

# SUBJECT TO DEBATE

A NEWSLETTER OF THE POLICE EXECUTIVE RESEARCH FORUM



Participants at PERF's four-week executive development program for Chicago police sergeants (SEE PAGE 4)

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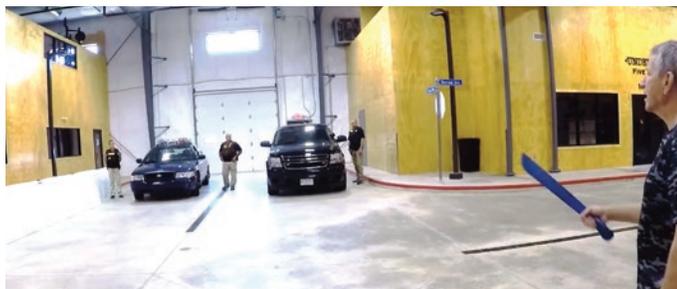
## A Summary of PERF's Work in 2019

FOLLOWING ARE DESCRIPTIONS OF SOME OF THE projects that kept PERF busy in 2019. PERF is grateful to all PERF members for participating in our conferences, responding to surveys, and sharing their knowledge with PERF researchers.

### Suicide by Cop: Protocol and Training Guide

PERF created a protocol and training guide<sup>1</sup> to help law enforcement agencies teach their officers how to recognize incidents in which a person is attempting to commit "suicide by cop," and how to defuse many of these incidents without using force against the suicidal person. As many as 100 or more fatal officer-involved shootings each year may be suicide-by-cop incidents. PERF also released scenario-based training videos that demonstrate how to implement the principles of the protocol.<sup>2</sup>

The [training guide](#) was developed at the Macon County, IL Law Enforcement Training Center, and was presented in October at the PERF Town Hall at the IACP Conference in Chicago.<sup>3</sup> It is designed to be part of the curriculum for PERF's Integrating Communications, Assessment, and Tactics (ICAT) training<sup>4</sup>. Support for this project was provided by the Howard G. Buffett Foundation.



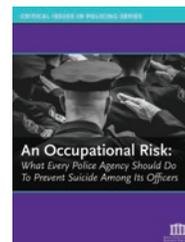
Still image from one of PERF's Suicide by Cop scenario training videos.

1. <https://www.policeforum.org/suicidebycop>
2. <https://www.policeforum.org/suicidebycop#Scenarios>
3. A brief video of this discussion is available at <https://www.policeforum.org/suicidebycop#THvideo>
4. <https://www.policeforum.org/icat>

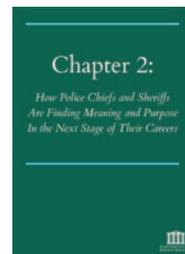
### Critical Issues in Policing Series

PERF, with support from the Motorola Solutions Foundation, released three reports in 2019 as part of the *Critical Issues in Policing* series. The *Critical Issues* series will continue in 2020.

**An Occupational Risk: What Every Police Agency Should Do To Prevent Suicide Among Its Officers.** This [report](#)<sup>5</sup> is about the tragic crisis of suicides among police officers that made headlines in 2019. It summarizes a day-long symposium hosted by PERF and the New York City Police Department at NYPD headquarters in April. The report examines the nature and extent of suicides by police officers, and provides 10 recommended actions that police agencies should take to prevent these tragedies. To reduce the stigma against seeking mental health care that is prevalent in police departments, some chiefs are discussing their own histories of managing trauma or depression, or are requiring routine mental health checks as part of each officer's annual review.



**Chapter 2: How Police Chiefs and Sheriffs Are Finding Meaning and Purpose in the Next Stage of Their Careers.** This [book](#)<sup>6</sup>, based on interviews with dozens of former police chiefs and sheriffs, examines the different ways police executives are managing the next stage of their careers after leaving their agencies. The book was presented and distributed at PERF's Annual Meeting in June, and PERF hosted a discussion about planning for various "retirement" paths in Chicago during the IACP Convention in October. PERF also produced five short [videos](#) in which retired police chiefs discuss the types of work they have done after leading police departments.<sup>7</sup>



>> continued on page 3

5. <https://www.policeforum.org/assets/PreventOfficerSuicide.pdf>
6. <https://www.policeforum.org/assets/Chapter2.pdf>
7. <https://www.policeforum.org/chapter2>

# Baltimore Commissioner Michael Harrison and Nashville Chief Steve Anderson Join PERF Board

The PERF Board of Directors has selected Baltimore Police Commissioner Michael Harrison to serve as PERF Vice President for the remainder of the term vacated by Tempe Chief Sylvia Moir when she was elected President of PERF. Commissioner Harrison was previously appointed to an at-large position on the Board of Directors in 2019. He has led the Baltimore Police Department since March 2019, after four years as superintendent of the New Orleans Police Department.

