CRITICAL ISSUES IN POLICING SERIES

Policing and the Economic Downturn: Striving for Efficiency
Is the New Normal
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SINCE 2008, WHEN AN ECONOMIC CRISIS BEGAN to impact police departments nationwide, PERF has been conducting surveys and organizing national conferences to explore the details of budget cuts and how police executives were responding to changing conditions. This report describes our most recent work in documenting the economic situation for police departments.

Our first step is always to collect the bedrock information about what is happening in the field—in this case by surveying police agencies about their budgets, financial plans, and strategies. Thanks go to the law enforcement agencies that agree to participate in our surveys, and who give us the information we need to assess what is happening and frame questions about what should be done.

In the project summarized in this report, several law enforcement agencies agreed to serve as case studies, welcoming PERF staff members and providing us with much more detailed information about how they are navigating the global economic crisis. The Camden, NJ Police Department; the Lane County, OR Sheriff’s Office; the Corpus Christi, TX Police Department; and the Greater Manchester Police in England accommodated many requests from PERF for more information. I am grateful to Camden Chief Scott Thompson, Lane County Sheriff Thomas Turner, Corpus Christi Chief Floyd Simpson and former Chief Troy Riggs (who is now Director of Public Safety in Indianapolis), and Manchester Chief Constable Sir Peter Fahy.

This project would not have been possible without the generous support of the Motorola Solutions Foundation. The Motorola Solutions Foundation has taken a key role in the field of policing by backing the Critical Issues in Policing Series. This series has explored some of the most important and controversial topics in law enforcement. The partnership of PERF and the Motorola Solutions Foundation has resulted in more than 20 publications that offer police executives new information about the state of the field, case studies, promising practices, and most importantly, first-hand knowledge from leading police executives.

The team at Motorola Solutions is acutely aware of the issues facing police departments, and they have supported PERF in every Critical Issues project. The Motorola Solutions team understands that critical issues sometimes emerge suddenly—the economic crisis of 2008 was one such issue—and they provide PERF with the flexibility to take on an issue immediately. I would like to acknowledge Greg Brown, Chairman and CEO of Motorola Solutions; Mark Moon, Senior Vice President, Sales and Field Operations; Karen Tandy, Senior Vice President of Public Affairs; Jim Welch, Senior Vice President, North American Sales; Rick Neal, Vice President, Government Strategy and Business Development; and Matt Blakely, Director of the Motorola Solutions Foundation.

Finally, I want to thank the PERF staff members who contributed to this project. Chief of Staff Andrea Luna and Deputy Chief of Staff Shannon Branly provided guidance and leadership to the entire effort. Senior Research Associate Bruce Kubu and Research Assistants Nate Ballard and Jacob Berman produced and implemented the survey. Research Associate Dan Woods conducted a thorough analysis of the survey data and prepared comparisons to PERF’s previous surveys documenting the depth of the economic crisis. Membership Coordinator and Project Assistant Balinda Cockrell and Research Associate Megan Collins reviewed open-ended survey responses and conducted research on economic issues. Shannon also helped develop this report and was assisted by Research
Director Dr. Heath Grant and Research Associate Sunny Schnitzer in conducting interviews with the featured agencies. Communications Director Craig Fischer extensively edited drafts of this report, and our graphic designer, Dave Williams, developed another good-looking publication in online and print versions.

In this report, we aim to provide some perspective about the economic trends affecting police departments. And we describe some of the strategies and tactics that have been successful in police departments that have absorbed large cutbacks in their funding. I hope you will find this information helpful, and as always, PERF is telling the story of what police agencies are facing to the news media and the public.

Chuck Wexler
Executive Director
Police Executive Research Forum
Washington, D.C.
Chapter One

PERF Survey Reveals Mixed Picture on Police Budgets; Most Are Being Cut, But Situation Has Improved Since 2010

PERF has tracked the effects of the economic downturn on local law enforcement agencies since 2008. Since that time, PERF has conducted four surveys of local police agencies regarding their economic situations.

The first three surveys produced findings that could be summarized as “grim.” The most recent survey, conducted in early 2012, was the first to provide some findings that could be considered hopeful, in terms of police agencies’ budgets.

More than 700 agencies responded to the latest survey, and of those 700 police departments, 416 completed the PERF survey that was conducted in 2010. Thus, by comparing the responses of those 416 agencies in 2010 with the responses of the very same agencies in 2012, PERF was able to document trends in police budgets and related issues in a fairly rigorous manner.

POLICE BUDGET TRENDS 2010–2012

Among the 416 agencies that responded to both the 2010 and 2012 surveys, 51 percent reported experiencing a budget cut in the current fiscal year, while 78 percent of those same agencies reported cuts in PERF’s 2010 survey.

Thus, the bad economic news is that a majority of agencies are still experiencing budget cutbacks. However, the encouraging news is that that 51 percent figure is significantly lower than the comparable figure of 78 percent in 2010.

Similarly, 40 percent of the 416 agencies responding to the 2012 survey answered “yes” when we asked if they were “currently preparing plans for an overall budget cut to your agency for the next fiscal year.” But it is encouraging to note that two years earlier, 61 percent of those same agencies said they were expecting budget cuts for the following fiscal year.

On average, the agencies expecting a budget cut next year said they expect the cut to be 5.3 percent.

 Agencies Experiencing Current Budget Cuts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% of agencies</th>
<th>2010 survey</th>
<th>2012 survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78 %</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 Agencies Planning for Budget Cuts Next Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% of agencies</th>
<th>2010 survey</th>
<th>2012 survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which Police Functions Are Being Cut?
The overall budget situation described above is reflected in the details of particular aspects of police operations. In some areas, particularly recruiting and training, conditions seem to be improving in some cities. But in other areas, such as hiring freezes and investments in technology, little or no improvement was seen between 2010 and 2012.

Areas with an Improved Outlook

**Recruiting:** In 2010, 32 percent of responding agencies said they had discontinued recruitment of new officers. In 2012, that figure—among the same agencies that answered the question in 2010—dropped more than half, to 15 percent.

Similarly, in 2010, 59 percent of responding agencies said they had delayed or reduced the size of recruit classes. In 2012, that number fell to 29 percent.

**Training:** In 2010, 72 percent of responding agencies reported a reduction in training programs, compared to 55 percent of those same agencies in 2012.

**Officer Pay Raises:** In 2010, 67 percent of responding agencies reported eliminating pay raises for officers as a budget-cutting measure, compared to 57 percent of those same agencies in 2012.

**Reductions in Police Services:** In 2010, 58 percent of responding agencies said that police services in their community had already declined or would decline with the implementation of recent or planned budget cuts. In 2012, among the same agencies that answered this question, that figure dropped to 44 percent.

**Response Times:** In 2010, 31 percent of respondents said they believed their response time to emergency calls had already increased or would increase due to budget cuts. In 2012, that number dropped to 25 percent.

**Overtime Spending:** In 2010, 75 percent of responding agencies said they had cut overtime spending. That figure declined slightly, to 68 percent, in 2012. (As PERF has noted in the past, members of the general public may think of police overtime spending as a “frill” that can easily be cut to save money. However, cuts in overtime often are a more serious matter, because the demand for police services can rise and fall substantially from one week to the next. Most police agencies use overtime to respond to temporary spikes in crime, or to manage major events in their community. Using overtime can be more efficient than hiring larger numbers of employees to ensure sufficient staffing for peak-demand periods. But if regular staffing is not adequate for the times when demand is highest, and overtime funding is also unavailable, the result is that the police response will suffer.)

Areas with Little or No Change in Outlook

**Layoffs:** In 2010 and in 2012, approximately 23 percent of responding police agencies said they had recently implemented officer layoffs to save money.

**Hiring Freezes:** In 2010 and 2012, approximately 45 percent of agencies had implemented hiring freezes.

**Technology:** In 2010, 54 percent of agencies reported cutting back or eliminating plans to acquire new technology. In 2012, that number dropped only slightly, to 51 percent.

*Police services in my community have already or will decline with the implementation of recent or planned budget cuts*
Staffing Changes in 2012

PERF’s surveys about the economy since 2008 have consistently shown a strong belief among police executives about the need to maintain staffing of sworn officers. In the most recent survey, 90 percent of responding agencies said that sworn positions should be the last thing to be cut in a budget.

Overall, 76 percent of responding agencies reported that they expected their number of officers on the street to remain about the same in the coming year. Approximately 17 percent of agencies expected a decrease in their number of officers, and 8 percent expected an increase.

Restructuring Police Departments

PERF’s 2012 survey also asked police agencies whether they have undertaken various steps to change their structure or organization in order to save money. Following are details about how many departments have undertaken such changes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change in Department Structure</th>
<th>% of Police Agencies That Are Implementing the Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discontinuing or significantly reducing specialty units</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consolidating units</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consolidating services with other departments</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reducing public access hours at district stations</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closing/Consolidating district stations</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contracting out for services</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demoting staff in certain ranks</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privatizing some police services</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Redeployments

Redeployment strategies that have been undertaken to save funding include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Redeployment Strategy</th>
<th>% of Departments That Are Implementing the Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Altering shift times</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changing patrol levels in defined areas</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handling crime scene processing with patrol officers</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No longer sending investigators immediately for certain crimes</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative call handling strategies (phone or Internet)</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changing investigative priorities</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changing response policies for calls for service</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CRIME RATES AND THE ECONOMY

PERF’s 2012 survey revealed troubling signs that several years of tight budgets for police agencies might be contributing to increases in crime. PERF began to discuss these findings with the news media, and in April 2012 USA Today ran a story highlighting one aspect of the story: increases in domestic violence due to the economy (see box below).

