their findings and compiles the students' suggestions for mending and strengthening police-community relations and for recruiting dedicated young people to the profession.

While the COPS Office has published reports discussing the African American experience with law enforcement, that experience has rarely been the focus of a publication, as it is here. We appreciate the students, facilitators, and researchers who made it possible.

Sincerely,



Rob Chapman

Acting Director

Office of Community Oriented Policing Services





Acknowledgements

This report was prepared by the Ronald W. Walters Leadership and Public Policy Center under the Community Policing Development grant from the U.S. Department of Justice Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS Office). We thank the staff of the COPS Office for their direction and support throughout this project, especially our project officer, Sarah Estill.

Without the participation of the focus group volunteers from Howard University, Dillard University, Chicago State University, and Merritt College, we would not have been able to conduct this study. Dr. Laurie Samuel ably served as our Focus Group Facilitator for all four focus groups, and Dr. Gary Clark (Dillard), attorney Marian Perkins (Chicago State), and Professor Margaret Dixon (Merritt) recruited students and coordinated the campus logistics by serving as site coordinators at their respective colleges and universities.

Members of the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE) helped frame the questions used in the convenings between students and law enforcement officials and volunteered their time to participate in the sessions. Howard University students shared experiences, some not so pleasant, with the police officials to help identify problems and solutions related to recruiting African American college students and establishing trust between African American citizens and the police who serve their communities. (A list of officials and students who participated in the convenings can be found in Appendix B.)

The project would not have been successful without the invaluable administrative work carried out by Mrs. Carolyn Smith, Administrative Assistant for the Ronald Walters Center. We are grateful for the research and administrative work conducted by graduate students over the years of the project. One political science graduate student, Naya Young, spent three years working on the various phases of the project, focus groups, convenings, presentations to professional conferences, research for the literature reviews, and writing of the final report. Her work was vitally important to the success of the project. The list of all students who worked on the project can be found in Appendix A.

Elsie L. Scott, Ph.D.

Director

Ronald W. Walters Leadership and Public Policy Center

Howard University

Principal Investigator



Executive Summary

In the fall of 2015, Howard University's Ronald W. Walters Leadership and Public Policy Center was notified that it would receive a Community Policing Development grant from the U.S. Department of Justice Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS Office). The grant was awarded for a study of police-community relations using college students to help drive the discussion on diversity and inclusion and how best to transform recruitment strategies for law enforcement agencies in the 21st Century.

Data for this study were collected through two methods: focus groups and convenings between college students and law enforcement managers and supervisors. The focus groups were conducted in four regions of the United States—Midwest, East, South, and West Coast—during the summer and fall of 2016. The focus groups were conducted at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and Predominantly Black Institutions (PBIs) to ensure that most of the students included in the focus groups were African American. In addition to the discussion, focus groups were given a demographic survey that included a few questions about their experience with the police. The focus groups provided insight into how college students perceive police officers and how they believe relations between police and the Black community can be improved. Some of the key findings were as follows:

- Close to half of the participants had had a negative experience with the police.
- Half stated that they would consider a career in law enforcement.
- The ones who would possibly consider law enforcement as a career were interested in a service career, one where they could make a difference.
- Participants would like to see the community involved in recruiting police
- There is concern that the police need a way to weed out racist recruits and police officers.

The three convenings between students and police officials were held on the campus of Howard University. The first two convenings concentrated on the subject of Youth and Police: Finding Common Ground. After interest was expressed in the focus groups and the first two convenings, a third convening was added that concentrated specifically on gender diversity. Some of the conclusions and recommendations from the convenings were as follows:

- All officers should be trained to be culturally competent.
- Police officers must demonstrate that they want to mend the relationships with the community.

- Law enforcement and youth should continually engage in discussions about the prevailing issues in their relationship to promote more positive experiences between them.
- Women officers, especially Black women, need to be more visible so potential female recruits can see them making a difference in the community and have role models.
- Police departments need to be modernized by appealing to youth through technology and the use of social media (e.g., Twitter, Facebook, Snapchat, Instagram).
- Professional development sessions on aspects of sexual harassment should be conducted routinely to help minimize the amount of sexual harassment and misconduct complaints.

Introduction

In August 2014, a Black teenager, Michael Brown, was shot and killed by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri, a suburb of St. Louis. Demonstrators from the St. Louis area and from other parts of the country took to the streets during the days following the shooting. Part of the outrage from the Black community seemed to have been related to the conflicting accounts of his killing, the fact that his body was left in the street for four hours, and the lack of information released by the Ferguson Police Department. Another factor was that the death of Michael Brown came close on the heels of the death of Eric Garner at the hands of the New York City Police Department in July. These two deaths sparked demonstrations, not only in the cities where they occurred, but also in cities around the country. African American citizens raised doubts about the impartiality of the police toward people of color. The demonstrators not only asked for justice in the two cases, but also asked for police reform.

The Michael Brown and Eric Garner cases and other police-involved shootings were the impetus for an executive order from President Barack Obama. The order, issued on December 18, 2014, established the Task Force on 21st Century Policing, which was charged with identifying best practices and making “recommendations to the President on how policing practices can promote effective crime reduction while building public trust.” It was envisioned by some that the report from the task force would be a cross between President Johnson’s Crime Commission report (President’s Commission and N. D. Katzenbach 1967) and the Kerner Commission report (Kerner and Wicker 1968). Johnson’s establishment of the Crime Commission was the first time crime had been viewed as a national issue, not just a state and local problem. The commission presented recommendations to the president designed to modernize the approach to fighting crime, especially using new technology. Perhaps the most important long-term result of the implementation of the commission’s recommendations was the increased professionalization of police agencies.

The Kerner Commission, formed to study the inner-city uprisings primarily during the summer of 1967, was more narrowly focused. It was charged with looking at the causes of the “riots” and presenting recommendations for preventing similar occurrences in the future. Since the uprisings took place in predominantly Black neighborhoods, much of the focus was on racial conflict. The diversification of police agencies, especially urban departments, was probably the most significant result of the implementation of the Kerner Commission recommendations. In the years since the release of the Crime Commission and Kerner Commission reports, police associations and civil rights organizations had urged U.S. presidents to appoint a commission to provide leadership in addressing criminal justice problems that were national in scope. Before the Task Force on 21st Century Policing, other national commissions were appointed to study specific aspects of crime and offending such as the Attorney General’s Task Force on Family Violence (1984).

Historically, the foundation for African American mistrust of the police can be traced back to the slavery era, when police officers in certain areas of the country were employed to maintain the institution of slavery through methods such as slave patrols. Sally Hadden's book *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas* (2003) provides historical data on patrols that existed between the 1700s and 1865 when slavery was abolished. Journalists, historians, eyewitnesses, and others have documented many stories of police officers participating in extralegal activity against Black people during this time period. After slavery was abolished, some northern cities such as Chicago and Philadelphia hired Black police officers to win Black votes, but the positions were temporary (Dulaney 1996). Once Black men were admitted into police departments, many were given inferior status and were not allowed to adequately use their skills. Because of the unequal treatment of Black officers in these departments an opportunity was lost to demonstrate a new era of unbiased policing. In some jurisdictions, especially throughout the South, Black officers were not allowed to arrest White people, to wear their uniforms to work, or to drive a patrol car (Mullens 2017).

The advent of social media and cell phone cameras has caused some of the most profound changes in policing since the 1967 uprisings. Instantly, citizens can now capture police-citizen interactions and post pictures and videos to social media. Police-involved shootings and use of force against Black citizens are being shown on television and through social media, causing the relationship between police and the Black community to reach an all-time low (Williams and Fedorowicz 2019), even in cities without such incidents. This poor relationship represents a significant challenge to law enforcement in numerous ways. Police departments must take steps to improve the Black community's trust in the police system. One important way to do this is by recruiting persons of color, specifically African Americans, to serve as police officers. Extraordinary methods and measures are needed to find and recruit persons who understand these communities; enacting these measures, however, presents a tremendous challenge for communities.

In addition to finding service-minded persons of color interested in becoming police officers, there is also a need to find ways to facilitate police-community dialogue to begin the process of building trust between police officers and communities of color. There has been much dialogue about trust building, especially through community-oriented policing programs. Although many police executives and officers who serve on special community projects have embraced community-oriented policing, there has been less success with making community policing the underlying philosophy of police departments (Chappell 2009). In urban communities, young Black people, especially Black men, are the persons most likely to be affected by police shootings and other negative confrontations. Despite this, the young Black students attending the focus groups and the convenings of this study reported that they had not been invited to participate in dialogues about police-citizen encounters, which are usually held with older adults.

Although many college students may be unengaged in local community meetings, they have assumed leadership roles in protesting police-involved injuries and deaths of African Americans. These students feel the police unfairly target Black people for stops, whether on foot or in a vehicle. They are frustrated, and some are in constant fear that they will be the next victim (Henning 2017). Nevertheless, this study found that many want to be part of the change: They want public officials and police leaders to listen when they speak and act on their concerns.

For police departments to bring about long-term change, rather than seeking a one-time solution to a specific crisis, it is necessary for them to have broader and more focused discussions with young people. It has been proposed that police recruiters should hear directly from students who have never considered policing as a career choice but who care about what happens in their communities—to cultivate relationships. As part of this project, the Walters Center brought these two groups together to discover common ground, identifying factors, practices, and actions that transcend jurisdictional boundaries and can be used to attack the core of the problem.

One of the recommendations from the Task Force on 21st Century Policing established by President Barack Obama called for the creation of a diverse workforce “to improve understanding and effectiveness in dealing with all communities” (Recommendation 1.8). Action items contained in this recommendation include a “Law Enforcement Diversity Initiative designed to aid communities to diversify.” Other action items focus on aiding localities so that they can learn best practices for recruitment, training, and outreach to improve diversification. It is essential to highlight agencies that have been successful in recruiting diverse officers, integrating them into the agencies, and having their officers work effectively with diverse populations.

The specific objectives of the Howard University project were to

1. identify factors and strategies that can help to increase racial diversity in police agencies;
2. provide data, information, and assistance to law enforcement agencies to help them improve their racial diversity and engagement of citizens who are more likely to distrust the police;
3. increase the capacity of law enforcement agencies to implement community-policing strategies that promote greater engagement of citizens who are more likely to distrust the police;
4. facilitate the engagement of college students in improving relations between the police and communities of color;
5. help to build trust in law enforcement by facilitating dialogue and interaction between youth of color and police officials.

This project was also designed to advance Recommendation 4.7 of the Task Force Report, “Communities need to affirm and recognize the voices of youth in community decision making, facilitate youth-led research and problem solving, and develop and fund youth leadership training and life skills through positive youth/police collaboration and interactions.” The Walters Center used its position at Howard University, the landmark Historically Black College, to provide a forum to hear the voices of young people who have a lot to say and would like to be heard on police-related issues. The director of the Walters Center used her background as a police civilian executive and her relationship with police leaders and managers in police organizations to bring police officers and youth together for meaningful dialogue and problem-solving.

The Task Force on 21st Century Policing addressed police relations with all communities, but its report singled out race, gender, language, life experience, and cultural background as areas of concern. The Howard University project was initially focused primarily on racial diversity for several reasons, most importantly that police relations with Black residents contribute greatly to distrust issues. Shooting incidents involving White police officers and Black citizens generated the greatest protests and negative reactions. It should also be noted that the racial makeup of most police departments does not reflect the racial makeup of the populations they serve (Ashkenas and Park 2015). An article in the *New York Times* cited a survey that found “the percentage of Whites on the force is more than 30 percentage points higher than in the communities they serve” (Ashkenas and Park 2015). While increasing the racial diversity of police agencies will not in and of itself solve the problem of distrust, it can be one of the measures that can help to reduce racial tensions.

After focus groups were conducted, two convenings of students and law enforcement officials were held, emphasizing racial diversity. The scope of the project expanded to include gender diversity after this was mentioned in the focus groups and at the convenings, especially by the young women in the groups. A third convening was held to specifically focus on gender-related issues. There was some sentiment that women brought distinctive qualities to law enforcement and that special efforts should be made to recruit more women police officers.

Literature Review

Minority recruitment

Law enforcement agencies and minority populations have a longstanding, complex relationship. Historically, traditional American policing practices were established in the 17th century to control slave populations, retaliate against slave insurrections, return fugitive slaves, and generally preserve the overall privilege and safety of slave owners and other White Americans (Wagner 2010). As a result, many policing procedures and practices, especially in the South, were rooted in the maltreatment of African Americans and the suppression of their fundamental rights as American citizens (Hadden 2003). The friction between the two groups did not stop with the passage of the Reconstruction Amendments—13, 14, and 15—which ended the institution of slavery and gave citizenship rights, including enfranchisement, to formerly incarcerated peoples (Farrand 1913).

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s brought the relationship between the police and minority populations back into the spotlight. The civil rights marches and urban uprisings that took place brought attention and awareness to the practices of segregation and unjust treatment of African Americans (Shapiro and Sullivan 1964). Police officers were used to uphold segregation and enforce inequitable laws and practices in the South, even using police dogs to attack children who were demonstrating for their rights in Birmingham, Alabama. In the North, allegations of police brutality by African Americans living in segregated urban areas led to demonstrations and riots in several cities. The protests and riots were frequently met with excessive and prejudicial policing of those involved in the demonstrations (Shapiro and Sullivan 1964). The loss of life, injuries, and damage to buildings and businesses owing to these riots led to declarations of states of emergency, the use of martial law, and the involvement of the National Guard to assist with restoring order to the cities affected (Graham 1980).

In response to these incidents, President Lyndon B. Johnson established the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder (Kerner and Wicker 1968). Later referred to as the Kerner Commission, after its chair, Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, the commission was established to investigate these events and provide recommendations for improving relations between minority communities and law enforcement agencies (Kerner, and Wicker 1968). One of the Kerner Commission's recommendations was that law enforcement agencies across the United States adopt and enforce policies designed to recruit and promote ethnic and racial minority officers, as well as develop community programs to attract inner-city youth to the field of law enforcement (Paoline, Myers, and Worden 2000). In Newark, New Jersey, where one of the worst riots took place, Black officers made up only 11 percent of the police department, but Blacks made up approximately 50 percent of the population (Rojas and Atkinson 2017).

The importance of diversity in the workforce has been supported by the literature; for example, a link has been shown between the racial diversity of an organization's employees and both its long-term and short-term performances (Richard, Murthi, and Ismail 2007). Even more so than many other professions, law enforcement officers must interact with a diversity of people with different racial, ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds. A diverse police department is more likely to have officers who can communicate with and understand people who live or work in their jurisdiction. In addition, people are more likely to trust people who look like them and share similar cultural backgrounds.

Because of the lack of diversity in law enforcement workplaces prior to the 1960s, the recruitment of individuals from racial and ethnic minority groups into law enforcement positions has often been in the spotlight, as the field has worked to remedy this problem. Some of the most impactful affirmative action programs implemented in the United States were court-ordered racial hiring allocations imposed on municipal law enforcement agencies, requiring departments to hire more African Americans and other minorities (Doerner 1995). For example, the cities of Boston and Cambridge in Massachusetts are both still subject to hiring quotas that were implemented in 1973 (Brohé 2007). It is estimated that this court-ordered affirmative action hiring program created a 14-point gain in the percentage of newly hired African American municipal police officers in the region (Brohé 2007).

Affirmative action hiring programs were implemented in the United States in part because the public image of a Caucasian workforce did not reflect the country's ethnically diverse society. (McIntosh 1988). According to the 2010 Census, 37 percent of the U.S. population reported their race and ethnicity as something other than "non-Hispanic White" (Humes, Jones, and Ramirez 2011). People in various racial and ethnic minority groups constitute 50 percent or more of the total population in approximately one-tenth of all counties in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Commerce 2012). The Census Bureau estimates that the population of racial and ethnic minorities will continue to grow and by 2060 will account for nearly 60 percent of the country's population (U.S. Department of Commerce 2012)—increasing the need for more minorities in the workplace, especially in sectors with a history of discord amongst workers and those served, such as the police.

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, in 2009, approximately 27 percent of law enforcement officers in all local police departments were racial or ethnic minorities (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). For comparison, before 1990, only 17 percent of law enforcement officers were racial or ethnic minorities (Carter and Sapp 1990). However, despite increases like this around the country, the representation of racial and ethnic minorities has not reflected the proportion of minorities in the general population, which is about 38 percent (U.S. Department of Commerce 2012). Of that 38 percent, 13.4 percent are Black or African American and 18.1 percent are Hispanic or Latino (U.S. Department of Commerce 2012). According to a recent Law Enforcement Management and Admin-

istrative Statistics (LEMAS) survey from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, local police departments hired about 477,000 full-time officers in 2013 (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2016). Of those hired, racial and ethnic minority individuals comprised about 27 percent.