The Board appointed Metropolitan Nashville Chief Steve Anderson to fill Commissioner Harrison's at-large position. Chief Anderson has served with the Metropolitan Nashville Police Department for 43 years and has led the agency since 2010. He received the PERF Leadership Award in 2016. Chief Anderson's term as an at-large member of the Board of Directors will run through June 2021.



**TOP, LEFT:** At PERF's Town Hall Meeting in Chicago in October 2019, attendees were greeted by then-PERF President James O'Neill, Commissioner of the NYPD, and by other PERF board members: Tempe, AZ Chief and current PERF President Sylvia Moir; Clearwater, FL Chief Dan Slaughter; Baltimore Commissioner Michael Harrison; Irving, TX Chief Jeff Spivey; and Aurora, IL Chief Kristen Ziman.

**TOP, RIGHT:** PERF Secretary Michael Chitwood, Sheriff, Volusia County, FL

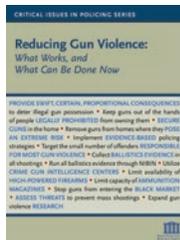
**LEFT:** PERF Board Member Cressida Dick, Commissioner, London Metropolitan Police, with former PERF President Scott Thomson

**RIGHT, ABOVE:** Baltimore Commissioner Michael Harrison

**RIGHT, BELOW:** Metropolitan Nashville Chief Steve Anderson



**Reducing Gun Violence: What Works, and What Can Be Done Now.** This [report](#)<sup>8</sup>, published in March, summarizes a June 2018 conference that examined different types of gun violence. By far, the largest number of fatalities per year by firearm are suicides, with nearly 24,000 deaths. Criminal homicides numbered approximately 14,500 in 2017. The report includes nine key recommendations for policies, programs and legislation to address each type of gun violence, including mass shootings and domestic violence homicides.



**Law Enforcement's Role in Combating Human Trafficking and Assisting Victims.** PERF hosted a national conference in August 2019 on police agencies' role in combating human trafficking. Approximately 200 police officials, social service professionals, victim advocates, researchers, and others participated in this meeting, which explored the nature and extent of the problem and new approaches to investigating human trafficking crimes and assisting its victims.

PERF developed 10 key takeaways from the meeting, which will be highlighted in a forthcoming report.

### Drones: A Tool for Police, and a Major Threat

With support from the U.S. Justice Department's COPS Office, PERF conducted a survey on police agencies' use of drones, interviewed PERF members and subject matter experts, and held a two-day conference in February.

This project addressed two separate issues:

1. How public safety agencies can use drones for search and rescue operations and other purposes; and
2. Protecting against the malicious use of drones by terrorists or other criminal actors. Because drones can easily bypass security checkpoints and roadblocks, they pose a significant threat, particularly at large public events such as major league football and baseball games, concerts, and festivals. Unfortunately, local police have very little legal authority to track and disable drones, and even federal law enforcement agencies were only recently given limited legal authority to do so.

PERF is finalizing a report on this topic.

### Integrating Communications, Assessment, and Tactics

PERF conducted 15 ICAT train-the-trainer sessions in 2019, and regional sessions were held in Delray Beach, Florida; Riverside County, California; New Haven, Connecticut; Portsmouth, Virginia; and Long Beach, California.

To learn more about ICAT, visit <https://www.policeforum.org/icat>. For more information about train-the-trainer opportunities, contact Tom Wilson at [twilson@policeforum.org](mailto:twilson@policeforum.org).

## The Workforce Crisis, and What Police Agencies Are Doing About It

PERF published a [report](#)<sup>9</sup> examining the recruitment and retention challenges facing police agencies, and new approaches for addressing those challenges. The report summarizes a survey of PERF members and the proceedings of a December 2018 conference on this issue. It includes 12 key takeaways for agencies to improve their recruitment and retention.