As has happened before, PERF’s 2012 survey proved to be prescient. In January 2013, the FBI released its preliminary UCR statistics for the first six months of 2012, and announced that violent crime increased 1.9 percent, and property crime increased 1.5 percent. These were the first increases in national UCR figures since 2006.

Following are the detailed findings from PERF’s survey regarding crime levels:

**Property crime:** Nearly two-thirds of the police agencies responding to PERF’s 2012 survey (63 percent) reported a recent increase in property crimes in their jurisdiction. Of those agencies, 30 percent said they believed the state of the economy and budget cuts had had a large impact on property crime, and another 64 percent said the economy had had “some” impact. Only 6 percent said they believed the economy had had little or no impact on property crime.

**Violent Crime:** 41 percent of responding agencies said that violent crime had increased in their jurisdiction, and of those agencies, 13 percent said they believe the economic downturn has had a large impact on violent crime, and another 71 percent said the economy had had “some” impact. Only 16 percent said they thought the economy had had little or no impact on violent crime.

**Contacts with Persons with Mental Illness:** More than half of responding agencies (53 percent) reported increases in their contacts with persons with mental illness, which they attributed to the economic downturn.

**Early release policies:** More than two-thirds of respondents (69 percent) said their state has made changes to prison early release policies, allowing low-risk or nonviolent inmates to be released early in order to reduce costs. Of those respondents, 90 percent said they expect an increase in crime as a result.

**Juvenile offenses:** 44 percent of responding agencies said they have seen an increase in youth crime because of the economic downturn.

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Most Agencies Report An Increase in Domestic Violence

PERF’s 2012 survey found that 56 percent of responding agencies believe they have seen an increase in domestic violence incidents due to the economic recession. In a story about the PERF survey, USA Today reporter Kevin Johnson interviewed Camden, NJ Police Chief Scott Thomson, who said that domestic violence incidents in Camden rose from 7,500 in 2010 to 9,100 in 2011. The unemployment rate in Camden is 19 percent, and Chief Thomson believes it is “impossible” that the statistics about joblessness and about domestic violence are unrelated. He told the USA Today reporter, “When stresses in the home increase because of unemployment and other hardships, domestic violence increases. We see it on the street.”

Since 2009, the Mary Kay Foundation has conducted four annual surveys of more than 700 domestic violence shelters across the United States. In the most recent survey, conducted in February 2012, 78 percent of the shelters reported an increase in the number of women seeking assistance compared to the year before. “Nearly three out of four survivors nationwide stayed with an abusive partner longer because of financial issues,” and “more than half of the shelters indicated that the abuse has become more violent since the economic downturn,” a report on the surveys said.


Chapter Two

Corpus Christi Police Department Uses Efficiency Analysis to Cut Costs

This chapter presents the first of several in-depth studies of individual law enforcement agencies that have faced significant budget cuts.

The city of Corpus Christi, Texas has a growing population of more than 300,000 and a healthy tax base, but it has not been immune to the economic crisis of the last four years. Former Police Chief Troy Riggs, upon taking office in October 2009, immediately faced the need to make significant budget reductions. Riggs took a comprehensive approach to identifying the best opportunities for cost savings. In late 2011, Riggs was promoted to the position of Assistant City Manager, and the Police Department’s efforts to save money without damaging public safety are now being led by Chief Floyd Simpson.3

The Corpus Christi Police Department (CCPD) is made up of 451 full-time sworn personnel and 226 full-time civilian employees. With a budget of roughly $70 million, the department leaders have been instructed to find ways to make cuts ranging from 2 percent to 5 percent over the past four years.4

AN ORGANIZED APPROACH TO BUDGET-CUTTING

In 2009, newly-sworn-in Chief Riggs and the CCPD command staff established 30 “re-organization and efficiency teams,” made up of law enforcement employees (with all ranks represented) and members from the community representing business, education, government, faith-based organizations, and private citizens. These teams were tasked with evaluating CCPD’s organizational structure, efficiency levels, and community and staff member engagement.

The findings of the efficiency teams led to a series of program changes and budget cuts described on the following pages.

3. Troy Riggs accepted the Director of Public Safety position in Indianapolis on September 18, 2012.
4. Data provided by CCPD.
MAINTAINING AND IMPROVING THE PATROL FUNCTION

More than 75 percent of respondents in PERF’s 2012 economic survey said they believe that maintaining patrol should be a priority in dealing with budget cuts, and the Corpus Christi Police Department is no exception. CCPD leaders believed that they could identify cuts in areas other than patrol, which would be less likely to impact public safety negatively.

However, with a freeze on hiring and Police Academy classes being postponed, when vacancies occurred in patrol, CCPD needed to fill the positions with its existing staffing. Filling these positions often required transferring employees from other departments to patrol, or requiring staff members to take on additional responsibilities.

Eliminating Special Units

After discussions with the reorganization and efficiency teams, the department identified 41 officers who could be returned to the Uniform Patrol Division. Both Chief Riggs and Chief Simpson have emphasized patrol and taken precautionary measures to ensure that there are enough “boots on the ground.”

This has required eliminating some of the specialized units, including the bike unit and community policing unit. “The community policing unit had 6 or 7 officers, but the entire patrol division should be engaged in community policing, rather than having a special unit for it,” Simpson said.

Maintaining a Focus on Community Policing

To make good on that promise, Chief Simpson reemphasized community policing in patrol. Patrol officers travel door to door, distributing surveys and asking residents about any concerns they have about crime or policing. By doing this, patrol officers become more connected with the communities that they serve.

The patrol division was also instructed to place a priority on problem-solving. The community surveys help to identify problems that might not otherwise be apparent. The department also developed problem-solving teams that included community members. “To address these problems, we needed ‘can-do’ people with the expertise and dedication to make a measurable difference in their communities,” said Assistant Chief Mark Schauer.

Maintaining the focus on patrol has required constant vigilance. Despite the high priority on
巡逻人员有时被分配到其他局内部门填补空缺职位。出于对失去太多巡逻警员的担忧，CCPD领导层在2010年进行了一项内部研究，以确定维持安全水平所需的最小巡逻人员配置水平。多个由警员、指挥层成员、社区利益相关者和市民组成的委员会审查了CCPD所使用的巡逻策略和结构。委员会达成共识，除非将巡逻人员配置降到205人以下，否则将产生更高的犯罪率。目前，该部门拥有215名警员。

西蒙警长最近发布了一份后跟进的人力配置研究，旨在进行工作量分析。这项研究正在将更多的人力配置到犯罪最可能发生的时段和地点。换句话说，团队正在使用情报导向警务技术来针对资源，并提高员工的生产力。

**减小春季假期的加班时间**

根据对巡逻活动的初步审查，CCPD对如何应对大型活动进行了更近距离的审视。作为墨西哥湾沿岸城市，科珀斯克里斯蒂在春季假期季节期间会接待大量年轻人。为了在这一期间保持秩序和安全，警员们一直在工作大量的加班时间。里格斯警长和他的团队制定了一项计划，通过从行政岗位和其他岗位拉出警员来协助巡逻活动，从而避免了春季假期的加班时间。这项举措总共为部门节省了近50万美元的加班费用。这项计划现在是努力减少年长期加班支出的一部分。

此外，CCPD还在增加巡逻活动的有效性。巡逻警员被鼓励专注于追踪惯犯，该部门也在与其它执法机构建立更紧密的关系。例如，该部门已邀请社区官员出席所有CompStat会议。

里格斯警长还希望确保巡逻的重视以及与社区的联系在整个部门中得到体现。因此，他实行了所谓的“每个人的日子”。在“每个人的日子”，所有警员，包括警长和他的指挥层，都在巡逻中度过他们的班次。这种传统在西蒙警长的领导下得以延续。

巡逻也在大型活动期间得到支持，此时“所有人上阵”被要求协助街道巡逻。

该部门还在建立其储备警员队伍。当警员退休时，会询问他们是否愿意继续作为储备警员留在警局。西蒙警长说：“我们的储备警员队伍正在扩大，我们能够将我们的储备警员分配到符合他们个人偏好和才能的活动中。储备警员每月工作16小时。”
TACTICS FOR AVOIDING LAYOFFS

The Corpus Christi Police Department has approximately 1.4 sworn officers per 1,000 residents, compared to a national average of 2.4 officers per 1,000 residents. With this in mind, Former Chief Riggs and his command staff ruled out layoffs early in the process of identifying budget cuts. “Throughout the process, our goal was always to drive down crime and the fear of crime, while creating an exceptionally efficient police department,” Riggs said.

Although CCPD has not laid off any employees, the total number of filled positions has declined slightly through attrition. A “soft” hiring freeze has been implemented on civilian positions, and the department has not filled six civilian positions over the past two years.

CCPD also has delayed and reduced the size of its Police Academy classes. New recruits are being hired, but the number of retirements is larger. “We recently graduated 15 new officers from the Academy, but on average, 18 retire each year,” said Assistant Chief Schauer.