An additional analysis of demographic congruence by *Governing the States and Localities* (2015) based on 269 jurisdictions demonstrates that the racial disparities between law enforcement officers and the communities they serve remain a problem. Results indicated that when African Americans, Asians, or Hispanics comprised the largest racial or ethnic group within a jurisdiction, its racial or ethnic minorities were underrepresented in the police force by an average of 24 percentage points when compared to Census population estimates (U.S. Department of Commerce 2012). While the number of Hispanic local police officers increased by 16 percent from 2007 to 2013 (*Governing the States and Localities* 2015), Hispanics were still underrepresented by 11 percentage points below Census population estimates (U.S. Department of Commerce 2012). Asian law enforcement officers were most underrepresented, with an average of 33 percentage points below Census population estimates in seven jurisdictions in which they accounted for the single largest demographic group (Wilson and Grammich 2009). These numbers indicate the likelihood of a call from a civilian being answered by a minority officer is extremely low (Bolton and Feagin 2004).

The Task Force on 21st Century Policing issued several recommendations on improving minority recruitment (President's Task Force 2015). Their findings showed that despite years-long efforts to create diverse police departments throughout the country, minority officers remain woefully underrepresented (Cook 2015). This is particularly true in jurisdictions experiencing rapid demographic shifts, such as California, Connecticut, Nevada, and New Jersey, where police officers do not reflect the racial or ethnic makeup of their communities on an exceedingly large scale (Cook 2015).

Barriers to minority representation in law enforcement

The history of discrimination and segregation looms large over American policing (Hadden 2001), and police departments eager to hire minorities in some cities still may face structural hurdles that make it difficult to diversify their departments (Doerner 1995). Those hurdles vary by state and city, making any single solution or blanket policy change particularly elusive. In many cities, well-intentioned policies that were not initially meant to discriminate have become obstacles to hiring a diverse police force (Matthies, Keller, and Lim 2012). Nevertheless, Oliver (2017) argues that departments looking to diversity their agencies cannot rely exclusively on general recruitment strategies.

Women and men of color do not apply for law enforcement jobs at the same rate as their White counterparts (Wilson et al. 2010). According to a recent survey, there are three possible primary factors that may contribute to this problem (Matthies, Keller, and Lim 2012). First, the target pop-

ulation may be disproportionately unaware of employment opportunities, suggesting inadequacies in law enforcement agencies' outreach efforts, such as agencies not recruiting in racial and ethnic minority neighborhoods in their cities. Second, the target population may be unqualified for those law enforcement positions that are hiring. Finally, members of the target population, in this case, racial and ethnic minorities, may be uninterested in these positions.

The first step to increasing minority representation in law enforcement is making the career path seem more appealing to potential applicants. One way to do this is to project a more positive image (Wilson et al. 2013). Agencies that hold their law enforcement officers to high standards of professionalism and morality while effectively policing the community, establish community partnerships, and mentor or guide youth within the community through outreach programs have been shown to decrease crime rates in their communities and increase positive attitudes among community members (Wilson et al. 2013). The establishment of good relationships with leaders in minority communities, as well as with organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), has also been proven to aid in police recruitment of minority applicants (Wilson et al. 2013). Law enforcement agencies that do not use these practices have been negatively affected (Tyler and Fagan 2008).

The hiring requirements of law enforcement agencies pose a serious barrier to diversifying recruitment and the introduction of racial and ethnic minority individuals. Many agencies have strict education, medical, physical fitness, background, and residency requirements. Some of these requirements negatively impact lower economic status ethnic and racial minorities. Disparities of educational attainment are immense, and statistics show the graduation rate of ethnic and racial minorities is significantly lower than that of Caucasian individuals, decreasing the number of racial and ethnic minorities who meet the educational requirements of law enforcement agencies (Mathies, Keller, and Lim 2012).

Other barriers to the recruitment and successful hiring of racial and ethnic minorities include physical fitness and medical requirements (Cossrow and Falkner 2004), as well as citizenship and residency status (Raganella and White 2004) and cost of living in certain areas (Baro and Burlingame 1999). Racial and ethnic minorities have a higher rate of obesity, diabetes, high blood pressure, and cardiovascular disease (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2012). These health disparities can impact performance on physical fitness tests, serving as medical clearance barriers that can disqualify ethnic and racial minority recruits and applicants (Cossrow and Falkner 2004). Residency and citizenship requirements are significant barriers to recruiting and hiring ethnic and racial minorities as well. In the United States, it takes a significantly long time for foreign-born residents to become citizens (Batalova and Terrazas 2010), and as many law enforcement agencies require officers to be citizens (Raganella and White 2004), this creates yet another barrier for those wishing to become police officers. Some law enforcement agencies have a residency requirement, meaning

an officer must reside in the city in which they are serving or in surrounding areas (Wilson, Wilson, and Gwann 2016). In some instances, the cost of living within the required locations produces a burden on potential law enforcement recruits (Baro and Burlingame 1999), especially on racial and ethnic minorities, who tend to have lower incomes than their White counterparts (Baro and Burlingame 1999).

Another portion of the hiring process that specifically affects the hiring of minorities is background checks and criminal history requirements of applicants (Raganella and White 2004). Background investigations that reveal any history of problematic behaviors or felony convictions are immediate employment disqualifiers in most cases (Chivers and Rashbaum 2008). Juvenile involvement in minor drug-related offenses and violent crime offenses is two to five times more likely to show up on the background check of African American than of Caucasian applicants (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2011). Indications of financial problems highlighted during the background investigation process can also lead to the disqualification of otherwise qualified minority applicants (Matthies, Keller, and Lim 2012). Hispanics and African Americans have been found to have lower average credit scores than Whites (Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System 2007), meaning that minorities are more likely to be hindered by their finances during the recruitment process. Furthermore, the rate of unemployment and dismissal from jobs is higher in minority populations (Rugh and Masey 2010), decreasing the likelihood of successful hiring for jobs in general, not only in law enforcement. Additionally, some law enforcement agencies require applicants to pay for and successfully pass hiring exams that they may not be able to afford (Matthies, Keller, and Lim 2012), once again placing an inordinate financial burden on potential hires.

Given the hiring barriers posed by these educational, health, and employment disparities, effective outreach and recruitment of qualified minority applicants are imperative (Baro and Burlingame 1999). While hiring barriers cannot be fully eliminated, it is necessary to assess which standards and processes best ensure quality recruits from diverse backgrounds (Pearsall III and Kohlhepp 2010). Careful consideration of recruitment processes and hiring requirements to determine whether any requirements unnecessarily disqualify minority candidates would aid in eliminating the unnecessary disqualification of racial and ethnic minority applicants. Recruitment teams can also conduct orientation sessions (Bennett, Hess, and Orthman 2004) for applicants who show interest in a law enforcement career. There are also recruitment methods aimed directly at college campuses, high schools, and minority neighborhoods (Reaves 2013). While these methods have been shown to be successful in increasing awareness among minorities and in increasing the number of applications received from minorities, the aforementioned requirements must still be modified and monitored to ensure that there are no unnecessary systemic impediments to successful hiring of minorities.

Diversity in law enforcement recruitment

Some law enforcement agencies appear to be better at recruiting and maintaining a diverse and representative police force than others (Zhao, He, and Lovrich 2005). While there is no evidence that police departments with representative populations are less likely to face claims of excessive force or discrimination (Zhao, Herbst, and Lovrich 2001), civil rights activists, police executives, and community members alike say it is important for these forces to resemble the communities in which they serve (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs 2015). To highlight this claim, data on police and community demographics for the country's 75 largest departments were collected and ranked according to how well the demographics of the police community matched the communities in which they served (U.S. Census Bureau 2013).

The results showed that Jersey City and Newark, both in New Jersey, had very high overrepresentation of Whites in their police departments (U.S. Census Bureau 2013). Some cities have better demographic matching between the city's population and that of the police department, but very few departments have an overrepresentation of minorities (Maguire and King 2004). Among the fifty largest departments, only Atlanta, Georgia; El Paso, Texas; Miami, Florida; and Washington, D.C. reflect the racial and ethnic makeup of the populations they serve (United States Census Bureau 2013).

Departments that already have high levels of community trust and have a diverse workforce may find it easier to recruit minorities (Reaves 2013). Large cities also have the advantage of being able to operate their academies and recruit nationally; whereas many smaller agencies require a recruit to be recertified before being hired, recruits in larger cities attend agency-sponsored academies, where they receive pay during their training period (Reaves 2010), aiding those cities' recruitment efforts. As a way of attracting racial minorities into its applicant pool, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) sponsors test-taking events and provides workshops to support individuals in their preparation for recruitment tests, as well as hosting seminars throughout the city to help prepare recruits for interviews (U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics 2008). These efforts at recruitment could potentially explain Los Angeles' larger than average percentage of minority officers.

In some agencies, minority officers are also strongly encouraged to identify potential recruits in their communities (Wilson et al. 2010) through a referral program; the aim here, once again, is to increase the diversity among law enforcement recruits and officers. Studies have often found that having a family member or friend in law enforcement represents a significant factor in convincing young people to become police officers (Lester 1983; Raganella and White 2004). In cities such as Cleveland, Ohio, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the wide demographic gaps between the police departments and the minority populations, specifically African Americans, may have exacerbated tensions after racially charged protests over police actions. (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2012). In Savannah, Georgia, the police department advocates for minority recruits internally throughout

the application process, placing ads in minority publications and establishing relationships with Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) (Wilson and Grammich 2009), which could account for their relatively high rate of minority officers.

One of the most common police recruitment methods is advertising in publications geared toward individuals of majority racial backgrounds as an effort to increase minority recruits (Streit 2001). Additionally, word of mouth and brief visits to specified venues such as local college campuses or job fairs have also been shown to aid in the recruitment process (Wilson et al. 2013). Having a diverse recruiting team is important in recruitment efforts (Milgram 2002). Having recruitment teams made up of racial and ethnic minorities that mirror the community and their target population can improve agencies' recruitment efforts.

Various studies have shown racial and ethnic minority applicants are hired at a greater rate by hiring agents who are also ethnic and racial minorities (Stoll, Raphael, and Holzer 2004). Successful minority recruitment strategies emphasize the community engagement aspect of the roles, job security, and the opportunity for advancement (Raganella and White 2004). The same findings show that having more minority officers in charge of hiring new officers and emphasizing the upsides of law enforcement positions would increase the number of minority recruits to these positions.

Research also indicates that partnerships between law enforcement agencies and urban organizations and cultural institutions can improve recruitment within ethnic and racial minority communities (Taylor, Chatters, and Jackson 2007); specifically, for the African American community, the church is one such core institution that can be targeted. Church and religion, in general, have represented a significant factor in the political, social, cultural, spiritual, and educational development of African Americans in the United States (Smith et al. 1999). Approximately 62 percent of African American families attend religious services at least once per week (Taylor, Chatters, and Jackson 2007). By engaging with African Americans in these locations and events, law enforcement agencies can increase the number of recruits from this group.

Hair salons, barbershops, and other gathering locations such as shopping malls also serve as sources of formal and informal information for ethnic and racial minorities (Linnan and Ferguson 2007), as well as social and recreational meeting places for youth and adults. As such, these environments are also ripe for the recruiting of diverse applicants. The Task Force on 21st Century Policing recommended that organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League can serve as key partners for recruiting racial and ethnic diverse recruits. African American and minority fraternal and professional organizations can also connect agencies to the racial and ethnic minority communities in which potential candidates can be found (President's Task Force 2015). A recent study found that only 46.2 percent of municipal agencies and 35.7 percent of state agencies surveyed reported contacting citizen or neighborhood groups to notify them of recruitment events. Only 23.1 percent of

law enforcement municipal agencies reported efforts to contact local Urban Leagues, whereas 28.6 percent of state law enforcement agencies made such attempts (Wilson et al. 2013). Increasing communication with community organizations could aid agencies in minority recruitment.

Conclusions

Successful recruitment strategies use a mixture of methods to ensure that information reaches potential applicants. Recruitment methods must target members of minority communities by taking advantage of the full range of resources available within that community. When attempting to recruit minorities, recruitment officers must have a presence where such candidates are likely to be found, such as community fairs and events and schools with a high percentage of minority students (Streit 2001). Church leaders and attendees of meetings of the Urban League, NAACP, and other prominent organizations in racial and ethnic minority communities are all important constituencies that may help to reach specific groups of people (Wilson et al. 2013).

In choosing venues for distributing and disseminating information to potential minority recruits, it is imperative for law enforcement agencies to be creative and use every method at their disposal if they wish to increase their number of minority applicants and retain them as employees. Placing recruiting information in places such as restaurants, gas stations, shopping malls, fitness centers, beauty salons, and barber shops, as well as distributing it digitally via social media, could significantly assist in diversifying the applicant pool (U.S. Department of Commerce 2010). Placing employment advertisements in news publications that are not read by minority communities and in communities minority individuals do not frequent or reside in will not suffice (U.S. Department of Commerce 2010).

Social advocacy organizations, professional and fraternal associations, and news and media groups that cater specifically to the Black community are important stakeholders within those communities (Smith et al. 1999)—stakeholders that may greatly assist and enhance the flow of information to community members. Law enforcement agencies should use these organizations' connections to the community to help diversify their pool of officers. Lastly, law enforcement agencies must also acknowledge the retention and promotion challenges of minority candidates and officers (Doerner 1995). It is imperative that law enforcement agencies eliminate discriminatory attitudes and practices in order to create an environment in which minorities wish to work (Wilson and Grammich 2009). In conjunction with their recruitment efforts, law enforcement agencies must focus on and devote resources to developing effective strategies for fostering a positive and supportive environment for minority law enforcement officers (Streit 2001) if they wish to be successful with those groups in the long run.

Throughout the United States, the racial composition of local police forces is significantly incongruent with the demographics of the communities they serve (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs 2015)—an artifact of many years of issues with recruiting and retaining minorities (Wilson et al. 2013). Racial and ethnic minorities' opinions of and beliefs about law enforcement are increasingly negative; highly publicized incidents of minority individuals being subject to excessive force by law enforcement officers intensifies this perception and has a negative impact on community members and potential recruits (Wilson et al. 2016).

Commonly used recruiting methods have not been successful enough in attracting diverse law enforcement officer applicants that reflect the demographics of the communities they serve. Through a review of the literature, it is evident various changes to recruitment efforts and policies are required in order to increase diversity in the law enforcement workforce (Wilson et al. 2010). Importance needs to be placed on creating easy-to-follow and appealing recruitment materials for potential minority applicants (Zhao, He, and Lovrich 2005). Preliminary testing that recruits are put through must be made culturally unbiased, as racial and ethnic minorities already face disparities in the realms of education, health, and mental health (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2007).

While there are still significant gaps in the research on recruiting diverse law enforcement officers (Cook 2015), multiple studies acknowledge the need for policy changes that could aid in making law enforcement agencies mirror the populations that they serve. There is a need for more research on recruiting African American police officers, especially since the advent of the Black Lives Matter Movement and the increase in publicized police killings such as those of Michael Brown and Philando Castile. Have police minority recruitment methods changed? If so, in what ways have they changed? Which new methods are effective? These are some of the questions that need to be answered in the literature. Such research would be helpful in designing and implementing police recruitment programs that will increase diversity within law enforcement.



Women in Law Enforcement

While women of lower socioeconomic status, particularly racial minorities, have always worked outside the home (Glenn 1985), the proportion of women in the workplace has significantly increased since World War I (Thom 2000). In 1890, there were 4 million women listed on the census as “gainful workers,” making up about 17 percent of workers in general (Social Security Administration 1942). As of 2010, that number of women workers had risen to 47 percent of the workforce (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics 2011). Yet, none of these women were working as uniformed police officers with the same powers as male officers.

Even with this great increase of women in the workplace, the numbers in some occupations are still strikingly unequal. Women make up extremely high percentages of registered nurses (91.1 percent), elementary and middle school teachers (81.8 percent), and medical and health services managers (72.5 percent) (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics 2011). Nevertheless, in traditionally male-dominated industries and occupations, only about 6.6 percent of workers were women in 2017 (Hegewisch and Williams-Baron 2018). A variety of factors can explain why representation for women in these occupations is so low. This literature review analyzes the current role of women in the specific male-dominated law enforcement field and attempts to answer the following questions: Why is the number of women so low? Why does the number of women in law enforcement need to increase to better meet the needs of the communities served?

State of women in law enforcement

Women were initially hired by police departments to assist with juvenile defendants and incarcerated women. These women, called matrons, primarily engaged in social work without arrest powers. Even after being labeled policewomen, most departments restricted them to separate divisions called women’s bureaus. In 1968, the Indianapolis Police Department assigned the nation’s first two female patrol officers (National Center for Women and Policing 2000). But it took federal legislation and lawsuits before most departments hired women to work patrol duties like male officers.