### Chicago Homicide Investigations

With support from the U.S. Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), PERF conducted an assessment of the Chicago Police Department's (CPD) homicide investigation practices and procedures. PERF conducted two site visits in Chicago and interviewed more than 50 CPD personnel, including executive command staff members, detectives, supervisors, patrol officers, forensic analysts, crime analysts, and emergency communications employees. PERF also interviewed personnel from the Cook County State's Attorney's Office, the Cook County Medical Examiner's Office, and the Civilian Office of Police Accountability. PERF documented its findings and recommendations in a comprehensive [report](#) that addresses issues such as department organization, agency resources, investigation strategies, and internal and external coordination.

On October 30, Chuck Wexler joined then-Police Superintendent Eddie Johnson and Mayor Lori Lightfoot to release the results of PERF's assessment. PERF is committed to helping CPD implement the changes and recommendations identified in the report.

### Assessment of Homicide Investigation Practices

The Chicago project cited above was part of a large, multi-year project on improving police departments' homicide investigation practices. In 2019, PERF presented findings and recommendations to the Hampton, Virginia Police Department as well as the Chicago Police Department. PERF published a [report](#)<sup>10</sup> with general recommendations applicable to all agencies in late 2018.



Press briefing on the PERF report about homicide investigations in Chicago.

9. <https://www.policeforum.org/assets/WorkforceCrisis.pdf>

10. <https://www.policeforum.org/assets/homicideinvestigations.pdf>

8. <https://www.policeforum.org/assets/reducinggunviolence.pdf>

## Nonfatal Shooting Investigations Practices

The Bureau of Justice Assistance is supporting PERF's effort to extend analysis of homicide investigations to include nonfatal shootings, because often the difference between a nonfatal shooting and a homicide is only a matter of marksmanship, the quality of emergency medical care, or other random factors. Working with Topeka, KS, PERF has developed a model to improve investigative capacity and implement evidence-based programs to prevent nonfatal shootings. A key feature of this work is to develop scalable solutions that can be used by smaller agencies, which may lack the resources or experience of larger agencies. Implementation of PERF's model will begin in early 2020.

## Response to Violence Against Women

In 2019, PERF continued its work in addressing the police response to crimes of violence against women. Under a project funded by the Department of Justice's Office on Violence Against Women, PERF is providing technical assistance to four law enforcement agencies in the implementation of the DOJ's guidelines on identifying and preventing gender bias in the law enforcement response to sexual assault and domestic violence. The project will conclude with a final report summarizing the findings in each of the project sites.

PERF also was hired by the City of Austin, TX to conduct a review of the Austin Police Department's Sex Crimes Unit. The Women's Law Project and Wellesley Centers for Women are partnering with PERF to conduct the study. During this two-and-a-half-year project, the project team will be reviewing case files; interviewing members of the department, the community, and sexual assault survivors; and reviewing the department's policies and procedures. Findings will be presented to the city in the form of a final report.

## Senior Management Institute for Police

2019 was PERF's 40th year offering the Senior Management Institute for Police (SMIP), a three-week educational program for mid- to upper-level police executives who ultimately will lead police agencies.

SMIP brings together leading thinkers in corporate and public management to provide intensive training in the latest management theories and practice, innovative solutions to



Former Philadelphia Police Commissioner Charles Ramsey leading a discussion at SMIP.

organizational problems, and discussion of important issues in managing public service organizations effectively. SMIP focuses on leadership and executive development.

SMIP enrollment in 2019 hit a record high of 363 students, and classes were held in newly renovated classrooms in the Boston University School of Law. Since its inception, SMIP has graduated 5,301 attendees.

PERF will again hold four SMIP sessions in 2020. For more information, visit <https://www.policeforum.org/smip> or email Tony Narr at [tnarr@policeforum.org](mailto:tnarr@policeforum.org).

## Executive Search

PERF was involved in five executive searches in 2019, including assisting Baltimore with its search process that ended with the selection of Commissioner Michael Harrison; the selection of Commissioner Danielle Outlaw in Philadelphia; the selection of Chief David Zack in Asheville, NC; and the selection of Adam Garcia for the Nevada System of Higher Education's Southern Command.

The fifth search process, in Stamford, Connecticut, is ongoing.

## Executive Development Program for Chicago Police Sergeants

During 2019, PERF worked with the Chicago Police Department to design and pilot a four-week executive development program for a select group of CPD sergeants who have career aspirations beyond the sergeant rank. This project was supported jointly by the Joyce Foundation and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

The curriculum included two weeks of classroom instruction on topics such as leadership, emotional intelligence, organizational change, communications, media relations and social media strategies, ethics, managing critical incidents, and the basics of police research. This was supplemented by two weeks of community-based training that included shadowing CPD Command Staff members, site visits to government and community agencies, and small-group research projects. The research projects examined key issues facing the CPD, including officer wellness and suicide prevention, vehicle pursuit policies, and reducing overtime costs.