Civilians: Schauer also noted that CCPD is saving money by not using highly trained sworn officers to do work that can be done by civilians. “We are civilianizing all of the services that we can,” he said. “Civilians are not permitted to use force, issue an arrest of a citizen, or serve as supervisors over any sworn personnel. Other than that, we can use civilians to perform many public safety services.” The Criminal Investigation Division includes five civilian positions; animal control is staffed entirely by civilians; and the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) inspector is a civilian.

Volunteers: CCPD also is relying on a new volunteer program to help fill gaps caused by the civilian hiring freeze. The Volunteers in Police Service (VIPS) Program, which started in March 2010, taps into the skills of community members with a commitment to public safety. The program grew quickly, with volunteers logging 3,000 hours in six months. Many of the volunteers are retired police officers or military personnel.

School crossing guards: CCPD identified the school crossing guard program as an area for cost savings. Previously, the school crossing guard program used paid and trained personnel at elementary schools to ensure the safety of children on their way to and from school. But the program cost CCPD nearly $700,000 a year. The program is now run mainly by parent volunteers, who receive the same quality of training that was provided to the paid staffers in the past.

“Of course, not everything is going to go over well with the community. There were people who were unhappy about the reduction of this program,” Riggs said.

Minor vehicle accidents: CCPD also is reducing its response to minor motor vehicle accidents. “Nearly 10,000 accidents happen each year in Corpus Christi, and each one can take an hour or more of each officer’s time,” Chief Simpson said. The department will soon be limiting the responsibility of officers

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at the scene of minor accidents. Officers will be expected to issue citations for any violations and then leave the scene of the accident. It is estimated that this will reduce the time spent at minor traffic incidents to 15 minutes on average.

**Leased facilities:** CCPD’s efficiency teams also zeroed in on the department’s use of leased facilities. By consolidating services into fewer leased properties, the department was able to save nearly $250,000, Chief Riggs said.

**IMPACT ON CRIME**

Despite the cuts in CCPD funding, Corpus Christi experienced significant decreases in crime in 2010 and 2011. DeAnna McQueen, Special Projects Coordinator for CCPD, said: “Since January 2010, crime is down 15 percent. We targeted specific crimes and saw huge reductions. Robberies are down 20 percent (combined 2010 and 2011 numbers) and drive-by shootings are down 50 percent. Partnerships with the community and intelligence-based policing are the reasons this occurred.”

**PARKING CONTROL**

Technological changes in CCPD’s parking control operations are expected to save the department approximately $500,000 per year in employee and operational costs over traditional systems. Faced with cutting the budget for parking enforcement, the department reviewed the efficiency of the parking control division. “When we started looking at the division a few years ago, we found that our parking control division fell in the bottom 1 percent of performers in that field,” said Parking Control Supervisor Marc Denson. “We saw that as a challenge to improve.”

Denson and his team began researching parking enforcement practices and technologies used by police departments nationwide and studied 27 departments with promising practices. Eventually, CCPD interviewed officials from three of those departments and devised a plan for modernizing CCPD’s operations. CCPD invested in solar-powered and Wi-Fi-enabled parking meters that use rechargeable solar batteries and allow patrons of metered city parking to use credit or debit cards to pay parking fees. This also reduces losses of parking meter revenue. With new procedures and electronic monitored collection, which virtually eliminate the possibility of theft from collections, Denson noted an increase of approximately $20,000 in revenue from coin-operated parking meters. “With technology monitoring, restricting access to the parking meter revenue and adding credit card payment ability to an offsite card processing company, we’ve been able to eliminate the temptation to ‘skim off the top’ when coin meters are emptied,” he said.

### Crime Levels in Corpus Christi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th># Of Occurrences</th>
<th>% change from previous year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1,615</td>
<td>14.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1,525</td>
<td>-5.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1,682</td>
<td>-10.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1,471</td>
<td>-12.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1,411</td>
<td>-4.08%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th># Of Occurrences</th>
<th>% change from previous year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>6.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>-1.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>-6.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>-15.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>-4.88%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aSource: Corpus Christi Police Department Uniform Crime Report, 2011.*
The parking control unit also has switched to electronic ticket-writing machines. All parking citations now include photo evidence of the violation, and the citation is sent to the processing system almost immediately. This allows the citizen to pay tickets at parking control payment kiosks within 60 minutes of the citation being issued. The devices also allow parking control staff to produce citations more quickly.

Denson and his team also have streamlined the process for contesting parking violation citations. An office for administrative hearings was opened in 2012. The office requires minimal staffing; hearing officers are three retired CCPD officers. According to Denson, hearings require only 15 minutes on average, and with photo evidence provided by the new electronic ticket machines, the conviction rate for parking violations is 99 percent.

While the department reviewed parking enforcement practices, it also looked for untapped sources of revenue, and identified a city-owned lot that could be used as a metered parking lot.

The changes in CCPD’s parking practices did not go unnoticed by the community. CCPD worked with the community and with news media sources to make sure that changes were publicized. “To gain the support of the community, we had a policy of being transparent about how parking revenue is spent and what changes were occurring,” said Denson.

The investments in parking control have paid off for Corpus Christi, Denson said. “The increase in revenue meant that the more updated system paid for itself in four months,” he said.

**MAINTAINING EMPLOYEE MORALE**

When the economic crisis first required cuts in CCPD spending, the department realized that employee morale was at risk. Special Projects Coordinator DeAnna McQueen said, “Chief Riggs knew the importance of recognizing employees, and he put together programs to honor their achievements.”

Chief Riggs and his team developed a 501(c)(3) charitable foundation, *Citizens in Support of CCPD*, to support these initiatives:

**Employee of the Month Program**: Each month, sworn and non-sworn members of the department are selected as Employees of the Month. The nominations are made by division heads, and the employees are selected by a panel of supervisors. Winners are awarded a day off from work and lunch with the Chief of Police and a guest of their choosing.

**Awards Banquet**: This is the department’s opportunity to celebrate the work performed by employees during the previous year. The banquet is funded by Citizens in Support of CCPD and other fundraising activities. No tax dollars are used for this event.

**Wellness Program**: This is an incentive-based program that encourages all sworn and non-sworn members of CCPD to remain fit.

**THE CHIEF’S PERSPECTIVE ON THE FUTURE OF POLICING**

The Corpus Christi Police Department made significant cuts and changes to its operations as a result of the economic crisis. “We were fortunate that we were not hit as hard as many other areas in the country,” Chief Simpson said. Simpson credits strong city management for being as prepared as possible. Corpus Christi is experiencing population growth as a result of the energy industry and other local businesses. “The city’s tax base is growing, and we will continue to work towards maximum efficiency,” Simpson said. “It is important that we count our pennies and stick to our budgets to build reserves for any future economic downturn.”

“We will continue to run the department as a business. We will identify efficient practices, operate a lean and mobile police force, and cut those things that are not a part of our core service delivery. We will devote our time to the mission of the police department: reducing crime, reducing the fear of crime, and enhancing public safety,” Simpson said.
Police Budget Cuts in the United Kingdom: The Manchester, England Perspective

The economic crisis that hit the United States has also impacted police agencies in other nations, including the UK. Sir Peter Fahy, Chief Constable of the Greater Manchester Police (GMP), described his agency’s experiences with budget-cutting during a session at PERF’s 2012 Annual Meeting.

“For nearly 30 years, the department continued to grow, until very recently,” Fahy said. “The economic downturn hit us hard. GMP staffs nearly 13,000 individuals—2,700 of whom will be without a job within the next few years.”

Police Budget Targets Are Set at National Level

In 2010 the UK’s Treasury ministry conducted what it calls a Comprehensive Spending Review (CSR) of all government finance practices. This spending review process occurs every three years and can affect the spending priorities of all government agencies for the following three financial years. The 2010 CSR provided for reductions in government spending in an effort to reduce the budget deficit.7

Along with other government agencies, law enforcement is required to make significant cuts. Assistant Chief Officer Lynne Potts explained that the department developed a strategy for finding cost savings by starting with “back office” activities and moving gradually out to “front line” activities.

For example, Potts and her colleagues asked all back-office employees to identify cost-saving strategies that are already working. We asked, “What do you do to save money?” Potts said. “And we have found areas in all back office functions where we could operate minimally and not impact public safety”—for example, shifting to electronic filing of documents.

Consolidation of office functions with other government agencies is also seen as an area for savings. “As with many government offices, there are areas in GMP that are very siloed,” Potts added. “We have been increasing communication to ensure there is no duplication of duties.”

For example, Potts said that police and other government agencies have been

continued on next page

discussing ways to centralize certain functions, such as printing documents; or creating a co-op of lawyers to consolidate legal services; or using one outside contractor to service vehicles.

The department is also implementing a more neighborhood-focused policing model. This model has localized information hubs to each of the divisions, which makes intelligence-led policing more specific to small geographic areas. The model also increases the “street time” of frontline officers by creating prisoner processing units that handle the paperwork associated with apprehending a suspect, so officers can get back onto the streets more quickly.