In 2018, according to statistics compiled by the FBI, only 26.8 percent of all law enforcement employees and only 12.5 percent of officers were women (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2018). Even these numbers are after “dramatic increases in the employment of women over the past 50 years” in law enforcement (Cordner and Cordner 2011). According to the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reports (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1972, 1981, 1991, 2001, 2010), the proportion of women in state and local sworn police throughout the United States almost tripled from 1971 to 1980, then more than doubled by 2000. However, the proportion of women in this field has increased by less than 10 percent since 1997, creating a plateau (Cordner and Cordner 2011).

As women make up about 51 percent of the total population and 47 percent of the workforce, one could argue that the percentage of women in law enforcement should be within that range (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics 2011). There are several factors that could influence the low rate of women in law enforcement. One is historical employment discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 both prohibit discrimination against women in the workplace (Gregory 2003). These federal laws, as well as the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act and subsequent merit systems, all have reduced the opportunity for discrimination in the workplace (Naff 1994).

It has been up to individual departments to implement and enforce these federal rules and regulations unless they were under a federal consent decree. Data collected by Tazinski P. Lee (2005) suggest that there has been an extreme lack of enforcement of affirmative action plans/initiatives by some departments, and that these departmental oversights have had a large impact on women in the industry. For example, in Pittsburgh, the percentage of women officers went from 1 in 1975 to 27.2 in 1990 due to court-ordered affirmative action hiring quotas. When the 50 percent mandatory quota for female new hires was lifted in 1991, the percentage of new female hires shrank to 8.5, and has continued to decline (Sklansky 2005).

Issues pertaining to women in law enforcement

The hiring process

When they are followed, these aforementioned federal laws and merit systems reduce the likelihood and opportunities for overt gender discrimination in the workplace. However, these are not the only constraints on the law enforcement hiring process. Some large law enforcement agencies are mandated to hire directly from a list of qualified candidates (Cordner and Cordner 2011). These police departments have little to no control over these lists. The lists are produced by city, county, or state human resources departments or by the civil service system, through a testing process that most hiring managers do not control. “The opportunity for overt discrimination might be greater in smaller agencies, however, where the police chief, sheriff, or agency personnel head often still has considerable discretion in hiring decisions” (Cordner, and Cordner 2011).

Women were not eligible to be police officers before the early 1900s and if employed by law enforcement agencies they usually were assigned to clerical roles, or those roles that required working with women and children (Hale 1992). Although women are now allowed in the police force as officers, policing is still perceived by some to be male-dominated and hostile to women and more traditional feminine values (Rabe-Hemp 2008). The police academy itself, with its paramilitary structure, can lead to an “all boys club” atmosphere (Prokos and Padavic 2002).

Another explanation for women's underrepresentation in law enforcement that is frequently suggested is that the overtly male-dominated culture in law enforcement discourages women from seeking police employment to begin with, which of course would negatively affect recruitment (Martin 1990). This culture also affects the retention of those women who do make it past the hiring process. They are more likely to feel uncomfortable and leave the law enforcement field (Hale and Wyland 1999).

Barriers to women in law enforcement

Aside from the hiring process, there are other reasons why women might not seek law enforcement careers or may choose to leave those careers. The most frequently cited reason that law enforcement recruits gave as to why their peers did not want to enter law enforcement was the threat of injury or death (Castaneda and Ridgeway 2010). This RAND Survey found that almost four times as many respondents indicated these were deterrents for their peers than for themselves.

On the other hand, according to recruits surveyed, issues of greater concern for female recruits than for their peers included the family members' negative views regarding law enforcement and perceived favoritism within law enforcement agencies. Dissatisfaction with the salary, health insurance, and other benefits was not cited as a significant factor for recruits or their non-law enforcement peers. This suggests that agencies are mostly battling other factors, most notably career interests, trends in physical fitness, and negative views of the police (Castaneda and Ridgeway 2010).

Women recruits were more likely to state that their peers were discouraged from pursuing a career in law enforcement due to their lack of physical fitness and law enforcement's incompatibility with family obligations (Castaneda and Ridgeway 2010). This could simply be because women are more likely to consider other women their peers (Ibarra, Ely, and Kolb 2013). In addition, women tended to state that long hours and shift work were disadvantages to their peers at a higher rate than male recruits—as they did about abuse of power and excessive force (Castaneda and Ridgeway 2010).

The differences between women's and men's responses were especially large regarding favoritism and physical fitness requirements (Castaneda and Ridgeway 2010). Physical fitness requirements affect the initial application process as well as affecting recruits themselves. Most agencies use standard fitness tests as part of the hiring process for those seeking law enforcement careers (Lonsway 2003). Women are more likely than men to fail the tests, particularly the upper body strength portion (Birzer and Craig 1996).

Supporters of universal physical fitness testing practices argue that these tests are created to measure the physical requirements required for the job, and that all officers should be able to complete the tasks (Berner and Kohls 1982). Critics, however, question the scientific validity of the tests. They also point out that, if a high level of fitness was absolutely necessary to perform day to day

functions as a police officer, departments would require their officers to maintain their physical fitness throughout their careers, not just during the hiring and recruitment stages. Few agencies actually require annual fitness testing as they do firearms readiness testing (Brown 2005; Gaines, Falkenberg, and Gambino 1996).

After women officers are hired, the traditional routines of police work and careers often clash with family responsibilities that tend to fall more on women than on men (Cooper and Ingram 2004). As first responders, police are required to work non-traditional hours such as nights, weekends, and holidays, regardless of their place in the law enforcement hierarchy. Most police departments in the United States “do not offer flexible hours, part-time positions, leaves of absence, job sharing, or other accommodations designed to help parents (especially mothers) balance competing demands” (Hale and Wyland 1999). This means that women who are mothers face more challenges in law enforcement careers than in careers where a more traditional workday remains the norm. This may contribute to more resentment, stress, and overall a higher turnover rate among women in law enforcement than for their male counterparts, in addition to deterring women from applying to law enforcement careers in the first place (Cooper and Ingram 2004).

The male-dominated workplace culture of law enforcement is likely one reason for the historically low number of women in law enforcement in general, if not for the recent plateau of women in the field (Castaneda and Ridgeway 2010). Such cultures are not limited to the field of law enforcement; however, the widespread perception of law enforcement as a male-dominated field may make women especially wary of seeking law enforcement careers. Surveys of working women suggest that about half of women will be harassed at some point during their academic or working lives (Fitzgerald 1993). The data indicate that harassment in the workplace is “degrading, frightening, and sometimes physically violent; frequently extending over a considerable period; and can result in profound job-related, psychological, and health-related consequences” (Fitzgerald 1993). One study showed that while most women experienced behaviors that could be considered sexual harassment, few filed complaints out of fear that they would suffer negative personal or professional consequences (Lonsway, Paynich, and Hall 2013).

Between the risk of injury or death, long hours, fitness test requirements, the incompatibility with home and family life, and the risk of sexual harassment, it is not completely inconceivable as to why women are less likely to seek out law enforcement careers and why the turnover rate is so high amongst women. “The truth is, women haven’t come nearly as far as we predicted 25 years ago. Somewhere along the line, especially in recent years, progress for women has stalled” (Lipman 2009). This stagnation can most definitely be witnessed in women in law enforcement careers.

Cordner and Cordner conducted a study in three counties in Pennsylvania in which the number of women police officers was particularly low (2011). Both women officers and police chiefs they surveyed agreed on three possible reasons for this: (a) women in the region have other employment options that are more attractive, (b) women in the region are not very interested in police employment, and (c) physical fitness tests tend to eliminate women or push them down the eligibility list. The women officers felt that the culture in the particular areas contributed to the low level of women's law enforcement employment in ways that the chiefs could influence, but the chiefs felt that it was beyond their control. If chiefs feel that women are not interested in law enforcement, they will not implement programs to recruit them.

The case for women in law enforcement

While the above reasons have been explored under the lens of cons to women in law enforcement, there are reasons that women seek out law enforcement careers. In the RAND study, women were less likely to cite other career interests and insufficient salary as key barriers to law enforcement careers (Castaneda and Ridgeway 2010). This could mean that women who join law enforcement are fully aware of their career choices and therefore more committed to the career and the pros and cons that come with it. Women were also less likely than their male counterparts to report that salary was a deterrent for their peers—men were more likely to say that both insufficient salary and criminal records were reasons that their peers did not seek law enforcement careers (Castaneda and Ridgeway 2010).

In early research on police recruiting, job security was cited as the primary reason for entering law enforcement careers (Lester 1983). In newer literature, it has been listed as a primary rationale, for instance in the Raganella and White study (2004), which found that job security was the second highest-ranked reason cited by a New York City Police Department (NYPD) recruiting class. Recently, helping people in the community has become a strong motivation for pursuing a career in law enforcement. This reason has been shown to have an even more powerful effect on recruits than job security, especially among women. Both Lester's study (1983) and Raganella and White's (2004) find that helping those in the community was a high-ranking factor. However, the 2008–2009 RAND Law Enforcement Recruitment Survey results suggest that public service may not be as attractive to male applicants, who constitute more than 80 percent of new recruits, as it is to female applicants. This disparity could potentially point to a significant difference between the rationales behind joining law enforcement for women and men.

Competitive retirement packages and health benefits were also regarded as important reasons for working in law enforcement, and again, this reinforces results from previous studies (Castaneda and Ridgeway 2010). In the past two decades, low salaries have been blamed for causing significant challenges to the recruitment process, specifically in San Diego (San Diego Police Department

and Buck Consultants 2006) as well as in New York (Baker and Greenhouse 2008). Castaneda and Ridgeway (2010) found that 87 percent of new recruits felt that the good salary was an important reason for them to pursue a policing career. In fact, Castaneda and Ridgeway found that women felt that way more strongly than men.

Echoing the findings of all these studies, a 2007 national survey of women police officers showed that public service was one of the principal motivations for entering a career in law enforcement, but job security was the primary reason for staying in the job (Seklecki and Paynich 2007). The RAND survey also found that reasons such as the power and authority that come with law enforcement jobs and law enforcement's military structure were less likely to be motivating factors for women than for men. Additionally, women recruits regarded opportunities for advancement and a good salary as more important reasons to join law enforcement than did male recruits (Castaneda and Ridgeway 2010).

Despite the barriers to hiring and retention discussed in this section, there are several reasons police organizations should want to have women officers. Results from studies into the effectiveness of female versus male officers in various law enforcement agencies indicate that men and women are equally capable of successful performance as patrol officers (Martin and Jurik 2006). Research also has shown that there is no meaningful difference between female and male officers' patrol productivity (Snortum and Beyers 1983) or their academic and on-the-job performance evaluations (Jones 1987).

While there is no significant difference between male and female officers' responses to violent confrontations with citizens (Grennan 1987), it has been shown that woman officers "utilize a less authoritarian style of policing that relies less on physical force" than male officers (Grennan 1987). Whether this difference is attributable to variations in physical force and strength or to other factors, it is imperative to note that it is difficult to find documented cases of a negative situation between a citizen and officer that has been directly attributed to the lack of strength or aggressiveness on the part of a female police officer (Charles 1981), nor has physical strength been shown to predict police effectiveness in men or women (Sherman 1973), or officers' ability to successfully handle dangerous situations on the job (Bell 1982). Studies continue to show that women officers tend to be less likely to use excessive force than male officers (Lonsway 2002; Schuck and Rabe-Hemp 2005). Lonsway (2002) found that a policeman is "over eight and a half times more likely to have an allegation of excessive force sustained against" him, and is "two to three times more likely to have a citizen name him in a complaint of excessive force." Similarly, a 2017 Pew Research study found that female officers were less likely than male officers to feel that aggression is more useful than courtesy in certain parts of the city (Stepler 2017). Women officers have also been shown to be more likely to provide support to citizens involved in domestic violence than their male counterparts (Sun 2007).

Another benefit to having women officers in law enforcement is that women officers have been shown to better implement the modern law enforcement trend of community-oriented policing (Lonsway 2000). Women officers receive fewer complaints and more favorable reviews than their male peers from the citizens with whom they interact (Bartlett and Rosenblum 1977). Women officers also have been shown to have more empathy and less cynicism towards others (Worden 1993); unlike male officers, they are not perceived as having something to prove (Lonsway 2000). With these advantages, it is difficult to see why women officers are not viewed in a higher regard within law enforcement agencies in the United States.

Conclusions

Underrepresentation of women in law enforcement is a longstanding issue that will not be solved quickly or easily. Many of the issues identified here (the male-dominated police culture, lack of advancement opportunities, the need for family-friendly policies, etc.) are highly complex and systematic problems that are embedded deeply in the entire criminal justice system. The average woman does not grow up with law enforcement as her desired career. Women must be exposed to the benefits of the occupation, not just the financial benefits of the job. Recruiters must see the value that women bring to the job so they will not approach recruiting women as a box that the police department is trying to check for public relations purposes.

It should be noted that there is a need for more research on the women in law enforcement, especially on women officers in the United States. Many of the studies cited are more than twenty years old because of the dearth of recent research studies. As the number of women in the profession in general has increased in many larger agencies and the number of women in supervisory, management, and executive positions has increased, studies of the effectiveness of women need to be conducted. The findings from such studies will be useful in developing and implementing recruitment and retention programs.

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, only 12.8 percent of full-time law enforcement officers in the United States were women in 2019. There are law enforcement agencies in the United States with 20 percent or more women officers (Langton 2010), but this is not the national average. Some other countries, including Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom, have outpaced the United States in hiring women officers (Prenzler and Sinclair 2013). As early as 2007, Beattie and Moles reported that 19 percent of Canada's officers were women, and Australia reported 23 percent by 2009 (Irving 2009). Adopting the policies or recruitment practices of countries with higher rates of women police officers could increase the number of women in law enforcement in America. A study of their retention strategies could possibly help U.S. agencies improve their retention rates.

Bringing women police officers on board—and retaining them—has been shown to provide a wide range of advantages to law enforcement agencies. According to Lonsway (2000), research conducted in the United States, as well as internationally, shows the following:

- Female officers are as competent as their male counterparts, and even excel in certain areas of police performance.
- Female officers are less likely to use excessive force.
- Female officers are more likely to implement community-oriented policing.
- More female officers will improve law enforcement’s response to violence against women.
- Increasing the presence of female officers reduces problems of sex discrimination and harassment within a law enforcement agency.
- The presence of women can bring about beneficial changes in policy for all officers.

Research, as well as practical experience from officers in the field, shows that hiring and retaining more women in law enforcement careers “will yield benefits not only to women within the police profession but also to their male counterparts, the larger police organization, and the communities in which they serve” (Lonsway 2000).



Focus Groups

This study relies heavily on findings from four focus groups convened in the summer and fall of 2016 at different universities across the continental United States—one each from the Midwest, East Coast, South, and West Coast. The aim of the study was to gain insight into the views of Black college students on law enforcement issues, e.g., recruitment, selection, and building trust between the police and the communities they serve. By conducting focus groups, the study was able to collect qualitative data on the attitudes, experiences, and beliefs of participants and their perceptions of police officers and relations between the police and the Black community. The primary topic of discussion for these focus groups was the recruitment and selection of minority officers.

The Walters Center hired coordinators from each site to recruit students to participate in the focus groups, select a venue for them on campus, and serve as the on-site logistics coordinator. A focus group facilitator was also hired, after a nationwide search for a person with experience working with law enforcement and African American college students who had the ability to engage groups in candid discussion. The facilitator selected was a sociologist with an academic specialization in policing as well as experience in working in the human relations division of a large police department. In addition to her related experience, she was also chosen for her ability to connect with the college students in the focus groups. She is a young Black woman who received her doctorate from a historically Black university (HBU) and has taught Black college students.

This facilitator designed and conducted the focus groups. She was responsible for drafting the discussion questions in consultation with the Walters Center project team members, traveling with the team to each of the colleges to facilitate the discussions, and directing and controlling the dialogue to ensure that the discussions stayed on topic and that there was engagement from all participants. She also ensured that all participants completed consent forms and demographic surveys.

Transcriptions and notes from the proceedings were used to analyze the focus group discussions. In addition to the focus group discussion, additional data were collected through a two-page, 12-question survey that was administered to participants prior to the beginning of each focus group session. The purpose of the survey was to capture basic demographic data and information concerning the positive and negative experiences subjects had had with the police.

During each the focus group convening, the facilitator asked the student participants eight in-depth questions related to five main topics:

- The participants' feelings about the word "police"
- Their thoughts on why Blacks are reluctant to become police officers
- Their opinions on methods that should be used to recruit youth for positions on the police force
- Qualities they would like to see in the officers that police their communities
- Reasons they believe tension exists between the police and the Black community, as well as how these two groups might be able to overcome the challenges posed by that tension

Demographic findings

The four focus groups were held at Howard University in Washington, D.C.; Dillard University in New Orleans, Louisiana; Chicago State University in Chicago, Illinois; and Merritt College in Oakland, California. As mentioned above, the schools were selected to represent each region of the country, and each college is either a predominantly Black institution (PBI) or a historically Black college or university (HBCU), meaning the Black student population was the largest racial or ethnic group. Howard University and Dillard University are HBCUs with student populations that were respectively 84 and 89 percent Black at the time of the study. Chicago State University, with 75 percent Black students, and Merritt College, with 28 percent, are classified as PBIs.