Following the successful pilot, the CPD is looking to make this training a regular part of its leadership development program. For more information, contact PERF Senior Research Associate Matt Harman at [mharman@policeforum.org](mailto:mharman@policeforum.org).

## Police Chiefs-Prosecutors Roundtable

In June, PERF brought together the police chiefs and top prosecutors from 10 of the largest jurisdictions in the country for a day-long discussion of criminal justice reform issues and how police and prosecutors can work together toward common goals. One of the most contentious emerging issues is how to implement bail reform in order to promote fairness in pretrial detention of defendants, while also maintaining public safety. Many state and local governments have been

enacting bail reform measures, some of which are just beginning to take effect.

Another important issue is how to handle low-level, nonviolent quality-of-life offenses. A growing number of prosecutors' offices are declining to prosecute many of these types of crimes, which has raised concerns among some police chiefs.

A report on this roundtable is being drafted. This project was supported by the Howard G. Buffett Foundation.

## Measuring the Performance of Public Safety Mobile Broadband Networks

In 2019 PERF continued exploring how public safety agencies can effectively adopt and utilize FirstNet, the nationwide public safety broadband network. In 2019, PERF hosted two regional meetings, in Atlanta and San Jose, to share information and use cases, and to hear from the public safety community about its ideas and expectations for FirstNet.

In September, PERF published a 12-page [report](#)<sup>11</sup> that presents a methodology for testing coverage and performance of mobile broadband networks—both commercial carriers and FirstNet. The report is based on tests that PERF and its subject matter experts conducted earlier in 2019 during two large political demonstrations in Washington, DC (designed to mirror a major event where network capacity is put under stress) and during “drive tests” in Camden, NJ (meant to resemble everyday patrol operations of a police officer).

Evaluating FirstNet and commercial carriers' use of LTE (Long Term Evolution) networks is more complex than measuring signal strength, the PERF report found. Signal strength—the number of “bars” on a smartphone or tablet—is important for establishing connectivity to the network, but after a connection is made, the measure of usefulness is how quickly and reliably public safety agencies can upload and download large amounts of data through the network, especially data-heavy content such as video. These considerations are magnified during major events, such as political demonstrations, natural or manmade disasters, or large entertainment events, when thousands of people are using their mobile devices on commercial networks.



## Projects Involving Sheriffs' Agencies

**Spotlight on Sheriffs: Seminole County, FL.** The latest issue of [Spotlight on Sheriffs](#)<sup>12</sup> highlights innovations and promising programs in the Seminole County, Florida Sheriff's Office, including new approaches to school safety and mental health services for students, active shooter and critical

incident prevention and response, forensic services regarding opioid evidence and fentanyl testing, ballistics evidence, emergency and disaster response, pretrial diversion, and jail programming.

**Pretrial Justice Conference.** In May, PERF brought together sheriffs, police leaders, prosecutors, pretrial services personnel and others for a one-day meeting on promising practices in pretrial release, diversion and community-based supervision. Held in Houston, the event included tours of diversion programs operated by the Harris County Sheriff's Office. PERF will soon release a report on this work.

## Less-Lethal Force Options Symposium

Held in conjunction with the Los Angeles Police Department, this January 2019 symposium reviewed the current state of less-lethal technologies and the limitations of less-lethal weapons. PERF concluded that while less-lethal devices may be appropriate and effective in some situations, police officers' most important tool in many situations is their communication skills. So whenever possible, the focus should be on communicating with a person in crisis in order to obtain voluntary compliance. The effectiveness of less-lethal weapons varies considerably, and when the weapons are not effective, they may anger the subject and break any trust that the officer may have begun to establish. A report on this issue will be released shortly.



The Less-Lethal Force Options Symposium brought together 200 police chiefs and sheriffs, training personnel, and industry representatives.

## The Future of Crime Statistics Forum

With support from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, PERF and RTI International hosted a forum in December 2019 to discuss the national transition from UCR summary reporting to the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). More than 70 participants highlighted the benefits of transition, communication strategies, tactical crime analysis capability, and strategic planning using NIBRS data. Additionally, the meeting provided BJS with recommendations for future support and/or funding activities to encourage agencies to transition to NIBRS by next year. The report from this meeting is forthcoming.