**Regulations Limit Layoffs**

The UK has stringent restrictions on layoffs for sworn personnel. “Specifically, there is no legislation in England or Wales that allows an officer to be labelled ‘redundant,’” explains Inspector Stephen Hall, referring to the process by which employees can be laid off. As a result, GMP in effect is using a near-total hiring freeze to reduce personnel costs, bringing only 50 officers through the academy in coming years. This will not cover the numbers of officers retiring or voluntarily leaving the force.

The restrictions on layoffs do not apply to civilians, so GMP has been laying off many civilian staff members at headquarters. “1,300 staff members are already gone from GMP, and we anticipate at least that many more in the next few years,” Fahy said.

Although restrictions are in place for officer layoffs, GMP has been considering whether to enforce Regulation A19, which would allow the department to compulsorily retire police officers who have completed 30 years pensionable service, as long as it is in the general interest of the efficiency of the force. The pension regulation has been approved for use in other jurisdictions in the UK, including Cornwall and Devon, but it has not yet been used in Greater Manchester.

Fahy explained that a required cost-savings plan is hurting morale, because it includes pay freezes, a lack of promotions, and a threat to law enforcement pension plans. “The insecurity associated with the cuts is taking a toll on the psychology of our employees,” Fahy said. “As a result, we have been developing policing practices that recognize staff accomplishments, through mentoring, coaching, and talent development.”

**Involving the Community**

Community policing, transparency, and accountability to the public are especially important when a police department is undergoing significant changes. Chief Constable Fahy has convened more than 10 “town hall” style meetings to discuss budget issues and describe changes in the police service, and to receive feedback from the public.

Even though the GMP has been making budget cuts for two years, the department has not seen the increases in crime that have occurred in some other jurisdictions. Total crimes reported declined 9 percent in 2011–12, compared to the previous year. Other indicators also continue to move in the right direction; the “solve” rate for crimes increased 2.4 percent in 2011–12 over the previous year. The GMP also has achieved major reductions in the average time spent per investigation.

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Chapter Three
Camden, NJ Police Use “Smart Policing” and Force Multipliers To Mitigate Effects of Budget Cuts

There may be no law enforcement agency in the United States that has suffered more devastating budget cuts than the Camden, NJ Police Department. Following is an account of an extreme example of how the economic downturn has affected a police department and the community it serves:

Despite once having been a thriving industrial and port city, Camden, New Jersey was struggling even before the 2008 economic crisis. Approximately 36 percent of Camden’s 77,000 residents live below the poverty level, compared to 9.1 percent of all New Jersey residents and 13.8 percent nationally. News media stories recently identified Camden as the nation’s poorest city. The student drop-out rate ranges from 60 to 70 percent, and only 6.8 percent of Camden residents over the age of 25 report having a bachelor’s degree or higher, according to U.S. Census Bureau statistics for 2010. Camden’s population is predominantly African American (48 percent) and Hispanic (47 percent) residents with a median household income of $27,027, well below the statewide median of $69,811. A significant contributor to the high poverty rate is a lack of opportunities for employment within the city. There are few large employers other than the Cooper University Hospital, Campbell Soup Company, L-3 Communications, and Rutgers University. There is a growing Mexican community, but there are few small businesses moving into Camden. Shockingly, with about 175 open-air drug markets operating in the city, Camden Police Department (CPD) personnel speculate that the illegal narcotics trade is actually a significant source of cash flow in the city’s economy.¹⁰

Violent Street Crime and Juvenile Offenders
Camden has one of the highest violent crime rates in the country, more than five times the national average.¹¹ Police Chief Scott Thomson has pointed out that with 67 murders in 2012, Camden’s homicide rate of 87.5 per 100,000 eclipses that of Honduras, the nation with the highest homicide rate in the world, and that Camden’s 67 murders in 2012 surpassed the number of homicides in 15 states, according to the most recent UCR statistics (for 2011). According to Chief Thomson, more than 700 parolees and 600 registered sex offenders live in the city. Drug and gang crimes are mostly committed by neighborhood crews, and the police department estimates that about 40 percent of street violence is committed by juvenile offenders. The city’s population is relatively young, with 31 percent under the age of 18.¹² Chief Thomson has noted that the city has the highest rate of single parents in the country, at 68 percent.

¹⁰. Interviews with Camden PD personnel.
The national economic crisis that began in 2008 did not immediately bring cuts in the Camden Police Department's total funding. But by 2010, the police budget was declining, and in 2011 it dropped precipitously.

In a November 2010 letter to the New Jersey Civil Service Commission, Mayor Dana Redd outlined planned layoffs and cuts for all city departments. The Mayor's Office estimated an overall budget shortfall of at least $28 million in the 2011 fiscal year—and the fiscal year was nearly halfway over. Despite many meetings with collective bargaining units representing city employees, the City had been unable reach agreement on concessions that might have spared the jobs of employees. In January 2011, this resulted in layoffs of approximately 335 city employees.

Because police departments typically account for the largest share of municipal budgets, it is difficult or impossible to shield the police entirely when massive cuts are made to a city's budget. Thus, many experienced officers were laid off. In fact, most officers with fewer than 14 years on the force lost their jobs. And there were sharp changes in store for those who were not laid off; about 70 percent of the remaining force was demoted, and the rank of captain was effectively eliminated (see Table 2).

As a result, it was not uncommon for a former sergeant with a decade or more of supervisory experience to be demoted to the rank of officer and put back out on the streets on patrol.

Police salaries also were cut. Often, salaries were reduced by nearly $20,000, as employees were demoted from supervisory pay levels to the rank of officer. Officers are allowed to take on secondary employment to supplement their CPD salaries, but the department has some control over the

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**Camden UCR Total Violent Crime 2005–2010**

**Camden Police Department Budget**

Data provided by CPD.

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14. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
assignments and officer eligibility to work those details. Health care and other benefits were not cut for employees retained by CPD, but they were reduced for officers who were laid off and later hired back. The reduced benefits will remain in place for any future hires as well.

### Impact on Police Operations

**Overall Staffing:** In one year, the Camden Police Department took one of the largest percentage cuts in a U.S. police department, as its personnel total dropped from 461 in 2010 to 324 in 2011 (see Table 3). CPD later was allowed to hire back a number of officers and restore staffing to a level of 368 employees. But CPD is operating with 100 fewer officers and about half of the civilian personnel it had in previous years. The current number of active sworn personnel is similar to staffing levels dating back to the 1930s.

**Investigations and Internal Affairs:** Maintaining the criminal investigations function in Camden has been challenging. The department currently has a 35-percent “solve rate” for homicides, compared to 70 percent two years ago. The lack of manpower and overtime funds is an obstacle for the detectives. Detectives also lack funds to pay informants or conduct “buy-bust” operations. Similarly, Internal Affairs detectives have few resources to devote to proactive investigations.

**Crime Analysis Personnel:** With nearly half of its civilian staff laid off, the Camden Police Department’s support services, including crime analysis, have suffered. Crime analysis personnel focus the little time and resources they have on UCR crime statistics and CompStat reports.

### CAMDEN SEEKS ‘SMART POLICING’ STRATEGIES

Police Chief Scott Thomson was tasked with the responsibility of responding to the financial crisis—in a city that already had extremely high rates of violent crime. Chief Thomson decided that the department needed to be restructured in a way that would permit a “smart policing” strategy that would make the best possible use of the relatively few remaining officers.

### Organizational Restructuring

Departmental reorganization became a key component of the CPD response. In order to maintain police presence on the streets, specialized units were reduced or eliminated, and nearly all of the sworn officers handling administrative assignments were

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reassigned to patrol. All but a few investigators were shifted to patrol and tasked with answering radio calls. Additionally, TAC Force (SWAT) officers were dispersed across the department, but they are maintaining their certifications and training so they can be re-assembled if necessary.

Administrative personnel were also subjected to demotions, and many frequently work 10 or more hours a day with a requirement to patrol the streets as well.

**Quality Response Teams**

As 2011 progressed, it became clear to Chief Thomson that his patrol officers were so busy with dispatched calls that they could not respond to less serious offenses in the community. He responded by creating three Quality Response Teams (QRTs). A QRT consists of about 25 officers and a sergeant who use directed foot patrols to proactively target quality-of-life crimes. Crime trends are examined to identify problem locations, and QRTs are directed to those areas. QRT officers provide a visible police presence on foot, and create opportunities to communicate with residents of troubled communities.

**CREATING FORCE MULTIPLIERS WITH REAL-TIME INFORMATION**

Even before budget cuts became a reality in Camden, Chief Thomson planned to move the department toward “smarter policing” by increasing CPD’s use of technology as a force multiplier.

One of the most significant technology advances at CPD has been the creation of the Real Time Tactical Operational Information Center (RT-TOC). The RT-TOC is a command center in CPD headquarters that brings together real-time data from various technologies deployed throughout the city. Personnel assigned to the RT-TOC monitor the incoming data and are able to perform virtual patrols with the technologies available to them. The RT-TOC allows for quick dissemination of information to officers on the street, by providing resources directly to patrol car mobile data terminals (MDTs).