A total of fifty-four students participated in this study across the four campuses. As shown in table 1, most students participating were between 18 and 20 years of age, with only about 13 percent of participants being 27 years old or older.

Table 1: Age of Participants

Age	Number	Percent
18–20	27	51.9 percent
21–23	8	15.4 percent
24–26	10	19.2 percent
27–30	4	7.7 percent
Over 30	3	5.8 percent
Total	52	100 percent

The inclusion of perspectives from both genders was significant in this study, because most college campuses have populations that are majority women, whereas most police agencies are predominantly male. A lack of gender diversity among study participants could have inhibited the inclusion of various perspectives—many of which possess the potential to yield valuable insight and knowledge. Gender balance among participants was essential, because 21st century policing must be inclusive in the viewpoints reflected in its policies, procedures, and practices. Because most college campuses are predominantly female, while most police agencies are predominantly male, the study sought a roughly equal balance of male and female participants. Slightly more women than men participated, as shown in table 2.

Table 2: Gender of Participants

Gender	Number	Percent
Male	25	46.3 percent
Female	29	53.7 percent
Total	54	100 percent

Most focus participants identified as Black or African American—the study was designed to give voice to African American college students (table 3). Of the participants that did not identify as African American or Black, three identified as Hispanic, three indicated being mixed race (Hispanic/Black/Filipino and White/Native American) and one person did not specify their race. Most of the focus group participants were college freshmen, sophomores, and juniors, which aligns with the age ranges previously discussed (table 4).

Table 3: Race/Ethnicity of Participants

Race/Ethnicity	Number	Percent
Black or African American	43	81.1 percent
Other	10	18.9 percent
Total	53	100 percent

Table 4: Academic Status of Participants

Classification	Frequency	Percent
Freshman	13	26 percent
Sophomore	12	24 percent
Junior	13	26 percent
Senior	4	8 percent
Graduate	5	10 percent
Other	3	6 percent
Total	50	100 percent

In the demographic survey, focus group participants were asked to indicate if they had ever had negative or positive encounters with the police (tables 5 and 6). Some research has shown that negative encounters with the police have more of a lasting effect than positive encounters (Maguire, Lowrey, and Johnson 2017). Over half of participants stated that they had experienced a negative encounter with police officers. Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of participants reported having had a positive encounter with police officers as well. These findings are consistent with research on the complicated experiences of Black people, especially Black men, with the police. Even though studies have shown that negative encounters tend to have more of a lasting effect, the fact that participants had also experienced a positive encounter could suggest a potential avenue for repairing relations between police and the Black community.

Table 5: Participants with Negative Encounters with Police Officers

Negative Encounter	Number	Percent
No	23	42.6 percent
Yes	31	57.4 percent
Total	54	100 percent

Table 6: Participants with Positive Encounters with Police Officers

Positive Encounter	Number	Percent
No	4	7.7 percent
Yes	48	92.3 percent
Total	52	100 percent

Close to one-third of the focus group participants had a family member (including aunts, uncles, and cousins) in law enforcement (table 7). These participants were exposed to first-hand knowledge of law enforcement from the perspective of a family member, which could have helped shape their overall opinions of the police. This could also account for the large number of participants indicating positive experiences with the police.

Participants were also asked if they had ever considered or would consider a career in law enforcement and the reasons for their answers (table 8). This question was vital to the study, as it gives decision-makers valuable insight into what college students are thinking and what, if any, changes agencies need to make in order to attract more African American recruits to their police departments. Over half of the students stated they would consider a career in law enforcement.

Table 7: Participants with Family Members in Law Enforcement

Family Member in Law Enforcement	Number	Percent
No	36	66.7 percent
Yes	17	31.5 percent
Total	53	100 percent

Table 8. Would Consider a Law Enforcement Career

Would Consider a Law Enforcement Career	Number	Percent
Yes	32	59.3 percent
No	12	22.2 percent
Not Sure	10	18.5 percent
Total	54	100 percent

When asked why they would consider careers in this field, the reason given by most students was their desire to help people. This was followed by the desire to change law enforcement from the inside, the excitement that came with the job, and the benefits, salary, and job security that accompany law enforcement careers.

The main reasons why students would not consider a career in law enforcement were the availability of better career options, the social status of police officers, and negative experiences with police. The perceived danger of the job and family influence were also cited as reasons for not considering

a career in law enforcement. There was also a sense among some study participants that the police are seen as oppressors in their communities, and students did not want to be associated with the police and labeled as sell-outs.

When asked to select the law enforcement agency they would most want to work for, close to half of the participants chose federal agencies, while most other respondents selected local agencies or did not indicate a preference (table 9). The overwhelming preference for federal law enforcement may be related to the lack of contact, especially negative contact, with federal agents or to their perceived job status, salary, and benefits. None of the participants selected county-level law enforcement. Eleven participants would not consider law enforcement as a career.

Table 9: Preferred Law Enforcement Agency for Participants Looking for Law Enforcement Careers

Preferred Law Enforcement Agency	Frequency	Percent
Local City Police Officer	11	25.6 percent
State Law Enforcement	1	2.3 percent
Federal Officer (FBI)	20	46.5 percent
No Preference	11	25.6 percent
Total	43	100 percent

Focus group discussion

During the focus group convenings, the facilitator directed the discussion using a list of questions directed to participants at each site. The questions were as follows:

- What is the first thing you think about when you hear the word “police”?
- What would make you interested in a law enforcement career?
- Why do you think some Black/African Americans are reluctant to become police officers?
- What methods could be used to entice millennials and/or college students to join law enforcement?
- Should the methods for recruitment be different for Blacks and Whites?
- What do you think should be an automatic disqualifier when applying to become a police officer? (For example, drug use, poor credit, an arrest record, criminal record as an adult or juvenile.) Should these things be automatic disqualifiers or taken on a case-by-case basis?

- What qualities would you like to see in police officers that serve in your community?
- What do you think causes tension or distrust between the community and law enforcement? How can this change? How would you go about changing it?
- Would you like to see more African American police officers in your community? Do you feel that having more African American police officers would help build trusting relationships in the community? In what way?

The negative encounters the participants had had with police officers were reflected in the focus group discussion. None of the participants described feelings of happiness or comfort when asked about the first thing that came to their mind when they heard the word ‘police.’ The image of “Officer Friendly” presented to elementary students has long left the minds of Black college students.

In all the groups, the students expressed distrust of the police based on their personal experiences and experiences and stories shared by family members and friends. Their parents did not encourage them to pursue careers in law enforcement but urged them to become doctors or lawyers. Some said their friends would consider them to be “sell-outs” if they became police officers. Some said they had not been exposed to the different aspects of policing, or that they did not become exposed until recruiters came to their college.

Participants agreed that police officers need to stop racial profiling if they are to attract Black college students to law enforcement. They also spoke about the need for better screening of police candidates to ensure persons who harbor racist values do not get hired. There was also agreement among participants that police departments need to do greater outreach in minority communities and that law enforcement agencies need to hire more people that come from the communities they serve, rather than recruiting from external locations where officers are unfamiliar with the lifestyle and culture of the people they serve.

When attempting to recruit more diverse personnel, the focus group participants stated that recruiting campaigns needed to consider the diversity of the community they serve, ensuring that their campaigns focus on acquiring candidates who reflect community diversity. Nearly all the participants stated they would like to have more African American officers in their communities, even as some questioned whether some African American officers were not as sensitive as the participants had hoped.

During the group discussion, the participants again expressed an interest in the service aspect of law enforcement. Many participants stated they were interested in a career where they could bring about positive change. Some felt that they might be able to bring about change in police departments by being on the inside, and that they could become role models for young children

in their communities. Male participants were more likely to be interested in law enforcement because it would give them new experiences and the opportunity to be engaged in different tasks every day.

Several participants at different campuses suggested that finding a way to pay off or reduce student loan debt would be a great incentive for considering a law enforcement career. They mentioned that other professions, such as the teaching and medical professions, have enticed graduates to work in impoverished areas in exchange for loan forgiveness. Participants also mentioned tuition incentives. They also suggested that more college students might become interested if they saw more positive images of the police and saw more people who looked like them in ranking positions.

When asked about recruitment methods, some respondents stated that recruiting campaigns need to consider the diversity of the community they are serving and ensure that candidates reflect that diversity. They felt that recruiters should help the potential applicants understand what the job will be like, so that persons afraid to work in certain communities will be less likely to take the job.

There was lively discussion about what should qualify and disqualify a person for police work. The participants gave a range of responses to the question of what factors should be automatic disqualifiers. There was, however, agreement that mentally ill persons¹ and persons who use drugs such as cocaine should be disqualified. But there was no agreement on whether the use of marijuana should disqualify a candidate. There was discussion about the fact that marijuana was now legal in some states, though not legal on a federal level, and therefore that restrictions on the use of marijuana would depend upon the jurisdiction of the agency—federal, state, or local—and its specific rules.

They struggled with the concept of automatic disqualifiers, and some participants felt that a poor driving record or bad credit should not be automatic disqualifiers. Some stated that membership in a group like the Ku Klux Klan should be a disqualifier. There was a concern that having a lot of automatic disqualifiers instead of evaluating candidates on a case-by-case basis would result in police departments losing out on good officers.

Participants agreed on qualities they would like to see in the officers who serve their communities. They want officers who are fair, honest, compassionate, approachable, respectful, knowledgeable, friendly, good decision-makers, unbiased, and who make every effort to get to know the people in their community by name.

Social media messages, stories and pictures, fear among officers, and lack of respect for Black people were identified as causes of tension and mistrust between the community and the police. There was strong agreement that tension is generated by racial bias and racial profiling, and by what the students perceive as unnecessary stops by the police.

1. The facilitator did not provide a definition of mental illness or probe for specifics on what the students meant by "mentally ill persons."

Nearly all the participants stated they would like to have more African American officers in their communities, but that the African American officers need to present positive images and be kind and compassionate. They felt that Black officers were more likely to be knowledgeable of African American culture, and that this would help them to be more community-minded.

More than any other focus group, Chicago State students were more likely to express doubt about the ability of Black police officers to make a difference. Some of them attributed this doubt to the high rate of crime in their communities. Others stated that Black officers are intimidated by their White colleagues into being rude or disrespectful to Black people.

Even though there was not a question about the need for women officers in the list of questions used by the focus group facilitator, when one participant in the Merritt College session brought it up, several others echoed the sentiment. They stated that they felt that female officers were more understanding than their male colleagues.

Conclusions

Improvements in the police recruitment and selection processes are believed to be key factors in building trust in the police. One of the recruitment improvements demanded by community activists is the recruitment of more community-minded police officers and more police officers who come from the same cultural background as the communities that they serve. Many police agencies, however, say they cannot find many African Americans who are interested in law enforcement.

This study was designed to uncover some of the reasons why police agencies are struggling to reach hiring goals, and what is required to generate interest in police work among African American college students. There are some African American college students with an interest in law enforcement, but agencies must work to break down barriers that impede them from actively seeking jobs in the field. Agencies must develop different recruitment methods to attract African American applicants.

If agencies want to attract young, African American recruits, they must stress that they are looking for recruits who want to help change policing in the African American community. The recruitment literature, ads, and other messaging must promote the service aspect of law enforcement.

Community leaders and activists must be invited to participate in the recruitment process. This study has shown that potential recruits are influenced by their parents and members of their community. If potential recruits think that people in their community will not accept them in the position of a police officer, they are unlikely to apply, regardless of their views of law enforcement as a service organization.

Law enforcement agencies must find a way to shorten the hiring process if they expect to be somewhat competitive when it comes to recruiting college students. This factor affects the recruitment of college students of all ethnicities. It is acknowledged that applicants should be fully screened and investigated before being hired for a job that legally allows them to use deadly force against human beings. Nevertheless, agencies should explore methods of starting the screening process before students graduate by establishing programs such as cadet corps or internships.

By 2045, the United States will no longer be a majority-White country. Law enforcement agencies must adopt new recruitment material and methodologies and devise new recruitment strategies to attract persons who will be the majority population in the future. Law enforcement agencies must address the deficiencies in the present recruitment, selection, and training systems and find ways to bridge the gaps in race relations that negatively impact the ability of the police to establish trust and deliver efficient services to all citizens.

Convenings

Overview

During the course of the project, three convenings between students and police officials were held on the campus of Howard University. The convenings were designed to help advance Recommendation 4.7 of the Task Force Report: “Communities need to affirm and recognize the voices of youth in community decision making, facilitate youth-led research and problem solving, and develop and fund youth leadership training and life skills through positive youth/police collaboration and interactions.” The Walters Center’s goal was to use its position at Howard University, the landmark HBU, to provide a platform for young people to voice their opinions on police-related issues. The convenings brought police officers and college students together to engage in meaningful dialogue and problem solving related to project goals four and five:

4. facilitate the engagement of college students in improving relations between the police and communities of color.
5. help to build trust in law enforcement by facilitating dialogue and interaction between youth of color and police officials.

The first session was held on October 5, 2016, with the title “Youth and Police: Finding Common Ground.” The second session, with the same theme, was held on April 5, 2017. A third convening was added in lieu of the originally planned survey of law enforcement agencies. After many female students in the focus groups and participants in the first two convenings expressed an interest in gender diversity issues, a third convening focused specifically on gender diversity was held on March 1, 2018. Each convening was designed to have approximately 30 participants, with about equal numbers of students and police officials. Most of the police officials were executives, with a few chiefs of police participating in each session. Students were invited from Howard University and from the University of the District of Columbia, but most of the students who attended were from Howard. The students were instructed to use the opportunity of having the ears of some of the leading law enforcement officials in the country to honestly discuss issues and concerns they had about trust and addressing the divide between police and the African American community.

First Convening: “Youth and Police: Finding Common Ground,” Part 1

The initial convening took place on Wednesday, October 5, 2016, on the campus of Howard University, and it consisted of two parts. The first part was a roundtable discussion between students from Howard University and the University of the District of Columbia and law enforcement officials

from across the country, including Seattle, Washington; Dallas, Texas; Memphis, Tennessee; Richmond, Virginia; and Durham, North Carolina. The second part was a town hall meeting with U.S. Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch.

The morning session was an open discussion between law enforcement officials and student leaders. The discussion, roundtable style, was divided into four subtopics: (1) Finding Common Ground on Defining the Problem: Diversity and 21st Century Law Enforcement; (2) What Do Young Adults Want from Law Enforcement: Moving from Adversaries to Allies; (3) Qualities and Attributes Needed for 21st Century Law Enforcement: Engaging College Students in Policing; and (4) Finding Common Ground on Addressing the Problem: Moving from Ideas to Action Using a Data-Driven Approach.

Finding Common Ground on Defining the Problem: Diversity and 21st Century Law Enforcement

The facilitator introduced the first subtopic of the day: Finding Common Ground on Defining the Problem. The consensus of this discussion was that Black communities do not have to be policed by Black police officers to receive good policing. It was mutually agreed, however, that the officers have to care about the community, regardless of their skin color. Nevertheless, there was agreement that Black community residents want to have Black officers assigned to their communities. Participants also favored a large push to hire African American officers and select African American chiefs as change agents. They suggested reviewing the recruitment process and having more recruiters who can relate to the applicants.

What Do Young Adults Want from Law Enforcement?

This discussion was interactive, with students very vocal regarding their feelings about, and interactions with, police officers. The majority of student participants agreed that they want respect, transparency, and accountability from law enforcement officers. Often, a sense of fear is instilled when officers interact with Black residents. To combat this, students recommended that officers should change their approach. One participant stated that “we have to stop separating the police from the community. Instead of threatening the community, they should be a part of it.” Students also explained that they do not want to feel dismissed during their interaction with law enforcement. Exclaimed one student: “You put a badge on, so we know you are willing to lose your life for your job, but are you willing to lose your job standing up for your people?” Students also wanted to know why officers who kill someone are given administrative leave. Officers explained how administrative leave is applied in that situation.

Qualities and Attributes Needed for 21st Century Law Enforcement

COPS Office Director Ronald L. Davis started the conversation with a discussion about the importance of having police officers understand Black communities and Black culture. He explained that part of the lack of understanding between police and the Black community stems from police officers lacking a knowledge of Black history. He suggested that trips to African American museums should be part of the training curriculum to help officers better understand history and the role police officers played in the slavery and segregation eras. A chief explained to the students that agencies have implicit bias training, but the training will not be effective unless it changes behavior.