11. *Beyond Signal Strength: Measuring Performance of Public Safety Mobile Broadband Networks. A Protocol for Testing FirstNet and Commercial Carriers.* <https://www.policeforum.org/assets/FirstNetCaseStudy.pdf>

12. *Innovations and Promising Programs in the Seminole County Sheriff's Office.* <https://www.policeforum.org/assets/SpotlightSeminoleCounty.pdf>

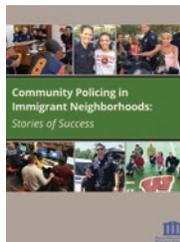
## Management Services

PERF's Center for Applied Research and Management's 2019 management service projects include:

- **Police response to persons with developmental disabilities:** With support from the Vera Institute of Justice, PERF helped to host an on-line webinar and update a white paper on the police response to persons with developmental disabilities.
- **Springfield, Massachusetts:** PERF is conducting a review of the Springfield Police Department's policies, procedures, rules, and regulations to ensure certification by the Massachusetts Police Accreditation Commission (MPAC).
- **Elkhart, Indiana:** PERF completed a report on use of force, internal affairs/disciplinary processes, and agency culture in the Elkhart, Indiana Police Department.
- **Vancouver, Washington:** PERF is conducting a study of use-of-force policies and practices in the Vancouver Police Department.

## Community Policing in Immigrant Neighborhoods: Stories of Success

With support from the Carnegie Corporation, PERF published a [report](#)<sup>13</sup> about two police agencies that have built strong relationships with immigrant communities while maintaining communications with federal immigration authorities. The report details the policies and practices of these agencies, the Aurora (CO) Police Department and the Madison (WI) Police Department.



## Officer Safety and Wellness

PERF chose the third and final assessment site for its project on officer safety and wellness, which is supported by the COPS Office. The Delray Beach, FL Police Department was chosen, and work on that assessment will be completed in early 2020. The first two assessment sites were the Roanoke County, VA Police Department and the Lakewood, WA Police Department.

Additionally, PERF completed two nationally representative surveys on officer safety and wellness, supported by the National Institute of Justice and with partners at NORC. One survey sought to understand the scope of wellness programs and efforts within agencies. The second survey was directed at individual officers within the agencies, asking about personal health and wellness factors such as stress, sleep patterns, and risk factors for suicide. The final report on the surveys is forthcoming. NIJ has provided funding for two additional waves of the officer-level survey, resulting in the first-ever longitudinal study of officer health as well as PERF's largest survey effort to date.

13. <https://www.policeforum.org/assets/CommunityPolicingImmigrantNeighborhoods.pdf>

## Priority Criminal Justice Needs Initiative

The Priority Criminal Justice Needs Initiative is a collaboration by PERF, the RAND Corporation, RTI International, and the University of Denver. This initiative, funded by the National Institute of Justice, examines key issues across criminal justice and seeks to identify challenges and solutions through semi-structured discussions and prioritization ranking. During the past year, PERF hosted two workshops on emerging topics within law enforcement: autonomous vehicles and wearable sensor technology. Reports on both workshops are forthcoming.

Reports on prior workshops were released in 2019:

**Identifying Law Enforcement Needs for Conducting Criminal Investigations Involving Evidence on the Dark Web.** PERF and the RAND Corporation brought together a group of researchers and practitioners to discuss challenges and potential solutions for evidence on the dark web, and released a [report](#) on the findings.<sup>14</sup> With the advent of the dark web, criminals can conduct their activities in ways that are difficult for police to discover, monitor, and investigate. The dark web provides anonymity and encryption, which significantly complicates the process of identifying suspects and collecting evidence. Workshop participants identified 46 potential solutions or needs, which include improving training for law enforcement officers, sharing information across jurisdictions, and investigating the gaps and shortcomings in current laws related to searching packages.

**Fostering Innovation to Respond to Top Challenges in Law Enforcement.** PERF and RAND published the [findings](#)<sup>15</sup> of an expert panel that identified the top issues facing law enforcement agencies, and innovations that address those issues. Panelists discussed the need for all criminal justice stakeholders to take a coordinated approach to addressing complicated issues in law enforcement. They also recommended convening a national commission on criminal justice to discuss systemic changes in law enforcement.