The RT-TOC relies heavily on the city’s system of security cameras and also receives information from ShotSpotter, a gunshot location detection system. ShotSpotter uses acoustics to identify the location of a gunshot or other weapon-fire. Chief Thomson said that after installing the gunshot detection system in one of Camden’s high incident areas, he learned that about one-third of shootings were not being reported. This technology, in combination with the city’s camera system, helps to pinpoint crimes that may or may not be called in by citizens. The system also provides an audio assessment of the conditions in the field during critical firearm incidents. When drug gang shootouts occur, the officers in the RT-TOIC are able to immediately recognize automatic gunfire and multiple types of guns being fired, which allows them to provide responding officers with more detailed information that can help protect their safety. Furthermore, the ShotSpotter is

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interfaced with the Eye in the Sky network of more than 120 cameras to instantaneously focus on the location of gunfire and/or avenues of flight.

CPD also has new technologies on its patrol cars that feed data to the RT-TOC. Automated license plate readers (LPRs) are attached to police vehicles (or can placed at selected stationary locations) and can read as many as 60 license plates per second. The data is then cross-referenced against a “hot list” of stolen cars or vehicles associated with criminal suspects. This intelligence-gathering tool allows officers to collect a good deal of useful information as they are driving through the city performing their duties.

Additionally, CPD’s patrol cars are tracked, using an Automatic Vehicle Locator system (AVL), so officers can be deployed more effectively to areas where they are needed. This AVL system is interfaced with Automated Emergency Dispatch (AED), which has cut response times to Priority 1 assignments by more than 30 percent. When a 911 operator enters a location into the CAD system, the GPS-AVL system locates the closest available units and instantaneously alerts them to respond.

ENSURING OFFICER ACCOUNTABILITY IN TIMES OF CHANGE

Job Satisfaction Takes a Hit

Following the January 2011 layoffs and demotions at CPD, low morale was an issue for officers and civilians. The remaining personnel saw many colleagues lose their jobs or leave for other police agencies. Officers who had invested years of work in specialized units saw their groups dismantled. High-ranking personnel were demoted and suddenly found themselves in a patrol car and answering radio calls. For some, it had been years since they had performed routine patrols.

Chief Thomson has received credit from his officers for making efforts to improve morale. The Chief is visible and makes it a point to tell his officers that he understands the stresses they are under and appreciates the sacrifices they have made. The rehiring of some of the laid-off officers was a boost to morale. The additional manpower improved police services and strengthened camaraderie.

Burnout Leads to Officer Leave Abuse

Despite the Chief’s efforts to show his officers support, it became clear that many of the remaining personnel were getting burned out from the lack of manpower and resources. Abuse of sick leave became rampant among a large group of officers. With so few officers assigned to any given shift, if just a few call in sick, the on-duty personnel must be compelled to work “doubles” as others are recalled in to work on their days off in order to cover patrol duties. Those officers then become burned out and take leave. Short-term sick leave abuse has become cyclical and problematic at CPD.

The task of monitoring officers’ sick leave lies with the Internal Affairs (IA) division. Previously staffed with 10 officers, IA is now down to six detectives and one civilian administrative assistant. Sick leave abuse is so prevalent that two of the IA detectives work only on those cases. In one recent two-week period, IA detectives opened 18 new cases and charges were brought against seven officers for sick-time abuse.

IA has always used home checks and other means of verifying whether officers are using sick leave legitimately. Because of the increase in sick leave abuse, the department has firmed up its policy by contracting with a clinic and requiring officers to
be evaluated for sick leave use. Additionally, to help discourage sick leave abuse, when officers return to work, they must work at least one regular shift for the department before they can work a shift for any secondary employer.

Abuse of the Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA) has also become an issue in the department. The FMLA entitles eligible employees to take unpaid, job-protected leave for specified family and medical reasons, with continuation of group health insurance coverage under the same terms and conditions as if the employee had not taken leave. One of the biggest issues for the department is “intermittent” FMLA leave, which allows employees to work reduced hours for certain reasons, such as an illness or a need to care for a family member with a medical condition. Intermittent leave allows Camden police employees to take leave without any notice. There are currently about 45 officers who have been granted intermittent FMLA leave, and the result is that commanders must guess about whether they have enough officers to cover a patrol shift. As with sick leave, if too many officers are out, others must be called in to cover their shifts.

Using Technology For Personnel Management

Accountability and professionalism throughout the entire department are essential to a police department in tough economic times. According to Chief Thomson, “Those officers who approach police work as a calling or a ministry have embraced the job, and they are better able to adapt in challenging economic times. Those who are in it for other reasons cannot adapt and they do not fare well.”

The Chief has worked to harness technology to support officer training and ensure increased accountability of all ranks within the department. In many ways, personnel are being held more accountable than they ever have been before.

Training. Due to the new shift schedules for officers, finding time periods for training has been difficult. Some training topics have been moved to a computerized system called the Directive Management System (DMS). When officers log into the system, they find a menu of all of the training topics available, including information on policy changes and important issues such as use of force and domestic violence. This information can be accessed through the officers’ mobile data terminals or through computers located at headquarters. Personnel are required to check in for daily updates on the DMS system, and the command staff can track officers’ progress in reading the training materials in the DMS.

Vehicle Locator System. The work of CPD’s Internal Affairs detectives has been augmented by technologies. CPD has an Automatic Vehicle Locator system (AVL) that feeds into the RT-TOC and allows officers’ locations to be monitored. AVL helps to protect officers’ safety, and also helps officers to meet performance targets. It can also be used to ensure accountability and to help in the investigation of complaints against officers.

For example, officers are given directives to increase the police presence at certain crime hot spots. Working with an AVL technology vendor, CPD was able to establish an electronic “fencing” system that monitors how often officers’ vehicles travel through crime “hot spot” areas. If officers are not reaching the target levels of increased presence, the system will notify the Command and Control center, and the command officer is able to take action.

Early Intervention System. CPD also is working to implement an early intervention system called Guardian. This paperless system will allow supervisors to track officers’ activities with a wide variety of measures in the areas of use of force, arrests, sick leave, and complaints or positive feedback from citizens. The Camden Police Department also is implementing a new patrol officer schedule system to streamline the tracking of holiday, sick and other leave.

RISING CRIME RATES

Despite CPD’s efforts to use technology as a force-multiplier, the severe budget cuts and loss of manpower appear to be resulting in rising crime rates in Camden. Chief Thomson and his command staff
believe that because there are fewer officers on the street in destabilized neighborhoods, perpetrators believe that the odds have shifted in their favor, and that it is unlikely that they will encounter a patrol officer while fleeing a crime scene. CPD personnel believe that criminals have become more brazen. Previously, much of the crime in the city was committed in connection to the narcotics trade, between rival crew members, or between other individuals who knew each other. In recent months, officers have noticed larger numbers of robberies of businesses and individuals who have no connection to the perpetrator. Many citizens report being afraid to leave their homes, and some appear to have accepted the lack of police presence as a new “normal.”

In 2010, Camden had a total of 37 homicides, and after the layoffs in January 2011, Camden reached a total of 47 homicides for 2011. The year 2012 concluded with 67 homicides. July 2012 was Camden’s deadliest month in more than 60 years, with a total of 13 homicides. The city handled 8,900 calls regarding domestic violence in 2012 and responded to 465 shooting incidents.

CAMDEN MOVING TO COUNTY POLICE SERVICES

For nearly two years, officials in Camden County and the City of Camden have been discussing a consolidation of the municipal police departments in the Camden County Police Force. However, so far Camden is the only city to agree to the plan. In early 2013, a new Metro Division within the County Police Force, led by Chief Thomson, is expected to begin providing police services to the City of Camden. The change is projected to save the city $14 million annually. Under the current plan, the 267 sworn officers at CPD would be laid off, and as many as 49 percent of those may be hired into the new force through an application process. If police labor organizations reach a settlement with the county, then 100 percent of the organization would be eligible for hire. According to the Camden County Board of Freeholders, more than 1,500 applications have been received for positions within the new county agency. The Metro Division is expected to have about 400 officers and 100 civilians.

On November 29, 2012, Mayor Redd filed a plan with the state Civil Service Commission to lay off the entire Camden police force. If the commission approves the plan, layoffs would take effect in February to May 2013. The union representing officers said it would challenge the plan in court.

SUMMARY

The experience of the Camden Police Department since 2010 offers lessons for police agencies that are looking to develop proactive responses to an economic downturn, especially through the use of new technologies. CPD benefited from having invested in technology in the years before the economic crisis began. However, the recent increases in crime in Camden, following some of the largest percentage cuts in police staffing in any police department nationwide, suggest that technology is not a substitute for the deployment of officers on the street. The story of Camden’s response to the economic crisis is not over, as the city moves to disband its Police Department and shift to county police services. Police chiefs from across the country, city officials, and the news media will continue to monitor what happens in Camden as an example of a city responding to a crisis.
Throughout the crisis—marked by unprecedented economic hardship on Camden’s citizens, dramatic reductions in both sworn and civilian police positions, economy-driven demotions of the command staff, and significant increases in violent crime—Chief Thomson has demonstrated steady leadership that has helped to reassure the community. As he guides the transition from municipal to county government, Thomson’s leadership under the most adverse conditions serves as an example of grace under pressure.

PERF Survey Respondents Warn of Decreasing Job Satisfaction

PERF’s survey of police departments regarding the economy included open-ended questions about the impact of budget cuts, and one of the most frequent comments was that the economic crisis is putting a strain on officers’ job satisfaction.