Ability to communicate across all cultures and age groups was one of the important attributes members of the group felt necessary for 21st century policing. There was discussion of the need to effectively use social media to communicate with younger persons in the population.

Finding Common Ground on Addressing the Problem

There was not enough time to discuss this topic because the group had to assemble for the town hall with the attorney general.

Town hall discussion with the U.S. Attorney General

After the closed roundtable discussion with student leaders and law enforcement officials, participants were invited to participate in a town hall with U.S. Attorney General Loretta Lynch. The Attorney General was introduced by the President of Howard University, and she addressed members of the student body, faculty, staff and some special guests. She began by explaining the importance of interaction between law enforcement officials and the communities they police. She also talked about what individuals can do to improve the state of community policing and improve diversity in law enforcement.

Attorney General Lynch was only able to take a few questions before leaving the campus. Following her appearance, a panel discussion was held. The panelists were COPS Office Director Davis, Walters Center Director Elsie Scott, Howard University students Tabias Wilson and Asiyah Frank, Seattle Deputy Chief of Police Carmen Best, and Richmond Police Chief Alfred Durham. The questions discussed were

- Why is there the need for diversity in law enforcement?
- What would attract college students to law enforcement as a career?
- What are some strategies that police departments can implement to attract more African Americans?

- What is it about the police culture that may repel college students?
- How can law enforcement officials create more allies among African American young people?

Second Convening: “Youth and Police: Finding Common Ground,” Part 2

On Wednesday, April 5, 2017, a second convening was held as a follow up to the Youth and Police: Finding Common Ground event. Part Two of the convening allowed the previous participants to meet again to further discuss police-related issues and next steps for community policing. Many of the law enforcement officials and students who attended the first convening returned to continue their discussion on how to find common ground. During the opening session, previous participants were able to reflect on the first convening and share any changed perceptions they had about community policing. Some common themes included students’ desires to enact and sustain change and cohesion, have a voice, and collaborate with police leadership, and for an acknowledgement from law enforcement organizations that they care about hearing the people’s voices, especially the voices of young adults. Additional themes throughout the day included police transparency, accountability, public service, community safety, personal experiences with police brutality, and addressing national and local challenges. Overall, participants felt youth need to have more of a presence and voice in community policing, including through attending town hall meetings, which are usually attended by senior citizens, parents, and grandparents.

As an icebreaker, attendees had the opportunity to witness a role-play between a chief of police and a college student. The chief played a young Black woman, who encountered an aggressive law enforcement official played by the student. The role-play exchange became very heated and intense emotions were stirred, but to positive effect. The student explained that he felt as if he had a first-hand insight from a police officer’s perspective. Another student explained her frustrations with the lack of White officers at meetings such as this convening. She felt that in order to get to the root of the problem, conversations had to involve those by whom the students felt oppressed. One chief suggested that officers should “hear the narratives” from the students, but one student urged him not to forget young people who do not attend college.

It was recommended that police departments use social media to reach youth, by increasing their presence on Snapchat, Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook. It was noted that traditional approaches to community policing are no longer effective in society. An officer explained that law enforcement officials are often so driven by metrics for driving down crime that they abandon the people who are directly hurt by these “effective policies.” It was stated that officials are not properly training and educating their officers on the communities they serve, sometimes leading to combative situations.

The conversation shifted to the topic of moving from being adversaries to becoming allies. This portion of the discussion featured Dr. Bahiyyah Muhammad, a Howard University Sociology professor. She has partnered with the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) to develop a 15-week course entitled *Policing Inside Out: Building Trust through Transformative Education*. Dr. Muhammad gave a brief overview of her course and shared a few testimonials. The course consists of students, law enforcement officials, and community leaders. Through class lectures, discussions, field trips, group projects, and student ride-alongs with police officers, both students and officers are able to engage in intense dialogue so both sides can gain a deeper understanding of the other and of police-community issues in the 21st century. Dr. Muhammad developed the course in response to students voicing frustrations with the current injustices at the hands of police. “Should I fight or flee? Should I protest or read a book?” her students questioned. “I got here because I was listening to my students. They came to me as adversaries, they did not like the police. They wanted to know what they can do,” Dr. Muhammad explained. By the end of the semester, communication barriers are broken because of the transformative experiences in and outside the classroom.

Deputy Chief Melron Kelly of the Columbia, South Carolina Police Department addressed the group during lunch. He shared his story of wanting to be a police officer since the age of thirteen and how this dream was realized when he became the youngest deputy chief of the Columbia Police Department.

During the second half of the day, the group was divided into three breakout sessions: (1) Recruitment and Retention; (2) Building Trust; and (3) Race and Gender Issues in Law Enforcement. It concluded with next steps and a call to action for all.

Breakout session: Recruitment and Retention

New York Police Department Assistant Chief Kim Royster opened the discussion with a question about recruitment and retention: “Recruitment, retention, are they the same thing and if not, why not?” Each participant shared their perspective on the difference between recruitment and retention. The common response from the group was that while there may be some connections between the two, there are some subtle differences. Chief Shahram Fard from Alexandria, Virginia noted that when he first joined law enforcement twenty-two years ago, there was not a big demand for recruitment because people would willingly join the police department. Now, this younger generation seems to be less interested in law enforcement at the local level and tends to gravitate more towards the side of law enforcement that is showcased by the media—for example, in programs such as the CSI franchise and NCIS. Many recruits only stay for the minimum five years needed to qualify to join the FBI. These jobs seem to be more exciting and capture younger recruits’ attention.

There was discussion concerning why young people do not want to become police officers. One student stated this is because police officers “aren’t doing good in the public eye right now. . . every shooting, outcry that happens is big, it lasts, impacts people and people remember these types of things.” The influence of rap music, some of which conveys an anti-police message, was mentioned.

Social media plays a major role in the recruitment and retention process. Many negative incidents between police officers and community members are recorded for the world to see. This particularly impacts the younger generation because they communicate with one another through social media. If they constantly see negativity regarding the police, participants suggested, it will start to affect their way of thinking about police officers. There may be “good” police officers, but they are overlooked or overshadowed due to the constant bad publicity. Consequently, participants suggested that police officers should engage more on social media to showcase the good that is happening with police departments in every state. This creates an opportunity for young people to see another side of the police and rebuild those relationships and create something positive. If more people viewed law enforcement in a positive light, it could improve recruitment and retention as well.

A stronger presence on social media must also have an interactive aspect. It is not enough to just have a Facebook or Twitter page and periodic posting—agencies must engage with youth to meet them at their level to get results. To recruit Black youth, they need to ensure those youth see someone who looks like them moving up in the ranks, all the way to chief, and doing something positive in law enforcement.

The group discussed recruitment advertisements, since these are the first images that people get of the police department. Accordingly, it is important that recruitment flyers convey a positive and inclusive message. Assistant Chief Royster passed out a different flyer to each member of the group and asked them to describe what they saw and their feelings about the advertisement. A student objected to the first flyer discussed because the picture used looked as if the officer was in the process of giving a ticket—in other words, it was more intimidating than inviting. It was hard for her to even pay attention to the words because of the picture. Another flyer received a different response from the group because of the diversity portrayed in the picture. This flyer had a photo of a Black male officer and a Black female officer with the words, “Be the positive change.” This would be an ideal flyer because it sends a positive message, and it promotes diversity.

Government funding of recruitment efforts and community involvement in the recruiting process were discussed. Most of the group agreed that there should be funding for police involvement in cultural events. There was support for community involvement with recruitment. The group concluded that police departments should work at building trusting relationships with the communities

from which they are recruiting. There should be police officers living in the community, not just patrolling there. Recruiters should be humanized so they can relate to potential applicants and create the transparency which the community and youth are seeking.

Breakout session: Building Trust

The conversation began with one police official sharing the story of a mom who called him directly to turn her son in after he committed a homicide. This mom did not know the chief personally but, because she knew a young man in the chief's community youth group, she only wanted to speak with him. This was an example of trust between community and the police—a rare occurrence at the time of this occurrence, although the community was saturated with police officers. The official suggested that before talking about building trust, there must be talk about truth and reconciliation, the policing issues that disproportionately affect the lives of young African Americans.

The group leader asked the Black police officials how they feel as Black law enforcement officers. “Do you feel like you have trust within your own agency?” she inquired. She wanted to understand if they felt they were ever apologizing for their White male counterparts. One participant responded, “It’s a double-edged sword—yes and no. If you’re talking about public safety and you’re talking about violence in the community, you must talk about the word ‘race.’ I am not saying racism, but race, and this includes talking about race within our departments.” He explained that it is all right to take a position, but officials must work on changing the culture by teaching their White male counterparts. He further stated that police officers must not neglect the fact that there is fear on both sides, the police and the community. A student shared her perspective from having been raised in the inner city. She stated that growing up, there was always a sense of fear or discomfort whenever a police presence was around. This naturally conditioned her to not trust any police officers, and it was not until she began working on the Howard University project and meeting various law enforcement officials that her opinion shifted. It helped humanize the officers, and she no longer saw “blue” but individuals—people who had their own stories and put their life on the line to protect and serve their communities. Having open discussions helped shift her perspective.

The group was asked how the narrative should be changed. It was suggested that police departments adopt modern approaches that would appeal to young people, such as leveraging word of mouth, social media, or even casual conversations. Police officers must show young people that they are humans and not just officers. A Howard University doctoral student explained that attitudes that were the foundation of policing in the sixties still pave the way for contemporary policing today. She stated, “some of those trends are still prominent and these problems do not get addressed.” She emphasized that it should not take a crisis to address these issues.

The group leader asked what responsibility can be placed on local and federal government to create a call to action on policing and trust. One official stated that he does not think it is the responsibility of the federal government to intervene in a local municipality or city, but rather the responsibility of the community to fix the issues at hand. A police executive noted that the last report on police released by the President prior to the Task Force Report was in 1967; it took more than fifty years for the government to develop another one. The Task Force Report states 991 persons were shot and killed by law enforcement in 2015 and that 25 percent of those killed showed a sign of mental illness or some type of crisis. This is another issue that needs to be addressed: How do we identify the conditions of police shooting victims before a crisis?

The session wrapped up with suggestions on how we as a collective can build trust, and everyone agreed it starts with building and creating genuine relationships. If officers become more involved in their communities, their presence will be less of a threat. Other suggestions included using social media to appeal to the younger generation, community-based activities organized by the local police department (e.g., basketball tournaments, street festivals), more town hall meetings to hear from the community, and education (key officers must be educated on the communities they police). Police and community must focus on changing the culture together.

Breakout session: Race and Gender Issues in Law Enforcement

The group facilitator for this breakout session stated that police departments must acknowledge areas that need improvement. Specifically, he noted law enforcement's continued lack of racial representation of minorities and the negative effects of this lack on law enforcement interactions with minorities. The facilitator asked the students and law enforcement representatives to share their thoughts on whether the race, gender, and sexual orientation of police officers reflect the communities they serve. Student group members noted that the ratio of female and Black officers is off, and that this is upsetting to the community and leads to disrespectful and tense interaction with law enforcement officers. A student shared his experience of being pulled over by the police and his automatic hope that the officer will be a racial or ethnic minority or a woman, as he feels more at ease when communicating with these officers.

Recurring comments were made regarding the lack of understanding of what a woman experiences working within a traditionally male-dominated field. Some female officers may not feel that they have the ability to make certain changes, and navigating the organizational culture as a minority (woman and Black) is a difficult task. Group members expressed the thought that the more empathetic approach taken by a female officer results in less tense interactions with the community. A female chief discussing her experiences as a high-ranking female officer stated, "I see gender being important for organizations to create a different kind of balance in our approach. A difference that everyone has something to bring to the table. And our creativity sometimes is a different kind of creativity."

Consideration of racial and gender minorities for promotions was also discussed. Law enforcement members noted that historically it has taken a Black chief to persistently enforce the diversity of hiring lists to ensure that women and people of color are promoted through the ranks. It was stated that Black officers and higher-ranking individuals in law enforcement feel the need to support and nurture each other to ensure the retention and furthering of officers of color in the field. As a result of the lack of commissioners and chiefs of color, the recruitment efforts toward hiring Black or female officers were stated to be much less intense than those targeting members of racial or gender majority groups.

The facilitators delved deeper into these issues by opening the discussion to the group's feelings and thoughts on racial and gender discrimination within police departments. Group members identified that there are layers at which this type of discrimination occurs. Specifically, discrimination occurs at the level of promotions, which can be very slow, depending on the agency. It can also occur within the informal social groups that officers form, such as sports teams, and participate in during off-duty hours. Civil rights issues and discrimination were perceived as being embedded in the culture, which requires recalibration even on the national level. They felt that conversations about race issues related to policing need to be supported more by upper management.

It was observed that it is hard to penetrate these discrimination issues, and it is difficult to cope with and combat discrimination within law enforcement. One must be strategic in efforts to avoid backlash. Instead of protecting the officer of color who endured the discrimination, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission process can be more protective of the department. Subsequent complaints or unwanted policing assignments can be enforced as a means of reprimanding an officer for making a complaint against the department. Ultimately, the complainant must be committed to taking the complaint all the way, even at the cost of their career.

The group also discussed how Black ranking police officers can improve the quality of police services in Black neighborhoods and the special qualities these individuals bring to law enforcement. The group agreed, however, that the special qualities Black officers bring to a department depend on the person. The presence of Black ranking officers can make other Black officers feel good, but the officers want to see action. Some participants felt that Black chiefs are often judged by higher standards than their counterparts.

Conclusions

The law enforcement officials tried to reassure the students that they do not have to be afraid of law enforcement. They wanted the students to know that they were trying to mend the relationship between the community and their respective police departments. Overall, the convening was a chance for participants, both law enforcement officials and students alike, to further examine and

candidly discuss the current climate of community policing in the 21st century. Participants reexamined topics that were discussed in the first convening, including trust, recruitment and training, an understanding of the culture, transparency, and accountability, as well as officers building genuine relationships with their community instead of solely policing. Because this was a follow-up convening in which most participants were returning, the conversations were more fluid, as people felt comfortable and were excited to see familiar faces.

Recommendations

Because of the small-group format, the second convening allowed participants more of an opportunity to engage in healthy conversations on the current state of community policing in the 21st century. Both college students and law enforcement officials were able to propose recommendations that would address areas of concern including trust, transparency, public service, accountability, community policing, and community safety. These are some of the recommendations proposed:

- Police departments should become more active in schools by identifying and developing appropriate programs for both law enforcement officials and students.
- Community policing should be modernized to appeal to youth through technology and the use of social media (e.g., Twitter, Facebook, Instagram).
- Youth should be invited to have a seat at the table to participate in community relations events such as town hall meetings.
- More White law enforcement officials should engage in candid discussions with Black youth.
- Mandated training sessions should be provided to help officers become familiar with the cultures and communities they are assigned to police, especially for police officers who are assigned to communities of color.
- Outside influences that promote crime in inner cities, including poor education, limited health care, and extreme poverty, should be addressed and identified.
- Police agencies should provide transparency during times of public outcry within the community, especially after shooting incidents occur.
- Officers should be retrained to assess specific crises or situations before reacting.

Third Convening: Addressing Gender Diversity in Law Enforcement

Overview and keynote

The Ronald W. Walters Center for Leadership and Public Policy, in partnership with the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS Office), hosted its final convening on Thursday, March 1, 2018, at Howard University. Unlike the previous convenings, this one focused on gender diversity, rather than racial diversity, in law enforcement. Accordingly, the panelists and attendees were mostly women of color who have held or currently hold high positions in law enforcement. The attendees included Chief Vera Bumpers from the Houston Metro Police Department in Texas, Chief Gina Hawkins from the Fayetteville Police Department in North Carolina, Deputy Commissioner Tracie Keese from the New York Police Department, and LaVerne Hibbert, an assistant special agent for the Drug Enforcement Administration. All these women and others were able to connect with the students and allow for organic conversation during the convening.

After the focus groups and the first two convenings, the researchers decided to widen the scope of the project to include gender diversity, a topic which had surfaced a few times in the focus groups and the other convenings. There was some sentiment in those discussions that women bring distinctive qualities to law enforcement and that special efforts should be made to recruit more women.

The keynote address was delivered by Chief Vera Bumpers. Chief Bumpers has been with the Metro Police Department for more than 30 years, where she became the first woman to be promoted to every rank within the department, holding leadership roles along the way in several units, including Patrol, Internal Affairs, Training, HOV Operations, and Homeland Security. She was sworn in as Chief of Police in 2014. At the time of the convening, Chief Bumpers was also the national president of the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE).