**Law Enforcement Efforts to Fight the Opioid Crisis.** This [report](#),<sup>16</sup> produced with support from the National Institute of Justice, summarized an event that brought together subject-matter experts to identify and prioritize promising approaches for responding to the opioid crisis. After a series of panels and discussions, participants produced 13 high-priority needs, including strategies that are considered ready for immediate implementation and those with remaining challenges that should inform the research agenda. The high-priority needs reflect an assessment by the group that one primary solution to the opioid crisis will be a focus on connecting individuals with opioid use disorder (OUD) to the medications that can treat them. Connecting individuals with OUD to treatment will require effective collaborations among law enforcement officers, social workers, and other stakeholders.

14. *Identifying Law Enforcement Needs for Conducting Criminal Investigations Involving Evidence on the Dark Web.* [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR2704.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR2704.html)

15. [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR2930.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR2930.html)

16. [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR3064.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR3064.html)



LEFT: Town Hall at PERF Annual Meeting in Miami Beach

RIGHT: PERF Town Hall Meeting at IACP



## LEADS Scholars Program

PERF started a key role in managing the NIJ LEADS (Law Enforcement Advancing Data and Science) Scholars program in 2019. This program is designed to increase the research capabilities of law enforcement officers and agencies. In recent years, NIJ has focused on empowering law enforcement to integrate research into policies and practices. The LEADS Scholars Program advances evidence-based policing by supporting the development of research-minded law enforcement personnel. In partnership with the RAND Corporation, PERF helped to select new scholars, coordinate two LEADS meetings (one at NIJ headquarters in June, a second at the IACP conference in October), and provide direct assistance to scholars conducting and advancing research in their agencies.

## Precursors of Use-of-Force Incidents

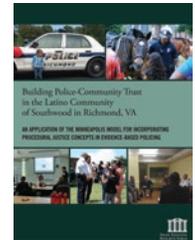
With support from the Charles Koch Institute, this project looks at potential precursors to use-of-force (UOF) incidents. PERF has completed an extensive literature review of UOF studies, developed a database structure, and reviewed more than 450 UOF cases while entering relevant information into the database. Preliminary results support general findings in the literature, in that predictors of serious UOF tend to be contextual (e.g. activities of the subject, potential mental health crises, involvement in a crime), rather than demographic factors (e.g., the officer or subject's race or gender). A final report is forthcoming.

## Building Police-Community Trust in the Latino Community of Southwood in Richmond, VA

With support from the Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), PERF published a [report](#)<sup>17</sup> detailing the Richmond Police Department's efforts to build community

17. *Building Police-Community Trust in the Latino Community of Southwood in Richmond, VA.* <https://www.policeforum.org/assets/PoliceCommunityTrustRichmond.pdf>

trust while reducing crime in the Southwood neighborhood, using the “Innovations Model” first implemented by the Minneapolis Police Department in 2012–15. This model uses procedural justice and evidence-based crime reduction strategies to simultaneously reduce violence and improve connections between communities and the police.



## PERF's Annual Meeting in Miami Beach

PERF's Annual Meeting, in conjunction with the Major Cities Chiefs Association and the FBI National Executive Institute Associates, was held in Miami Beach in 2019. The Town Hall Meeting included discussions about body-worn cameras, preventing officer suicide, managing officers who lie, and a special presentation of PERF's “Chapter 2” book about life after an initial career in policing. PERF's panel discussion explored new ways of responding to individuals in crisis. For more information about the Annual Meeting, see the June issue of *Subject to Debate*<sup>18</sup> and videos showing a presentation about PERF's “Chapter 2” book<sup>19</sup> and the awarding of PERF's [Leadership Award](#)<sup>20</sup> and [Gary Hayes Memorial Award](#)<sup>21</sup>.

PERF's 2020 Annual Meeting will be held June 2–5 in San Francisco.

## PERF Town Hall at IACP in Chicago

PERF'S Town Hall Meeting at the IACP Conference in October was another lively four-hour conversation about pressing issues in policing, including facial recognition, preventing police suicides, and PERF's new protocol and training guide on “suicide by cop” situations. For more information about the Town Hall Meeting, see the December issue of *Subject to Debate*<sup>22</sup> and a short [video](#)<sup>23</sup> about the meeting. 

18. <https://www.policeforum.org/assets/June2019Debate.pdf>

19. <https://youtu.be/445xH0lxwzI>

20. <https://youtu.be/uYMGKQ9sBME>

21. <https://youtu.be/sIDE3H2W-yQ>

22. <https://www.policeforum.org/assets/December2019Debate.pdf>

23. <https://youtu.be/FOu9ZjWUciY>



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