In San Jose, California, recent salary and pension cuts are believed to have played a role in the resignations of as many as 79 officers since 2011. The issue is not only the impact that cuts in pay can have on officers’ standard of living. There is another issue that police executives are facing: If salaries are being frozen or reduced, what incentive is there for officers to strive to do their best and advance their careers?

Some survey respondents also indicated that job satisfaction has suffered when police budgets are scrutinized by public officials, the news media, and the public. During an economic recession, and especially during the severe crisis that began in 2008, there can be resentment by private-sector employees of government employees, who are perceived as having greater job security and benefits. But many police officers think of their work as a calling and a public service, not merely a job with a paycheck. When they read columns in the newspaper or see pundits on television denigrating public employees, their commitment to policing can be challenged.

As one respondent to PERF’s survey expressed it, “Our officers feel undervalued by the community because of the scrutiny on government spending.” Another respondent explained, “We are asking our employees to do more with less. It is difficult to keep morale up when we are asking them to complete workloads that are unprecedented in the history of our department with little incentive.”

Additionally, many survey respondents expressed concern about the workload and stress on the officers who survive a round of layoffs. Camden Chief Scott Thomson said that after nearly half of his officers were laid off in 2011, many of those who remained suffered from “survivors’ guilt.”

High morale is not merely desirable but necessary in policing, Chief Thomson said. “If our officers don’t work to their full potential, people could die,” he said. Thomson said he closely monitors the work of employees. “Regardless of rank, if they can lead the team, we empower them to do that,” he said.

“There is a human side to cost savings and budget cutting that just can’t be measured,” said Sacramento, CA Chief Rick Braziel. Braziel has managed significant budget cuts since becoming chief in Sacramento in 2007, and he and his team have been working to improve employee morale. “It is my goal to make the Sacramento Police Department one of the best rated employers in Northern California,” Braziel said. Despite a 30-percent decrease in staffing, the department is making significant progress; 80 percent of the Sacramento Police Department’s employees surveyed said they “love” where they work.

Pontiac, MI Benefits from Consolidation

Pontiac, Michigan, a city of 60,000 located 30 miles northwest of Detroit, has a severely troubled economy. The city has an unemployment rate of approximately 25 percent and is one of seven jurisdictions in Michigan operating under a law that allows the Governor to appoint “Emergency Managers” who take control over cities away from local officials.

In the 2010–2011 fiscal year, Pontiac faced a growing deficit, and city officials were searching for ways to cut costs wherever possible, including in the Police Department. The department had already been subjected to budget cuts and layoffs. The state-appointed Emergency Manager, Michael Stapfle, Mayor Leon Jukowski, and other officials decided that contracting with the Oakland County Sheriff’s Office (OCSO) would save the city more than $2 million a year while still providing citizens with strong police services. The Sheriff’s Office has been contracting with localities since 1952, and currently has contracts to provide police services to three cities, two villages, and 11 townships. None of those local governments has ever cancelled its contract with the Sheriff’s Office. The Sheriff’s Office currently services 348,000 of the county’s 1.2 million residents.

In August 2011, OCSO began providing law enforcement services, including dispatch, to the City of Pontiac under a $10.2-million contract. Under the leadership of Sheriff Michael Bouchard, a commander was assigned to the Pontiac substation, and 74 sworn personnel serve the communities of Pontiac. The Sheriff’s Office was able to bring on the 50 Pontiac Police Department officers and to rehire an additional 13 who had been laid off. This is a major cut compared to staffing in 2006, however, when the Pontiac Police Department had 163 police officers.

Because the level of policing in Pontiac increased following the shift to county policing, Sheriff Bouchard warned Pontiac residents to expect crime numbers to rise temporarily. From August 2010 to August 2011, Pontiac police handled 47,308 calls for service, with an average response time of 76 minutes, the Detroit News reported. From August 2011 to August 2012, deputies took 70,666 calls, with an average response time of just over 10 minutes. “We knew all along that the raw crime numbers would go up when we put more feet on the street,” Bouchard said. “We expect the crime numbers to drop in the future.”

The Sheriff’s Office continues to focus on drug offenses, gang-related crime, violent crime and prostitution in the area. The new Emergency Manager, Louis Schimmel, called the transition “a success to the benefit of all citizens of Pontiac.”


Chapter Four

Long-Term Budget Cuts
Strain a Sheriff’s Office:
Lane County, Oregon

INTRODUCTION

Located on the western side of Oregon, stretching from the Pacific Coast inland to the Cascade Mountains, Lane County is known for its scenery and outdoor recreational activities. The beautiful appearance of the county tends to mask the fact that the county’s economy has been struggling for several decades. According to the county’s FY 2011 Annual Financial Report, Lane County’s main industry for more than 100 years was lumber and wood-based products, but that industry went into decline in the late 1970s. The county began to diversify, but through the 1980s, its economy “was still heavily tied to lumber and wood products and suffered as a result.” 28 During the early 1990s, the county’s manufacturing sector made a comeback when several high-technology firms located there, and the county benefited from large growth in demand for luxury motor homes manufactured in Lane County. However, the county was hurt by the recession of 2001, had a period of slow-to-negative growth for a number of years, and then was hit again by recession in late 2007. The county’s private-sector payroll total dropped from $4.22 billion in 2008 to $3.78 billion in 2009—a 10.4-percent drop in one year. 29

Lane County is almost the size of the state of Connecticut, and home to 12 incorporated cities, including Eugene (the county seat) and Springfield, two adjacent cities that together comprise the third largest metropolitan area in the state. 30 The rest of the county is made up mostly of unincorporated rural areas. Lane County is Oregon’s fourth most populous county, with approximately 353,000 residents. 31

30. http://www.lanecounty.org/About/Pages/Overview.aspx
31. This 2011 estimate includes the populations of incorporated cities within Lane County. http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/41/41039.html.
The Lane County Sheriff’s Office (LCSO) provides services to all unincorporated portions of Lane County, as well as contracted services to the towns of Veneta and Creswell. With the cities of Eugene, Springfield and other incorporated areas having their own police departments, the LCSO provides patrol and other police services to approximately 90,000 to 100,000 people.

Lane County’s population is approximately 91 percent white, 8 percent Hispanic/Latino, 3 percent Asian, 1 percent African American, and 1 percent American Indian/Alaska Native. The median household income as of 2010 was $42,923, significantly below the Oregon state and national averages; and 17% of the population lives below the poverty level.

Approximately 90 percent of Lane County adults are high school graduates, slightly more than the national average. Approximately 28 percent have a bachelor’s degree or higher, a figure that is close to the national average. The city of Eugene

**Education Demographics**

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<th>City of Eugene</th>
<th>Lane County</th>
<th>State of Oregon</th>
<th>United States</th>
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<tr>
<td>Percent of High School Graduates</td>
<td>Percent with Bachelor’s Degree or Higher</td>
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*Percent of persons age 25+, 2006–2010; Data compiled from U.S. Census Bureau State and County QuickFacts, August 16, 2012.

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32. LCSO also receives funding from governmental agencies to provide services such as marine, forest land, and dunes patrol. http://www.laneounty.org/Departments/Sheriff/Documents/Brochure712.pdf
33. Estimates of population served provided by LCSO personnel.
34. Persons who identify as Hispanic/Latino are included in other categories as well, resulting in a total greater than 100%. http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/41/41039.html.
is home to a number of college campuses, including the University of Oregon, which has a student population of more than 20,000 in a city of approximately 157,000. The presence of the university likely contributes to a larger percentage of college graduates in Eugene compared to Lane County as a whole, as well as to the slightly lower median household income in Eugene.

**THE ECONOMIC DECLINE OF LANE COUNTY**

Roughly 90 percent of Lane County is forestland. For decades, both the private and federal timber industries dominated this area and supported the local economy. Most of the funding for government functions, including public safety services provided by the Lane County Sheriff’s Office, came from timber sales. With approximately half of the state lands under federal management, Oregon has a long history of receiving federal revenue-sharing funds, which has led to the state relying heavily on federal support. The federal timber revenue allowed the Lane County government to operate with low taxes on its citizens.

However, starting in the mid-1980s, timber production and sales began to decline, and in 1993, strict new federal forestry and environmental regulations under the Northwest Forest Plan (NWFP) severely dampened the timber industry in Lane County, leading to reduced funding for local government as well as a critical blow to employment and the local economy.

While it was apparent that these funding reductions would have an impact on the county, the full effects were not immediately felt by residents. Over the years, the county has received federal support through the Secure Rural Schools and Self-Determination Act (P.L. 106-393) and other federal laws, which softened the consequences of the decrease in timber funding. Federal legislation compensated states with federally-owned forest lands for the economic losses due to the changing timber policies. Specifically, this money contributed to local schools, road maintenance and Lane County’s general fund, most of which is dedicated to public safety services.

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**Median Household Income**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City of Eugene</th>
<th>Lane County</th>
<th>State of Oregon</th>
<th>United States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$40,000</td>
<td>$45,000</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
<td>$55,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Percent of Persons Living Below the Poverty Line**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City of Eugene</th>
<th>Lane County</th>
<th>State of Oregon</th>
<th>United States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*2006–2010; Data compiled from U.S. Census Bureau State and County QuickFacts, August 16, 2012.