Chief Bumpers shared with the audience her journey and how she came to pursue a career in law enforcement. As a child growing up in the south, she witnessed the unfair treatment of people of color. As her family would travel to and from Texas to Mobile, Alabama, she knew that there was always a chance she and her family could be stopped arbitrarily or denied the use of bathrooms or service at restaurants. She shared the story of an incident involving her father and a state trooper in Louisiana where he was stopped for no reason. Witnessing this exchange between her father and the state trooper, Chief Bumpers questioned her father about why he said nothing to the officer during the ordeal. Her father's reply—"You don't understand, I have to protect my family"—ignited a spark in Chief Bumpers. She knew then that her purpose was to help people. Although she was unsure of what "helping people" meant or what her calling was, Chief Bumpers was dedicated to figuring it out.

During her college career, she majored in social work but ultimately ended up pursuing a career in law enforcement. She knew that this would offer her an opportunity to help people by working with youth, helping them to get their lives back on track, and showing them that they have an opportunity to succeed. After graduating college, a friend hired her to work with the Job Corps in San Marcos, Texas, and when this friend moved to Houston, she offered Bumpers an opportunity to work with the Houston Metro police.

Once she began working, Bumpers quickly realized that a career in law enforcement would not be easy because not only was she a woman, but she was also a Black woman. She was only the second woman hired to the department, and after about six months, the first woman left to go to law school, leaving Bumpers as the only woman in the department for several years. It was evident that the men did not want her there, but she pressed on and continued to excel in her department, eventually becoming Chief of Police.

Defining the problem: Gender diversity and 21st century law enforcement

Dr. Sophine Charles, a psychologist and retiree from the New York Police Department, was the convening facilitator. At the time Dr. Charles was the Director of Preventive Services, Policy and Practice at the Council of Family and Child Caring Agencies (COFCCA) and an adjunct professor at John Jay College of Criminal Justice in the Police Executive and Leadership Programs.

Dr. Charles began her presentation by asking the audience, “Why do we need diversity?” She presented data showing that women comprise about 46 percent of the total workforce, but only about 13 percent of the law enforcement workforce. African American women make up only about 5 percent of the law enforcement workforce, and as of 2013 only 3 percent of police chiefs were women. Participants considered why these numbers have remained so low, and what can be done to change them.

While the challenges of women in sworn law enforcement positions are well known, Dr. Charles also highlighted challenges that women face in civilian or nonsworn law enforcement positions, such as crime analysts, civilian investigators, training personnel, legal counsel, and human resources and employee relations personnel. Civilian positions are often viewed as pink-collar roles, paying less and carrying less influence than uniformed positions.

Dr. Charles described the situation of Black women in law enforcement, listing some of the particular challenges Black women have reported to her. Many of these challenges involve their peers and leadership pitting Black and White women in law enforcement against each other.

- Feeling that they must demand respect, while White women are put on pedestals.
- Police executives who do not send White women into high-crime areas but do send Black women, or who will transfer White women but not Black women to indoor work such as the switchboard on cold nights.
- Having none of the ‘hooks’ or connections their White peers have to help them secure desired assignments, special training sessions, or promotions.
- Online racial insults.
- Greater racial discrimination from other cops than from the public.

Career options for women in law enforcement

Dr. Charles’ presentation was followed by a panel discussion about career options, sworn and non-sworn, for women in law enforcement. The panel consisted of Assistant Director Stephanie Hampton from the Office of Professional Responsibility at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Deputy Commissioner Tracie Keesee from the New York Police Department (NYPD), and Assistant Special Agent in Charge (ASAC) LaVerne Hibbert from the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). Each discussed career options for women in law enforcement as well as their career journeys.

Commissioner Keesee retired as a management-level officer in the Denver Police Department and returned to law enforcement as a civilian executive with the NYPD. She came to law enforcement after originally wanting to be a fashion designer. Having to find a way to support her daughter, the law enforcement benefits were attractive to her.

ASAC Hibbert is a native New Yorker who witnessed the opioid crisis in her own neighborhood. She knew from the beginning that she wanted to be in law enforcement, even though police-community relations were not the best. She credits her network and her support system for making sure that she was well equipped to move through the various agency levels and make the impact she wanted in the community.

Balancing work and family life was one of the issues discussed. “It is tough,” Hibbert stated. She discussed the struggles of having a spouse who shares the same career and how difficult childcare was because departments were not offering it. They were able to make it work because they support each other and understand the profession. Keesee responded that she and her husband live in separate states because of their careers. In the end, “you have to have someone that is there to support you and that gets it,” she said.

The importance of self-care and making time for self were mentioned by panelists and the audience as they talked about how stressful it is trying to juggle a demanding career and a family life. Commissioner Keesee recommended meditating, doing yoga, and regularly visiting your mother—things she did not do before. Dr. Charles emphasized the importance of taking time from the job to make sure your physical and mental health are in good condition, and stressed the high rates of suicide, alcoholism, stroke, divorce, and drug abuse among police officers.

Following the panel discussion, there were two more speakers: Naya Young, a graduate student at Howard University and a research assistant on this project, and Myesha Braden from the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

Young offered her perspective as a Black woman and a millennial on the current state of law enforcement and trust issues in communities of color. Through a tearful and passionate speech, she discussed her grandfather's untimely death after his encounter with police officers in her hometown of Tampa, Florida. It was this incident that propelled her to become involved in the Ronald Walters Center's project. She described her work on this project as healing for her. Since beginning her research, she has seen examples of how working together and sharing dialogue can create a more positive experience and understanding between police and young people.

Myesha Braden from the Lawyers Committee discussed how to engage with law enforcement from the outside through advocacy and research. Prior to working for the Lawyers' Committee, Braden was a federal prosecutor for 13 years. She expressed the importance of collaboration between external law enforcement agencies and prosecutors when trying to build a case. Myesha explained how her focus has switched to law enforcement collaborating with the community since she began working for the Lawyers' Committee, where she represents the voice of the community.

She stated that the increase in police brutality cases and in police shootings has created an "us against them" environment which makes it harder to accomplish police-community collaboration, but it must be done if progress is to be made. If the principles of law enforcement that are part of the COPS Office smart policing collaboration principles are adhered to, the police, at all times, would maintain a relationship with the public. That gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police.

Following these presentations were three breakout sessions.

Breakout discussions

The breakout sessions served as more intimate roundtable discussions between law enforcement officials and students. The breakout sessions allowed for each person to speak more freely about the subject matter. They also created an opportunity for students and law enforcement officials to build relationships that could potentially lead to careers or mentorships, which was one of the goals for having these convenings.

Sexual harassment and sexual misconduct

One of the breakout sessions focused on sexual harassment and sexual misconduct in law enforcement. Dr. Charles started the conversation by asking participants what some of their thoughts about sexual harassment were in general—a timely question, given the “MeToo” movement that has drawn attention to sexual harassment in media, academia, and other sectors of society. Conversations about sexual harassment in law enforcement, however, still commonly take place behind closed doors.

The group discussed how to identify or recognize sexual harassment. Sexual harassment comes in different forms: A person can be sexually harassed verbally, physically, or by gestures; aggressors and victims may be of any gender. It is important for victims to understand the different types of harassment; this topic should be covered in entry-level and reinforced during in-service training. One participant stated that interactive training is more effective than online, because online training results in officers simply taking the training to get it done instead of understanding what sexual harassment is and how to identify it within their departments.

Another topic discussed was challenges that victims face after speaking up about sexual harassment. Often women who file complaints of being sexually harassed are retaliated against by peers, supervisors, and managers. One officer, however, provided an example from her department where a colleague made a complaint of sexual harassment, and the department immediately took the necessary steps to remove the accused officer. There was no fear of retaliation within the department because the situation was handled properly.

Sexual harassment policies must be continually reinforced because as Dr. Charles explained, “gains are made, or gains are erased,” meaning one step forward or two steps back. It was emphasized that the executive leadership of an agency can take the organization forward or backward, but supervisory personnel help to establish the culture of police agencies. Officers have more contact with their sergeants than they do with their chiefs, so it is important that agencies ensure that supervisory personnel not only understand the definition of sexual harassment, but that they reinforce the training in the field.

The session ended with some suggestions about how to educate others about sexual harassment and misconduct. Suggestions included the following:

- Two-hour sexual harassment training
- In-person, interactive annual training
- Training should include sexual harassment prevention

Moving up in the ranks

The moving up in the ranks breakout session gave participants the opportunity to engage in friendly dialogue with one another. The participants were eager to learn about each other and about what led the participating officers to join law enforcement. The discussion began with a question: “What are some barriers you think women face when trying to move up in rank?” One executive shared that one thing she personally encountered was the assumption that she was not supposed to be a member of the administrative team, which she called the “you’re not supposed to be here” mentality. She stated that it starts at the academy and follows through your career: people see a Black woman and automatically assume that she is there to help with reports. She recommended that students stay focused on what they want to do and to let their reputations precede them. Another executive stated that women must be exceptional to reach the upper ranks.

A graduate student asked a female police chief what message she hopes her leadership conveys to staff. The chief responded that she hopes the officers in her agency learn that they must be supportive and encouraging of each other. In her opinion, “you should never be able to treat others wrong internally, because that becomes reflective of how you treat the community.” If officers treat each other with respect, regardless of gender, age, or ethnicity, that behavior will be translated to the community, leading to better policing. Participants agreed that officers who treat other officers respectfully will be better suited to serve the communities where they work.

The facilitator asked, “What are your thoughts about the difference between how men in leadership are viewed, versus women in leadership?” The consensus among the students was that women have a more difficult time, as men are more intimidated by women in leadership and women have to combat the perception of incapability. Women in law enforcement are often negatively stereotyped for doing the same thing that their male counterparts would be praised for. The only male in the group agreed; he explained that he had witnessed men approach women in ways that they would not approach another man.

A student asked the officials about jealousy and envy between female officers. The women officers acknowledged that envy and jealousy between women does exist, but they did not let this negatively affect their work or prevent them from striving to become leaders within their agencies.

Recruiting women for law enforcement

The topic of the third breakout session was recruiting more women for law enforcement positions. The first topic discussed was the benefits of recruiting women. One suggestion was that women tend to be adept and proficient at de-escalating hostile situations. One participant stated that men seem to have one-track minds, while women can multitask and get things done more efficiently. A law enforcement agent stated that recruiting more women in law enforcement brings diversity and different perspectives to the department. Another official explained the feeling of empowerment for girls when they see a successful woman.

The students were asked what recruitment methods would or could entice more women to pursue a career in law enforcement. A graduate student stated that seeing successful Black women executives could help entice women to join law enforcement. She stated that having visible women is helpful because young people do not see a lot of Black women police officers who are making a difference in the community. Students suggested that having law enforcement officials who can serve as mentors helps with the recruitment process because students have someone they can go to if they have questions or concerns about the process or about law enforcement in general.

One student said that all her life she has had a negative image of the police because of where she is from. She stated that “many times, in low-income neighborhoods, there is a lot of police presence, so children grow up believing that police are bad.” The solution she offered for this was to have more internships for students who share a similar story to teach them to view police in a neutral way. Creating opportunities such as internships and programs in heavily policed neighborhoods can help children and students form a different image of law enforcement.

Other recruitment methods mentioned were career fairs, recruiting in high schools, and hosting mentoring sessions in colleges. One of the police officials generated a lot of interest when she talked about retiring young from one agency and starting a new pension at another agency. She talked about helping young people understand the importance of pensions and how they can retire at 41 and start a whole new career, if that is their interest.

Another topic covered in the session was the impact that negative feedback or comments about law enforcement from family members and peers can have on the recruitment of women. “You can really kill someone’s dreams with a negative comment,” one official stated. Participants agreed that young people from lower income Black communities are often viewed as traitors if they pursue careers in law enforcement. Parents who find the money to send their children to college like feel that their children can use the degree to obtain a “higher status” job than being a police officer.

Conclusions

The idea of law enforcement being a “boy’s club” is fading away, and more departments are beginning to see the benefits of gender diversity in policing. Most women, especially Black, college-educated women, do not grow up desiring a career in law enforcement. They must be recruited, and the recruitment methods need to be tailored to their interests and goals. They must feel that there are opportunities for growth and advancement if they join law enforcement. Black women officers, especially Black women managers and executives, must be featured at career fairs and through speaking opportunities on college campuses to share their stories. Women recruits and potential recruits must feel that they will not be subjected to sexual harassment or that if they are, their agency will take swift and deliberate action to address it and put measures in place to prevent future harassment.

The goal of the three convenings was to start a conversation across the board and create an environment where millennials and law enforcement officials could exchange ideas and engage in dialogue that might not have happened otherwise. This convening and the other two were steps in the right direction. The conversation must not stop here; it should continue until there are no longer issues of gender diversity in police departments.

Recommendations

As a result of this convening, students and law enforcement officials had the opportunity to engage in open and candid conversations about gender diversity in law enforcement. These conversations in this convening allowed students and officials to offer recommendations to address gender diversity in law enforcement. The proposed recommendations would address issues such as recruitment and retention, sexual harassment and misconduct, building trust, promotional barriers for women, and community policing. Some of the proposed recommendations are as follows:

- All officers in a police department should be familiar with the community they are serving.
- Women law enforcement officers should always make sure that they are taking care of themselves, because balancing work and family life can be exhausting.
- Law enforcement officers and millennials should constantly be engaging in dialogue around trust to create a more positive experience between both parties.
- More sexual harassment training and training reinforcement is needed.
- Having mentors could help entice women to join law enforcement.
- Women officers, especially Black women, need to be more visible so potential female recruits can see them making a difference in the community and have role models.

- More internships and programs in low-income neighborhoods can help with recruitment.
- Using women officers to recruit at career fairs, high schools, and colleges could entice more women to consider a career in law enforcement



Presentation of Study Findings

With the purpose of sharing the findings of the project's research, our project staff made presentations to law enforcement groups. Presentations were made to national conferences of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) and the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE). Feedback was received from chiefs and other law enforcement executives who helped with the creation of the recommendations included in this report. We shared slides with law enforcement executives who said our findings were going to help them with their more diverse recruitment efforts. This is the list of presentations:

- Workshop: Issues of Trust between Millennials and Law Enforcement
July 31, 2017, NOBLE Conference, Atlanta, Georgia
- Workshop: Success in Recruiting, Hiring and Training in the Age of Millennials and Generation Z
October 23, 2017, IACP Conference, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- Workshop: Addressing Gender Diversity in Law Enforcement
July 29, 2018, NOBLE Conference, Hollywood, Florida
- Workshop: Recruitment and Hiring Practices to Advance Community Policing
October 6, 2018, IACP Conference, Orlando, Florida
- Presentation: Recruiting African Americans for Law Enforcement Careers
August 9, 2019, NOBLE Summer CEO Symposium, New Orleans, Louisiana

The principal investigator and a graduate student also presented some findings during a workshop at the Annual Legislative Conference of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation in September 2018. The Fayetteville, North Carolina chief of police invited the principal investigator to make a presentation to a regional conference on diversity that she hosted in January 2018.

Additionally, staff members met with the chief of the U.S. Park Police and some of his senior staff to discuss the study's findings. The chief reached out after hearing Naya Young, a graduate assistant on the project and Dr. Scott, the principal investigator, present at the IACP Conference.



Project Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

Police departments will have to make extra efforts to recruit and retain African American police officers. They face a number of challenges in doing so. First, many young African Americans have experienced negative encounters with the police that have left scars that do not heal easily. Those who have not had negative personal encounters often have friends or family who have had such experiences. These friends and family members will place pressure on young people not to become one of “them.”

Almost all the focus group participants had had a positive experience with police; negative encounters, however, tend to have more of a lasting impression. These impressions can prevent young people from wanting to pursue law enforcement as a profession.

Negative media portrayals of the police create negative social perceptions of the law enforcement profession. With the advent of phone cameras and police body cameras, videos of police-citizen encounters have been broadcasted on news programs and social media outlets. Instead of a one-time showing on the evening news, videos are re-broadcasted, texted, emailed, and retweeted. The videos become indelible images that many people cannot erase. Commentary added to the images can sometimes exaggerate an incident or make the incident more vivid to the viewer. Police officers come to be seen as “oppressors” of Black people, and Black people who join police departments are viewed as “sell-outs.”

Participants in the focus groups and in the convenings spoke about being exposed to anti-police messages in the music of some of their favorite artists and in some of their favorite movies. Unless they had family members or friends who were police officers, they seldom saw the Officer Friendly that they learned about in elementary school.

The recruitment programs of their local law enforcement agencies use unappealing recruitment methods and messages that do not capture the attention of Black college students. The recruitment flyers and brochures do not include pictures of diverse racial, ethnic, and gender groups or messaging that convinces them that they will be an integral part of the agency. They do not feel a connection to the recruiters and feel that some recruiters are only interested in reaching a quota of Blacks or women. Recruiters make assumptions about certain colleges or places and therefore do not send recruiters there.