**2006–2010; Data compiled from U.S. Census Bureau State and County QuickFacts, August 16, 2012.

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However, the laws providing federal aid had limited timeframes, and timber receipts remain at low levels. Responding to the national economic crisis and its own budget deficits, Congress passed legislation in 2008 diminishing funding to states through the Secure Rural Schools Act over a four-year period.42

Lane County and other rural areas have asked Congress to maintain federal monetary support, but the fiscal future of Lane County is uncertain.43

Lane County’s government also is hampered by Constitutional caps on property tax increases implemented in the 1990s. Since then, voters have turned down all proposals to raise property taxes for county government.44

Furthermore, law enforcement typically is the largest function of local government, but almost all of Lane County’s incorporated areas have their own police departments. Therefore, the perception is that raising taxes for the Sheriff’s Office will not provide benefits for the city residents.

**LEAN TIMES TAKE A TOLL ON THE SHERIFF’S OFFICE**

The Lane County Sheriff’s Office (LCSO) is led by Sheriff Thomas M. Turner, who oversees all of the divisions, including Community Corrections, Adult Corrections Custody, Police Services, and Administrative Services.45 Oversight of parole and probation recently was transferred from LCSO to Lane County general government. An elected County Commissioner Board and the County Administrator control the funding allotted to the LCSO.

Because of fluctuations in federal and state assistance to the Lane County government as well as local factors, the LCSO budget has been unstable in recent years, declining in 2008 and 2009, bouncing back in 2010, but declining again in 2011. Total employment levels were cut from approximately 340 “full-time equivalent” positions to 261 FTEs in 2013, and are projected to go lower in 2014.

Budget cuts have forced the LCSO to stop responding to many calls in order to focus on Priority 1 and 2 calls for service—mainly violent crimes in progress and fatal car accidents. Prior to the passing of the 2012–2013 budget on July 1, 2012, patrol hours had been cut from 24 hours a day to 20, leaving a four-hour block between 4:00 a.m. and 8:00 a.m. with limited police services available. (Patrol deputies were instructed to be on call in case of emergency.) The patrol shifts that remained staffed were scheduled with an average of only 3 to 4 deputies per shift. With the new budget in place, current levels of sworn personnel leave only two deputies.

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45. To see the LCSO organizational chart go to http://www.lanecounty.org/Departments/Sheriff/Documents/Web8_13_12.pdf.
(plus one supervisor) available per shift (for a patrol area covering 4,620 square miles of the county, much of which is rural). “At a certain point, you have to do less with less,” said Capt. Byron Trapp. Patrol hours recently have been reduced to 16 hours per day.

No division of the LCSO has been spared the effects of budget cuts, including training and administrative services. Today, training of deputies regarding high-liability issues is given the highest priority. Many training sessions are co-hosted with other agencies or are held online as cost-saving strategies. Even if more money were available for training, with so few deputies available for patrol, it is difficult to take them off patrol in order to attend training sessions. In order to cut costs in the Corrections Division, food service and medical services have been contracted out. A new sergeant position was created to handle contracted services for the department, oversee volunteer services, and act as the LCSO public information officer. The LCSO is exploring other ways to reduce costs through contracting out dispatch operations, inmate transportation, and court security.

The Sheriff’s Office is also responsible for the county jail, which currently operates only 152 beds of the 507-bed facility. According to Sheriff Turner, the LCSO should have more than 1,000 beds available, given the size and population of the county. The Sheriff worries that the county’s jail capacity could be the lowest in the nation based on population. At the end of June 2012, 96 beds were closed and prisoners released due to a lack of funding. Between June 26 and July 26, 386 inmates were released early from the Lane County Jail due to lack of funded jail beds. The jail population is in constant rotation; as each new inmate is booked, an inmate has to be released to make room. The Sheriff’s Office estimates that approximately 105 inmates are being released early each week due to a lack of beds.

Many LCSO personnel have watched their colleagues and friends get laid off over the years. Even those who have survived the layoffs report being

affected, in that they miss the enthusiasm and energy of young officers. Although further budget cuts always seem to be looming over the department, the Sheriff’s Office is proud of its professional law enforcement personnel who remain devoted to public safety.

LCSO leaders communicate with personnel regarding the latest information about the financial situation of the agency and anticipated cuts. The executive staff promotes transparency on these issues and encourages personnel to have a “plan B” when layoffs are imminent. Supervisors understand the burden on deputies and help by responding to emergency calls when necessary.

Executive staff members often remind deputies that with fewer personnel and resources, there is less margin for error. “Every deficiency glows brightly when your agency is downsized, and you have to be on your ‘A’ game all the time,” said Captain Trapp.

BUDGET CUTS IMPACT CRIME AND THE COMMUNITY

Response times to Priority 1 calls for service have generally been on an upward trend in Lane County since 2008 (see chart). 49

The number of concealed handgun permit applications in Lane County appears likely to reach a record high in 2012, prompting speculation that many citizens are arming themselves for fear that they may not get the help they need from law enforcement in the event of an emergency. From January to mid-August of 2012, about 1,422 new applications for a concealed handgun license were received by the LCSO, compared to 1,651 applications received in all of 2011. 50 The county also received 1,208 permit renewals and 59 transfer requests from other counties. 51

Between September 2010 and August 2011, the LCSO had 6,140 calls for service, and 10,339 patrol deputy-initiated activities. 52

The table on page 28 shows Lane County’s Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) data from 2005 through 2011. 53 Lane County—like many other jurisdictions in the United States—experienced a spike in violent crimes in the mid-2000s (the UCR’s total violent crime figures nationwide increased in 2005 and 2006), but violent offenses have been declining in Lane County since 2008.

The LCSO also has seen a 42-percent reduction in property crimes between 2005 and 2011. However, the department suspects that many property crimes are going unreported, in part because of a belief that the department will be unable to respond, and in part because of the implementation of mail-in or online reporting. If a county resident calls the LCSO to report a relatively minor crime such as theft, he or she is directed to complete a crime report and submit it via mail or the Internet. 54 Because only 30 percent of these calls result in a completed report, the LCSO estimates that most low-level crimes are going unreported.

Another serious impact of budget cuts to the LCSO is the early release of prisoners. The LCSO and District Attorney’s Office use a risk assessment

49. Response time data provided by the LCSO.
51. Concealed handgun license data provided by LCSO.
52. PERF. Lane County Sheriff’s Office Organizational Review of the Police Services Division. Washington, DC: August 2012.
54. The LCSO Citizen Self Report Form is available at: http://www.lanecounty.org/Departments/Sheriff/Documents/CSRIntakeForm05112NonEmail.pdf
tool to evaluate prisoners and help identify the least dangerous inmates to release early. The risk assessment tool includes the current charges against the inmates, their prior criminal history, probationary history, ties to the community, and other factors. As of July 25, 17 of the prisoners released early had returned to jail on new charges, and 14 on new warrants. The perception that the county jail has a “revolving door” is considered detrimental to public safety, to the extent that criminals may be aware of the constraints on the Sheriff’s Office.

FOCUS ON PUBLIC EDUCATION AND BUILDING COMMUNITY SUPPORT

As the LCSO faced a new round of budget cuts for the 2013 fiscal year, it became evident to Sheriff Turner that the public needed to be educated about what to expect from the LCSO as the Board of Commissioners considered a budget that would include deep cuts for the already strained agency. The Sheriff’s Office undertook a media campaign to inform the public of how the anticipated budget cuts would impact the public safety services provided to residents. “The public may not understand what is needed to protect them if you don’t have a strong public education campaign that shows the direct impact on their lives,” said Chief Deputy Doug Hooley. In addition to working with news media outlets, Sheriff Turner has held several “community awareness meetings” to promote an open dialogue about the LCSO’s financial situation and the services that will be affected by budget cuts.

During these meetings, the Sheriff’s Office found that many community members were unaware that the agency was struggling with budget

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*Crime data from incorporated cities such as Eugene are not included.
cuts. For example, many citizens ask about consolidation of the LCSO with the other local police agencies in Lane County, such as the Eugene and Springfield Police Departments. Sheriff Turner has explained that while the idea of consolidation sounds promising in theory, the vast land area making up Lane County makes patrolling and providing services difficult, and with the LCSO unable to contribute much financially to the collaboration, there is little incentive for the local police departments to consolidate.

Sheriff Turner believes that public education is critical to building relationships with the community and encouraging residents to be the driving force for change. The Sheriff emphasized the need to translate budget numbers and statistics into something more meaningful to the community. “You have to have an understanding of the expectations of a rural community, and make the issues relate to them,” Turner said. Community members provided testimony to the county budget committee on the need for police services to be available to all residents, prompting the committee to return some funds to the Sheriff’s Office. “The key is to build trust and confidence with the public, and present a county-wide front,” said Sgt. Don McGuire.

LESSONS LEARNED AND LOOKING FORWARD

LCSO officials said that budget cuts have resulted in efforts to find ways of operating more efficiently, such as establishing partnerships with other law enforcement agencies, developing alternative methods of training deputies, and identifying alternative fund sources such as federal grants and soliciting donations of equipment. LCSO also has negotiated with labor union representatives to provide health care coverage to employees through the general county government plan, and using the county’s human resources department rather than maintaining a separate unit in the Sheriff’s Office. In an emergency, LCSO is able to call on officers from other departments through mutual aid agreements.