Young people feel that law enforcement should reevaluate selection requirements to make them more realistic for the 21st century. The college students who participated in the focus groups and in the convenings felt that there should be changes in requirements such as a good credit record. With many students coming out of college with big debt from student loans, they suggested police departments should work with their local and state governments to develop loan forgiveness programs such as those in place to recruit doctors and teachers to work in underserved areas.

Present requirements related to marijuana usage cause confusion, especially since marijuana use has been legalized in some states and decriminalized in others. If applicants have legally used marijuana, they do not feel they should be automatically disqualified from a law enforcement career in a state where pot has not been legalized or from working for a federal agency. Concerns were raised about marijuana drug testing. Should applicants be automatically disqualified for a positive reading of marijuana in the system? Should an applicant whose drug test reveals evidence of any type of drug usage in their system be disqualified? These and other questions were raised by participants during this study. There was disagreement on most, but there was agreement that human resources managers should be listening to young people as they design selection guidelines for the 21st century officers.

The college students expressed support for changing policies that automatically disqualify applicants who have an arrest record regardless of the nature of the offense. In fact, they would like a review of most of the automatic disqualifiers with more emphasis on case-by-case reviews. They feel that because law enforcement is so static and not readily open to change, the field will miss out on innovative recruits who may work well with the changing demographics of the United States.

Some of the unappealing aspects of a law enforcement career cited by students who participated in this study were risk of death or injury on the job; low salary that does not allow for repayment of student loan debt; slow, tedious hiring process; job too structured without much flexibility; not enough work-life balance; and the job not being seen as attractive by their parents. Law enforcement recruiters and executives should not throw in the towel when they read this list. If they are serious about diversity, they should focus on the things Black college students find attractive about the job.

Young people, especially African American college students, are interested in careers that allow them to serve their communities and bring about positive change. Law enforcement is a service organization that will probably attract more young Black people if they believe that their ideas about change will be accepted and valued. Many potential applicants, aware of the history of policing in the United States, feel that the system was set up to arrest and incarcerate Black people and that they will only survive in the system if they oppress Black people.

Applicants who report negative encounters with the police should not be summarily dismissed as police-haters. Some young people who have been frustrated trying to positively change the police from the outside may be interested in trying to be change agents from the inside. Former community activists may get more cooperation and respect from the community than recruits brought in from other cities with little knowledge of the communities they will be serving. The unpredictability of a human services field where the work can change from day to day or from one assignment to the next may be attractive to young people who would be bored with a desk job.

Some young people may be interested in a job with security, steady pay, fringe benefits, and early retirement. As more jobs in the private sector disappear, eliminate pensions, and reduce benefits, young people, especially those with children, may be attracted to law enforcement. If agencies add childcare services to their lists of benefits offered, the recruiting of women and single parents will become easier.

Recommendations

After spending time listening to African American college students, a number of recommendations have been developed for organizations that are interested in increasing the number and caliber of African Americans and women recruited. Additionally, a few recommendations for changes in law enforcement procedures and culture are also offered.

If law enforcement agencies want to diversify the profession, more must be done to promote the service aspect of the job. Police departments should get the community involved in the recruiting process, not just the NAACP and ministers, but community activists. Recruiters should use visits to HBCUs, PBIs, and community colleges to recruit more socially aware young people. Police departments located near HBCUs, PBIs, and community colleges with large African American enrollment should have recruiters develop relationships with professors who can help with recruitment.

Law enforcement agencies must improve their messaging to make it more appealing to African Americans. In addition to highlighting the service aspect of the job, personal testimonies from African American officers should be used. Focus groups of college students can be used to help prepare messages that will appeal to African Americans.

Focus groups can also help departments develop creative and targeted recruitment methods to include diverse multimedia ads, brochures that display diversity in the department, and effective social media strategies. Too much of recruitment literature has displayed the adventure side of policing and not the service side.

Research has shown that racial and ethnic minority youth are influenced by family members in selecting their career choices. Recruiters may have to develop plans to appeal to the needs and interests of the family members of potential recruits.

Officer safety was a concern of college students. They watch the news and read the statistics on the number of police officers who are shot or otherwise injured on the job. They also read about police suicides and the need for mental health services for officers. Officer safety is important to their parents, who often see this as the major reason they do not want their children to become police officers. Government entities and law enforcement agencies must do more to protect the lives and health of law enforcement officers.

The focus of recommendations for this study was on law enforcement recruitment, but the students offered some important recommendations related to changing law enforcement procedures and culture. Many of their concerns were general ones expressed by young people across racial and ethnic groups, but they were more pronounced when race, ethnicity, and gender were added to the equation. The students felt that law enforcement will have to reduce some of its rigidity and eliminate rules they consider unreasonable, unnecessary, or discriminatory if they are going to attract and retain millennials and Generation Zs. Supervisors and department leaders will have to explain why certain rules are in place if they want compliance. For example, African Americans are sensitive about rules that try to regulate their hair styles. Unless a public-safety benefit can be explained, they are likely to file a union complaint or a lawsuit challenging rules that they feel are discriminatory.

Agencies may have to flatten organizational structures because young people are impatient and may be unwilling to spend years climbing the ranks when they feel that they have the skills and ability to do a job with fewer years in the agency. Civil service rules and police unions will be major obstacles to making this change, but local and state governments may have to find a middle ground if they want to retain young college-educated officers, especially African Americans and women, who have other career options.

Focus group and convening participants felt very strongly that police departments must do more to eliminate racism, bigotry, sexism, and misogyny within their ranks. They urged better screening to prevent racists from becoming police officers and more effective procedures for removing them from the ranks. They are not interested in joining agencies where they will have to spend as much time fighting internally as they do fighting crime externally. They want to feel that police leadership will not tolerate bias and discrimination.

They want strong in-service training programs, as well as diversified recruitment practices, to help guard against bias and discrimination. They are interested in mandated cultural competency, sexual harassment, racial profiling, and unconscious bias training. While the students were not detailed

on the vast subjects to be covered, or the method of the training, they wanted to convey that it was important to include a wide array of topics so that officers could be experienced and knowledgeable about the vast cultures that they would be serving within their communities. They assume that most urban police departments include those courses in their entry-level training, but they feel that they need to be reinforced throughout the careers of officers.

Finally, they want to see agencies invest more in establishing community trust. This statement from the COPS Office was supported by the discussion during the project's convening groups: "Sound conduct by police improves community interactions, enhances communication, and promotes shared responsibility for addressing crime and disorder." If communities of color believe that police agencies will practice unbiased enforcement in their communities, they are more likely to support the police.



Afterword

After this report was drafted, thousands of young people took to the streets to initially protest the killing of a Black man, George Floyd, by a White Minneapolis police officer. Protests on this scale had never happened before. With some other civilian deaths, there were local and state protests and some in other parts of the country; however, the death of Mr. Floyd led to Black Lives Matter protests around the globe. As of June 13, 2020, over 2,000 cities in the United States had seen peaceful protests, expanding to acts of civil disobedience and riots in some places (Burch 2020). According to the BBC, not only has there been an expansion of Black Lives Matter chapters around the globe, but there have also been substantial protests across Europe, the United Kingdom, and Canada (Maqbool 2020).

What was unique about Floyd's death? Many people were under stay-at-home orders due to the coronavirus pandemic, and they saw the footage of Floyd's death. They watched the nine-minute, 29-second video of a White police officer with his knee on a Black man's neck nonchalantly ignoring cries from the Black man that he could not breathe and from bystanders screaming "you are killing him."

People who had never paid much attention to complaints about excessive use of force by police on Black people now began to listen and read about other cases. Politicians condemned the killings and young people started raising issues about the no-knock shooting death of Breonna Taylor by Louisville, Kentucky police; the death in custody of Elijah McClain in Aurora, Colorado; and other cases.

We felt compelled to add a postscript to this report because one of the findings of the study was that negative encounters with the police and negative images of the police on social media and television are challenges to the recruitment of Black police officers, especially Black college students. Our study also found that many of the participants in the study had problems with the police culture, and some talked about the need to identify biased police candidates during the selection process.

This study includes conclusions and recommendations regarding overcoming some of these recruitment issues. We pointed out that it will be difficult recruiting African American college students, but we found that despite some of the past negative encounters with the police, some students would still consider law enforcement as a career. During the convening, we heard from Black police officials who stated that a bad encounter with the police was a motivating factor for them becoming police officers.

This study was primarily focused on recruitment, but it was also a study on building trust between the police and African Americans. Most of the recommendations focus on improving the recruitment processes, but the students also offered suggestions related to police structure and

culture. If a convening were to be held at this time, student would probably demand that we talk about police department budgets, social work and mental health training, and use of force policies and procedures.

The climate has changed since we wrote the conclusions and recommendations. The increase in scrutiny of law enforcement agencies, not just in their use of force, but also their responses to protests, will provide even more challenges to the recruitment of Black college students, as well as any college recruits. The public view from the widening lens on police behavior, policies, funding, and culture could have a negative impact on recruitment. Instead of talking about police reform, protestors are demanding cuts in police budgets, asking for defunding the police and in some rare instances, eliminating the police. One reaction is to dismiss the demands by saying they are unrealistic, and the demonstrators do not represent the mass of law-abiding citizens. Yet, police agencies and public officials should view this as an opportunity for positive change—an opportunity to address some of the structural issues that have kept a wedge driven between the police and Black citizens since the slavery era.

If cities and other municipalities continue to investigate, invest, and overall take a holistic look at their roles and functions, the input of young people, especially young people of color, would be quite beneficial for these agencies in the long run. The engagement of these young people in the drafting and formulation of new policies that take a more community-based approach could give young people an investment in their communities. This investment could result in increased numbers of Black, brown, and women law enforcement officials and fewer barriers to trust between people of color and police officers.

Elsie L. Scott, Ph.D.

Director

Ronald W. Walters Leadership and Public Policy Center

Howard University

Principal Investigator

References

- Ashkens, J., and H. Park. 2015. "The Race Gap in America's Police Departments." *New York Times*, September 3, 2014, updated April 8, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/09/03/us/the-race-gap-in-americas-police-departments.html>.
- Banks, D., J. Hendrix, M. Hickman, and T. Kyckelhahn. 2016. "National Sources of Law Enforcement Data." Bureau of Justice Statistics Program Report. NCJ 249681. <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/nsleed.pdf>.
- Baker, A., and S. Greenhouse. 2008. "Arbitration Panel Gives Raise to City Police Officers." *New York Times*, May 20, 2008. <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/20/nyregion/20nypd.html>.
- Baro, A. L., and D. Burlingame. 1999. "Law Enforcement and Higher Education: Is There an Impasse?" *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 10 (1): 57–73. <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/20/nyregion/20nypd.html>.
- Bartlett, H. W., and A. Rosenblum. 1977. *Policewoman Effectiveness*. Denver, CO: City and County of Denver.
- Batalova, J., and A. Terrazas. 2010. *U.S. in Focus: Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.
- Beattie, S., and A. Mole. 2007. "Police resources in Canada, 2007." Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. Accessed September 8, 2020. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-225-x/85-225-x2007000-eng.pdf>.
- Bell, D. J. 1982. "Policewomen: Myths and Reality." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 10 (1), 112–120.
- Bennett, W. W., K. M. Hess, and C. M. Orthmann. 2004. *Management and Supervision in Law Enforcement*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.
- Berner, J., and J. W. Kohls. 1982. *Patrol Officer Physical Performance Testing Manual*. West Sacramento, CA: California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training.
- Birzer, M. L., and D. E. Craig. 1996. "Gender Differences in Police Physical Ability Test Performance." *American Journal of Police* 15 (2): 93–108.
- Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. 2007. *Report to the Congress on Credit Scoring and Its Effect on the Availability and Affordability of Credit*. Washington, D.C.: Federal Reserve System.

- Bolton, K., and J Feagin. 2004. *Black in Blue: African-American Police Officers and Racism*. New York: Routledge.
- Brohé, A. 2007. "The Effect of Court-Ordered Hiring Quotas on the Composition and Quality of Police." *The American Economic Review* 97 (1), 318–353.
- Brown, C. N. 2005. "Survey of Physical Agility Testing and Officer Fitness Levels in Kentucky Police Departments" MPA/MPP/MPFM Capstone Projects. 200. https://uknowledge.uky.edu/mpampp_etds/200.
- Burch, A. D. S. 2020. "How Black Lives Matter Reached Every Corner of America." *New York Times*, June 30, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/06/13/us/george-floyd-protests-cities-photos.html>.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2016. "Data Collection: Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS)." <https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=dcdetailandiid=248>.
- Carter, D. L., and A. D. Sapp. 1990. "The Evolution of Higher Education in Law Enforcement: Preliminary Findings from a National Study." *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 1 (1): 59–85.
- Castaneda, L. W., and G. Ridgeway. 2010. *Today's Police and Sheriff Recruits*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). 2012. "Summary of Notifiable Diseases—United States, 2010." *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 59 (53): 1.
- Chappell, A.T. 2009. "The Philosophical Versus Actual Adoption of Community Policing: A Case Study." *Criminal Justice Review* 34 (1): 5-28.
- Charles, M. T. 1981. "The Performance and Socialization of Female Recruits in the Michigan State Police Training Academy." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 9 (2): 209–223.
- Chivers, C. J., and W. K. Rashbaum. 2008. "Army Lets a Felon Join Up, But the NYPD Will Not." *New York Times*, January 6, 2008. <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/06/nyregion/06soldier.html>.
- Cook, J.A., III. 2015. "Police Culture in the Twenty-First Century: A Critique of the President's Task Force's Final Report." *Notre Dame Law Review Online* 91: 106.

- Cooper, C., and S. Ingram. 2004. *Retention of Police Officers: A Study of Resignations and Transfers in Ten Forces*. London, UK: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate. <http://rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs04/occ86.pdf>.
- Cordner, G., and Cordner, A. 2011. "Stuck on a Plateau? Obstacles to Recruitment, Selection, and Retention of Women Police." *Police Quarterly* 14 (3): 207–226. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611111413990>.
- Cossrow, N., and Falkner, B. 2004. "Race/Ethnic Issues in Obesity and Obesity-Related Comorbidities." *The Journal of Clinical Endocrinology and Metabolism* 89 (6): 2590–2594.
- Doerner, W. G. 1995. "Officer Retention Patterns: An Affirmative Action Concern for Police Agencies?" *American Journal of Police* 14 (3/4): 197–210.
- Duffin, E. 2018. *Gender Distribution of Full-Time Law Enforcement Employees in the United States in 2017*. Statista.com. Last updated October 10, 2019. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/195324/gender-distribution-of-full-time-law-enforcement-employees-in-the-us/>.
- Dulaney, W.M. 1996. *Black Police in America*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Farrand, M. 1913. *The Framing of the Constitution of the United States*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation. 1972. *Crime in the United States, 1971*. Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- . 1981. *Crime in the United States, 1980*. Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- . 1991. *Crime in the United States, 1990*. Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- . 2001. *Crime in the United States, 2000*. Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- . 2010. *Crime in the United States, 2009*. Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- . 2012. Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Statistics Data Tool, 2012.
- . 2019. *Crime in the United States, 2019*. Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- Fitzgerald, L. F. 1993. Sexual Harassment: Violence Against Women in the Workplace. *American Psychologist* 48 (10): 1070.
- Gaines, L. K., S. Falkenberg, and J.A. Gambino. 1996. "Police Physical Agility Testing: An Historical and Legal Analysis." In *Managing Police Personnel*, edited by D.J. Kenney and G.W. Cordner, 25–41. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

- Glenn, E. N. 1985. "Racial Ethnic Women's Labor: The Intersection of Race, Gender and Class Oppression." *Review of Radical Political Economics* 17 (3): 86–108.
- Governing the States and Localities. 2015. "Police Department Race and Ethnicity Demographic Data." <https://www.governing.com/gov-data/safety-justice/police-department-officer-demographics-minority-representation.html>.
- Graham, H. D. 1980. "On Riots and Riot Commissions: Civil Disorders in the 1960s." *The Public Historian* 2 (4), 7–27.
- Gregory, R. F. 2003. *Women and Workplace Discrimination: Overcoming Barriers to Gender Equality*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Grennan, S. A. 1987. "Findings on the Role of Officer Gender in Violent Encounters with Citizens." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 15 (1), 78–85.
- Hadden, S. E. (2003). *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas*. Harvard University Press.
- Hale, D. C. 1992. "Women in Policing." In *What Works in Policing? Operations and Administration Examined*, edited by G. W. Cordner and D. C. Hale, 125–142. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.
- Hale, D. C., and S. M. Wyland. 1999. "Dragons and Dinosaurs: The Plight of Patrol Women." In *Policing Perspectives: An Anthology*, edited by L. K. Gaines and G. W. Cordner, 450–458. Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury.
- Hegewisch, A., and E. Williams-Baron. 2018. *The Gender Wage Gap by Occupation 2017 and by Race and Ethnicity*. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research.
- Henning, K. 2017. "Boys to Men: The Role of Policing in the Socialization of Black Boys." In *Policing the Black Man: Arrest, Prosecution, and Imprisonment*, edited by A.J. Davis, 57–94. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Humes, K. R., N.A. Jones, N. A., and R.R. Ramirez. 2011. *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*. U.S. Census Bureau.
- Ibarra, H., R. Ely, and D. Kolb. 2013. "Women Rising: The Unseen Barriers." *Harvard Business Review* 91 (9): 60–66.
- Irving, R. 2009. "Career Trajectories of Women in Policing in Australia." *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice* 370: 1.

- Jones, C. A. 1987. "Predicting the Effectiveness of Police Officers." Doctoral dissertation. San Diego State University.
- Langton, L. 2010. "Women in Law Enforcement, 1987–2008." *Crime Data Brief*. NCJ 230521. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics. <http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/wle8708.pdf>.
- Lasley, J. R. 1994. "The Impact of the Rodney King Incident on Citizen Attitudes Toward Police." *Policing and Society: An International Journal* 3 (4): 245–255.
- Lee, T. P. 2005. "The Myth and Reality of Affirmative Action: A Study Using the Perceptions of Female Police." *Race, Gender and Class* 12(3-4), 56–72.
- Lester, D. 1983. "Why Do People Become Police Officers: A Study of Reasons and Their Predictions of Success." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 11 (2): 170–174.
- Linnan, L. A., and Y. O. Ferguson. 2007. "Beauty Salons: A Promising Health Promotion Setting for Reaching and Promoting Health among African American Women." *Health Education and Behavior* 34 (3): 517–530.
- Lipman, J. 2009. "The Mismeasure of Woman." *New York Times*. October 23, 2009. <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/24/opinion/24lipman.html>.
- Lonsway, K. A. 2000. *Hiring and Retaining More Women: The Advantages to Law Enforcement Agencies*. Feminist Majority Foundation, Los Angeles, CA: National Center for Women and Policing.
- _____. 2002. *Men, Women, and Police Excessive Force: A Tale of Two Genders : A Content Analysis of Civil Liability Cases, Sustained Allegations & Citizen Complaints*. Los Angeles, CA: National Center for Women & Policing.
- _____. 2003. "Tearing Down the Wall: Problems with Consistency, Validity, and Adverse Impact of Physical Agility Testing In Police Selection." *Police Quarterly* 6 (3): 237–277.
- Lonsway, K. A., R. Paynich, and N. J. Hall. 2013. "Sexual Harassment in Law Enforcement: Incidence, Impact, and Perception." *Police Quarterly* 16 (2): 177–210.
- Maguire, E. R., and W. R. King. 2004. "Trends in the Policing Industry." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 593 (1): 15–41.
- Maguire, E. R., Lowrey, B. V., & Johnson, D. (2017). "Evaluating the Relative Impact of Positive and Negative Encounters with Police: A Randomized Experiment." *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 13 (3), 367-391.

- Maqbool, A. 2020. "How BLM Went from Facebook Post to Global Movement." BBC News, July 10, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-53273381>.
- Martin, S. E. 1990. *On the Move: The Status of Women in Policing*. Washington, DC: Police Foundation.
- Martin, S. E., and N. C. Jurik. 2006. *Doing Justice, Doing Gender: Women in Legal and Criminal Justice Occupations*. New York: Sage Publications.
- Matthies, C. F., K. M. Keller, and N. Lim. 2012. *Identifying Barriers to Diversity in Law Enforcement Agencies*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- McIntosh, P. 1988. "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack." New York: New York State Council of Educational Associations.
- Milgram, D. 2002. "Recruiting Women to Policing: Practical Strategies that Work." *Police Chief* 69 (4): 23–30.
- Mullen, T. 2017. *Darktown: a Novel (Vol. 1)*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Naff, K. 1994. Through the Glass Ceiling: Prospects for the Advancement of Women in the Federal Civil Service. *Public Administration Review* 54 (6), 507–514. <https://doi.org/10.2307/976669>.
- National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders [Kerner Commission], O. Kerner, and T. Wicker. 1968. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders: Special Introduction by Tom Wicker*. New York: Bantam Books.
- National Center for Women and Policing. 2000. *Recruiting and Retaining Women: A Self-Assessment Guide for Law Enforcement*. Los Angeles: National Center for Women and Policing.
- Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. 2011. "Statistical Briefing Book: Juvenile Arrests." Washington, DC: United States Department of Justice.
- Oliver, P. 2017. "Creating a Multicultural Law Enforcement Agency: An Intentional Priority." *Police Chief Online*, March 8, 2017.
- Paoline III, E. A., S. M. Myers, and R. E. Worden. 2000. "Police Culture, Individualism, and Community Policing: Evidence from Two Police Departments." *Justice Quarterly* 17 (3): 575–605.
- Pearsall III, A. A., and K. Kohlhepp. 2010. Strategies to Improve Recruitment. *The Police Chief* 77 (4), 128–130.

- Prenzler, T. and G. Sinclair. 2013. "The Status of Women Police Officers: An International Review." *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 41, no. 2: 115–131.
- President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and N. D. Katzenbach. 1967. *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society: A Report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. 2015. *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing*. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.
- Prokos, A., and I. Padavic. 2002. "There Oughta Be a Law Against Bitches': Masculinity Lessons in Police Academy Training." *Gender, Work and Organization* 9: 439–459
- Rabe-Hemp, C. 2008. "Survival in an 'All Boys Club': Policewomen and Their Fight for Acceptance." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management* 31 (2): 251–270.
- Raganella, A. J., and M. D. White. 2004. "Race, Gender, and Motivation for Becoming a Police Officer: Implications for Building a Representative Police Department." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 32 (6): 501–513.
- Reaves, B. A. 2010. "Local Police Departments, 2007." *Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics Survey*. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Reaves, B. A. 2013. "Local Police Departments, 1987–2013." *Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics Survey*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Richard, O. C., B. P. Murthi, and K. Ismail. 2007. "The Impact of Racial Diversity on Intermediate and Long-Term Performance: The Moderating Role of Environmental Context." *Strategic Management Journal* 28 (12): 1213–1233.
- Rojas, R. and K. Atkinson. 2017. "Five Days of Unrest that Shaped, and Haunted, Newark." *New York Times*, July 12, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/11/nyregion/newark-riots-50-years.html>.
- Rugh, J. S., and D. S. Massey. 2010. "Racial Segregation and the American Foreclosure Crisis." *American Sociological Review*, 75 (5): 629–651.
- San Diego Police Department and Buck Consultants. 2006. *The City of San Diego Police Classification Compensation and Benefits Survey Results*. San Diego, CA: San Diego Police Department.

- Schuck, A.M., and C. Rabe-Hemp. 2005. "Women Police: The Use of Force by and Against Female Officers." *Women and Criminal Justice* 16 (4): 91–117. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1300/J012v16n04_05.
- Seklecki, R., and R. Paynich. 2007. "A National Survey of Female Police Officers: An Overview of Findings." *Police Practice and Research* 8 (1): 17–30.
- Shapiro, F. C., and J. W. Sullivan. 1964. *Race Riots*. New York: Crowell.
- Sherman, L. J. 1973. "A Psychological View of Women in Policing." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 1 (4): 383–394.
- Sklansky, D. 2006. "Not Your Father's Police Department: Making Sense of the New Demographics of Law Enforcement." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 96 (3): 1209–1244.
- Smith, B., S. Shue, J. L. Vest, and J. Villarreal. 1999. *Philanthropy in Communities of Color*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Snortum, J. R., and J.C. Beyers. 1983. Patrol Activities of Male and Female Officers as Function of Work Experience. *Police Studies: The International Review of Police Development* 6 (1): 36–42.
- Social Security Administration. 1942. "Employment of Women in War Production." *Social Security Bulletin*, July 1942. <https://www.ssa.gov/policy/docs/ssb/v5n7/v5n7p4.pdf>.
- Steppler, R. 2017. "Female Police Officers' On-The-Job Experiences Diverge From Those Of Male Officers." Fact Tank: News in the Numbers (blog post). January 17, 2017. <http://pewrsr.ch/2iD4YQI>.
- Stoll, M. A., S. Raphael, and H. J. Holzer. 2004. "Black Job Applicants and the Hiring Officer's Race." *ILR Review* 57 (2): 267–287.
- Streit, C. 2001. "Recruiting Minority Officers." *Law Enforcement Technology* 28 (2): 70–72.
- Sun, Ivan. 2007. Policing Domestic Violence: Does Officer Gender Matter? *Journal of Criminal Justice* 35: 581–595.
- Taylor, R. J., L. M. Chatters, and J. S. Jackson. 2007. "Religious and Spiritual Involvement among Older African Americans, Caribbean Blacks, and Non-Hispanic Whites: Findings from the National Survey of American Life." *The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences* 62 (4): S238–S250.

- Thom, D. 2000. *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War I*. London: IB Tauris.
- Tyler, T. R., and J. Fagan. 2008. "Legitimacy and Cooperation: Why Do People Help the Police Fight Crime in Their Communities." *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 6 (1): 231–276.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2010. *2010 Census*. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2013. *Summary File: 2007–2011 American Community Survey*. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey Office.
- U.S. Department of Commerce Economic and Statistics Administration. 2010. *Exploring the Digital Nation: Home Broadband Internet Adoption in the United States*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce.
- U.S. Department of Commerce Economics and Statistics Administration. 2012. "United States Summary: 2010: Population and Housing Unit Counts." Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce. <https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/cph-2-1.pdf>.
- U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2008. *Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies (CSLLEA), 2008*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice
- U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs. 2015. *Diversity in Law Enforcement: A Literature Review*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2011. Employment and Earnings 58 (8), January 2011. <http://www.bls.gov/opub/ee/empearn201101.pdf>.
- U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. 2007. Americans with Disabilities Act: Questions and Answers. <https://www.eeoc.gov/laws/guidance/ada-questions-and-answers>.
- Wagner, B. 2010. *Disturbing the Peace: Black Culture and the Police Power after Slavery*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Williams, C., and J. Fedorowicz, J. 2019. "Does Social Media Promote The Public's Perception of the Police: Survey Results on Trust Cultivation." *Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences*, January 1, 2019.
- Wilson, J. M., and C.A. Grammich. 2009. *Police Recruitment and Retention in the Contemporary Urban Environment: A National Discussion of Personnel Experiences and Promising Practices From The Front Lines*. RAND Center on Quality Policing, Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.

- Wilson, J. M., E. Dalton, C. Scheer, and C. A. Grammich. 2010. *Police Recruitment and Retention for the New Millennium*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- Wilson, C. P., S. A. Wilson, H. K. Luthar, and M. R. Bridges. 2013. "Recruiting for Diversity in Law Enforcement: An Evaluation of Practices Used by State and Local Agencies." *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice* 11 (4): 238–255.
- Wilson, C. P., S. A. Wilson, and M. Gwann. 2016. *Identifying Barriers to Diversity in Law Enforcement Agencies*. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice* 14 (4): 231–253.
- Worden, A. P. 1993. "The Attitudes of Women and Men in Policing: Testing Conventional and Contemporary Wisdom." *Criminology* 31 (2): 203–241.
- Zhao, J., L. Herbst, and N. Lovrich. 2001. "Race, Ethnicity and the Female Cop: Differential Patterns of Representation." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 23 (3-4): 243–257.
- Zhao, J., N. He, and N. Lovrich. 2005. "Predicting the Employment of Minority Officers in U.S. Cities: OLS Fixed-Effect Panel Model Results for African American and Latino Officers for 1993, 1996, and 2000." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 33 (4): 377–386.

Appendix A. List of Staff and Consultants

Staff	
Elsie L. Scott, Ph.D.	Principal Investigator
Briana Hyman	Graduate Assistant
Decota Letman	Graduate Assistant
Ebony McCovery	Graduate Assistant
Amanda Terry	Graduate Assistant
Paula Thompson	Graduate Assistant
Naya Young	Graduate Assistant

Focus Group Facilitator
Dr. Laurie Samuel, Samuel Consulting LLC

Campus Focus Group Coordinators	
Gary Clark	Dillard University
Marian Perkins	Chicago State University
Margaret Dixon	Merritt College

Convening Consultants	
Dr. Sophie Raleigh Charles	Facilitator
Chief Gerald L. Darling	Facilitator
Fortex	Audio Visual and Computer Services



Appendix B. List of Police Convening Attendees

Amaker, Camisha	Caesar, Carmia	Fisher, Christian
Adams, Ariel	Chapman, Tonya D.	Fitzpatrick, Ryvell
Ajokubi, Victor	Charles, Dr. Sophine	Ford, Aaron
Armstrong, Walter	Clark, Ashlee	Frank, Asiyah
Asad, Hafiz	Clarke, Pamela	Franklin, Shirlethia
Ashby, Hazeen	Cook, Julian	Frye, Ashtyn
Atterbury, Kezmiche "Kim"	Cottrell, Cicely	Frye, James
Aziz, Deputy Chief Malik	Cullum, Jason	Graham, Khaleel
Baker, Jaleel	Cutlar, Shanetta Y.	Grant, Bryanna
Banks, Chanel	Damey, Youkou	Grant, Joseph
Baptist, Najja	Darling, Chief Gerald	Gray, Gabrielle
Barnes, Dekhayla	Davis, Chief Cerelyn	Greene, Lamar
Baylor, Ebony	Del Villar, Monica	Greer, Cameron
Bergeron, Suzanne	Dennis, Malik	Hall, Richard
Best, Assistant Chief Carmen	DeSousa, Darryl	Hamilton, Tyrell
Braden, Myesha	Destine, Shaneda	Hampton, Assistant Director Stephanie
Breaux, Jennifer	Dickerson, Chanel	Hawkins, Chief Gina
Brooks, Phillip	Durham, Chief Alfred	Haywood, Najla
Brown, Bria	Evans, Cherie	Herwig, Paige
Bumpers, Chief Vera	Fard, Deputy Chief Shahram	Hibbert, Assistant Special Agent In Charge LaVerne
Burns, Dalontay	Farrell, Jenee	
Bushwick, Helene	Fessehaye, Sirak	

Holako, Yoseph	McQuay, Katherine	Scullin, Jessica
Hollingsworth, Kendall	Mends, Mariska K.	Sedwick, Olivia
Ijoma, Diane	Mouton, Hayward	Shelton, Perre
Jean, Cassandra	Muhammad, Dr. Bahiyyah	Simmons, Dr. Tiffany
Johnson, Chasmin	NorthCross, Jasalynne	Smith, Pamela
Jones, Commander Marcus	O'Neal, Rachel	Solomon, Scott
Jones, Marcus	Patterson, Deputy Commissioner, Myron	Stephens, Courtney
Jordan, Chief Brian	Pierce, Erika	Swift, Jaimee
Joy, Chief Alonzo	Pointdujour, Rachelle	Tapp-Harper, Major Sabrina
Keesee, Deputy Commissioner Tracie	Posey, Lieutenant Ozetta	Taylor, Miles
Keeton, Elizabeth	Powell, Jarrett	Taylor Jr., Darris
Kelly, Assistant Chief Melron J.	Price-Conley, Dominique	Terry, Amanda
Kittrel, Lorraine	Rice-Thurston, Delabian	Turnbull, Angela
Lenah, Madisa Kgomotso	Richburg, Mykelle	Ukiomogbe, Julianna
Letman, Decota	Rivera, Lieutenant Manuel	Washington, Russell
Lewis, Nathan	Rodriguez, Dariely	Whitaker, Reginald
Malik, Nasfeesa	Ronisha, Parker	Wilcox, Tasha
Mansourian, Jessica	Royster, Assistant Chief Kim Y.	Williams, Clarke
McCray, Karra	Russ, Ebony	Williams, Gerry Isaac
McElroy, Kamari	Samuels, Dr. Laurie	Wilson, Tabias
McGuire, Deputy Chief Tarrick	Schreier, Josephine	Young, Naya
		Zipfel, Nathan

Engaging College Students in 21st Century Law Enforcement: Final Report details a study conducted by Howard University's Ronald W. Walters Leadership and Public Policy Center on African American college students' perceptions of police and interest in law enforcement careers. Focus groups of college students from four Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) and Predominantly Black Institutions (PBI) were convened to identify factors that help or hinder law enforcement recruitment of African Americans. Sessions were also held with African American college students and police officials to discuss ways to build community trust. The report compiles suggestions from these discussion sessions and focus groups for recruitment and selection policies likely to attract and retain young African American applicants—most notably, that police agencies should engage more with college students in nonconfrontational settings.



COPS

Community Oriented Policing Services
U.S. Department of Justice

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Community Oriented Policing Services
145 N Street NE
Washington, DC 20530

To obtain details about COPS Office programs,
call the COPS Office Response Center at 800-421-6770.

Visit the COPS Office online at cops.usdoj.gov.

e092003963
Published 2021