Developing Reserve Deputies: The Sheriff’s Office also is reinvigorating its Reserve Deputy Sheriffs program to assist its dwindling number of deputies and provide a force-multiplier. Currently, the program consists of eight reserve deputies, and LCSO recently brought on four new recruits with hopes of holding an academy class in 2013. These recruits must go through a rigorous application process including a physical examination, background check, interview, and then academy training. Reserve deputies are required to give 16 hours a month of their time to the LCSO. They are given much of the same authority as sworn deputies, but they must work under the supervision of Sheriff’s Office employees. Some of the reserves are former deputies who were laid off due to budget shortfalls, and they are able to patrol on their own.

The Sheriff’s Office has received positive feedback from sworn deputies who have worked with reserves. One deputy said:

“I can’t recall a time in my career when we had four active-duty uniformed Reserve Deputies out working patrol on a Saturday night. With our ridiculously low numbers of patrol deputies out on a shift, it sure was good to have this force-multiplier. It meant we had a couple extra uniforms at an Assault 2 call, and a deputy had someone watching his back during field sobriety tests out on Lorane Highway, or just knowing that our other Deputy had his passenger seat occupied—we appreciated that these reserve deputies gave up their Saturday night to volunteer.”

Deputy Safety Issues: As those comments indicate, the safety of LCSO deputies is a concern. In Lane County, with so few personnel and such a vast area of land to cover, deputies must be especially diligent and cautious while on patrol or responding to emergencies. The LCSO eventually hopes to double the size of its reserve program to provide deputies with the back-up they need to serve the community.
The Sheriff’s Office estimates that it has more than 300 additional volunteers who assist in various capacities, such as search and rescue, neighborhood watch, and office assistance. For example, some volunteers offer home security checks to help residents avoid becoming victims of burglaries.

These measures have helped reduce some LCSO costs, and Sheriff Turner continues to be optimistic about finding opportunities to improve the agency and its services to the community. “People tend to work in a vacuum and only want to deal with the current day’s problems. We have set that aside to some extent and keep planning for the future,” he said.

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**San Bernardino Files for Bankruptcy, As Prison Crowding Increases Burden On Local Law Enforcement**

In August 2012, San Bernardino became the third California city to file for bankruptcy. This city of about 200,000 residents outside of Los Angeles was hurt by the drop in housing prices, which resulted in foreclosures and reduced property tax revenues.

The San Bernardino government’s biggest budget expense is salary and benefits for police and firefighters, with an estimated 73 to 75 percent of the general fund dedicated to public safety spending. The number of sworn officers in the San Bernardino Police Department (SBPD) has dropped from 316 in 2010 to 263 in February 2013. The city’s bankruptcy plan calls for a new authorized strength of 260 sworn officers, compared to a high of 356 officers in 2008. The city has not hired sworn officers in more than three years.

Police Chief Robert Handy has worked to shift officers from specialized units to patrol duties in order to maintain the police response to reported crimes. He is concerned that some officers may retire or migrate to other law enforcement agencies due to the financial instability of the city.

One issue that could compound these effects is a federal court mandate, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, that California reduce the level of overcrowding in its state prisons to 137.5 percent of their design capacity by June 2013 in order to end unconstitutional conditions for inmates. (Prior to the

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mandate, the California prison system at its highest reached over 200 percent of its designed capacity. Since October 2011, the state’s prison population has decreased more than 16 percent, from 144,000 prisoners to 120,000. But the population must be reduced to approximately 112,000 to reach the overcrowding reduction target.

Across the state, California has developed a “realignment” plan to deal with the prison crisis by shifting responsibility for many nonviolent offenders to county jails, rather than state prisons. While some counties are building up their jail facilities to help handle the influx of lower-level offenders being released from prison, others are investing in alternatives to incarceration. The prisoner realignment program has resulted in the arrival of more than 700 offenders in San Bernardino alone.

The San Bernardino County Sheriff’s Office has accepted new inmates who would have previously served in state prisons, and has faced capacity issues that forced the Sheriff to release approximately 150 inmates to make room for new arrestees and higher-priority offenders. Those released were mostly parole violators or persons convicted of nonviolent crimes.

The final outcome of California’s prison “realignment” has not been reached, but it is clear that it is putting a greater strain on the San Bernardino Police Department and Sheriff’s Office as well as other law enforcement agencies in California, as they deal with their own budget shortfalls while taking on the burden of early releases of offenders statewide and increased demands on local jails. The problem is compounded by persistently high recidivism rates; in a study that looked at recidivism in over 40 states, more than four in 10 offenders returned to state prison within three years of their release.

The recession that began in December 2007 officially ended in June 2009. But PERF’s 2012 survey of police agencies found that the economic downturn continues to affect many departments. In fact, slightly more than half of the agencies surveyed (51 percent) said they were currently operating on a budget that had been cut from the previous year.

Thankfully, an economic recovery seems to be under way in some police agencies. “Only” 40 percent of responding agencies said they were currently preparing plans for an overall budget cut to their agency for the next fiscal year. In a similar survey we conducted in 2010, 61 percent of those same agencies said they were preparing a budget cut.

So it seems clear that PERF’s 2012 survey findings are an improvement over the situation two years ago. At the same time, it is undeniable that when 40 percent of police departments are still facing upcoming cuts in their total funding, the field of policing is suffering.

And the case studies in this report demonstrate that there is wide variation in the economic status of U.S. communities and their police and sheriffs’ departments. Because policing in the United States is extremely decentralized, with approximately 18,000 separate agencies, each one dependent on its own funding sources, some police departments have been hit much harder than others by the economic crisis.

We are seeing a continued impact on the infrastructure of policing, with civilians being laid off, training programs cut back, and hiring slowed down. And PERF’s survey showed that most police chiefs are concerned about increasing levels of crime—a finding that recently was validated by the FBI, which announced in early 2013 that violent crime and property crime increased nationwide in the first six months of 2012.

The economic crisis that began in 2008 appears to have impacted law enforcement agencies of all sizes, serving urban, suburban, and rural areas, in all parts of the country. The severity of the budget challenges has been only a matter of degree.

Thus, many police executives have been referring to a “new normal” in policing that is resulting from the economic crisis. For at least four years, and even longer in some locations, police budgets have been under the knife. Police leaders have been spending a good deal of their time coping with these changes—trying to identify the functions and units of their departments where budget cuts will cause the least damage, for example. And it is impossible to make judgments about where cuts will do the least damage unless you have a firm sense of how a given police department defines its mission and its purpose in the community. So budget discussions in some cases have evolved into philosophical discussions about what a given community wants from policing.

its police, and how police officers see their role in society.

A number of police chiefs have told us that budget issues have been the dominant part of their job in recent years, because budget cuts as significant as the ones that have been occurring in recent years usually affect every part of a police department’s operations.

We expect that the economy will continue to be one of the top issues in policing in coming years—and not merely because our latest survey shows that 40 percent of departments are still facing more cuts. The process of scrutinizing every aspect of policing so closely for efficiency, for so many years, has become a deeply engrained part of how police officials think about their work. It seems unlikely that that phenomenon will evaporate, even if the economic recovery accelerates in the coming months and years.

The crime decreases that we have seen over the last two decades may be bottoming out, as police work to find the new normal. There can be no question that these crime reductions—including a 49-percent reduction nationwide in the violent crime rate since 1992\(^67\)—have resulted in substantial dividends to communities. The question will be whether communities are committed to maintaining the high levels of police service that may be required to sustain the lower levels of crime.

PERF will continue to listen as police chiefs tell us about the changes they are undertaking to advance policing in spite of the economic challenges, and to bring their stories to you.

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About the Police Executive Research Forum

The Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) is a professional organization of progressive chief executives of city, county and state law enforcement agencies. In addition, PERF has established formal relationships with international police executives and law enforcement organizations from around the globe. PERF’s membership includes police chiefs, superintendents, sheriffs, state police directors, university police chiefs, public safety directors, and other law enforcement professionals.

Established in 1976 as a nonprofit organization, PERF is unique in its commitment to the application of research in policing and the importance of higher education for police executives. PERF has developed and published some of the leading literature in the law enforcement field. The “Critical Issues in Policing” series provides up-to-date information about the most important issues in policing, including several recent reports on the impact of the economic downturn on police agencies.

Other Critical Issues reports have explored the role of local police in immigration enforcement, the police response to gun and gang violence, “hot spots” policing strategies, and use-of-force issues. In its 2009 book Leadership Matters: Police Chiefs Talk About Their Careers, PERF interviewed 25 experienced police chiefs about their strategies for succeeding as chiefs and working well with their mayors, their officers, and their communities. PERF also explored police management issues in "Good to Great" Policing: Application of Business Management Principles in the Public Sector.

Other publications include:

- Managing a Multijurisdictional Case: Identifying Lessons Learned from the Sniper Investigation (2004);
- Community Policing: The Past, Present and Future (2004);
- Racial Profiling: A Principled Response (2001);
- Recognizing Value in Policing (2002);
- Managing Innovation in Policing (1995);
- Crime Analysis Through Computer Mapping (1995);
- And Justice For All: Understanding and Controlling Police Use of Deadly Force (1995); and

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