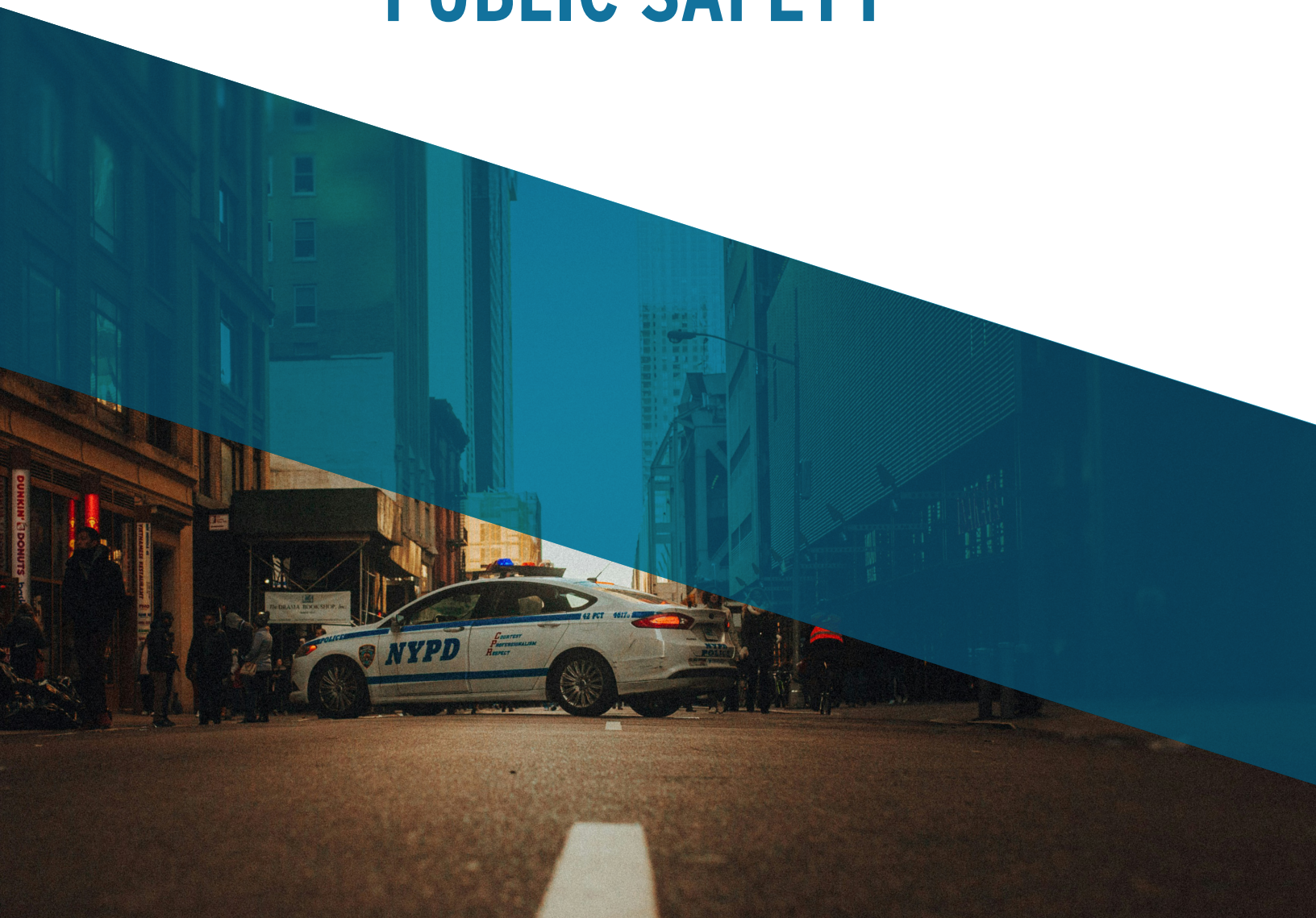




INVESTING IN POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS TO ADVANCE PUBLIC SAFETY

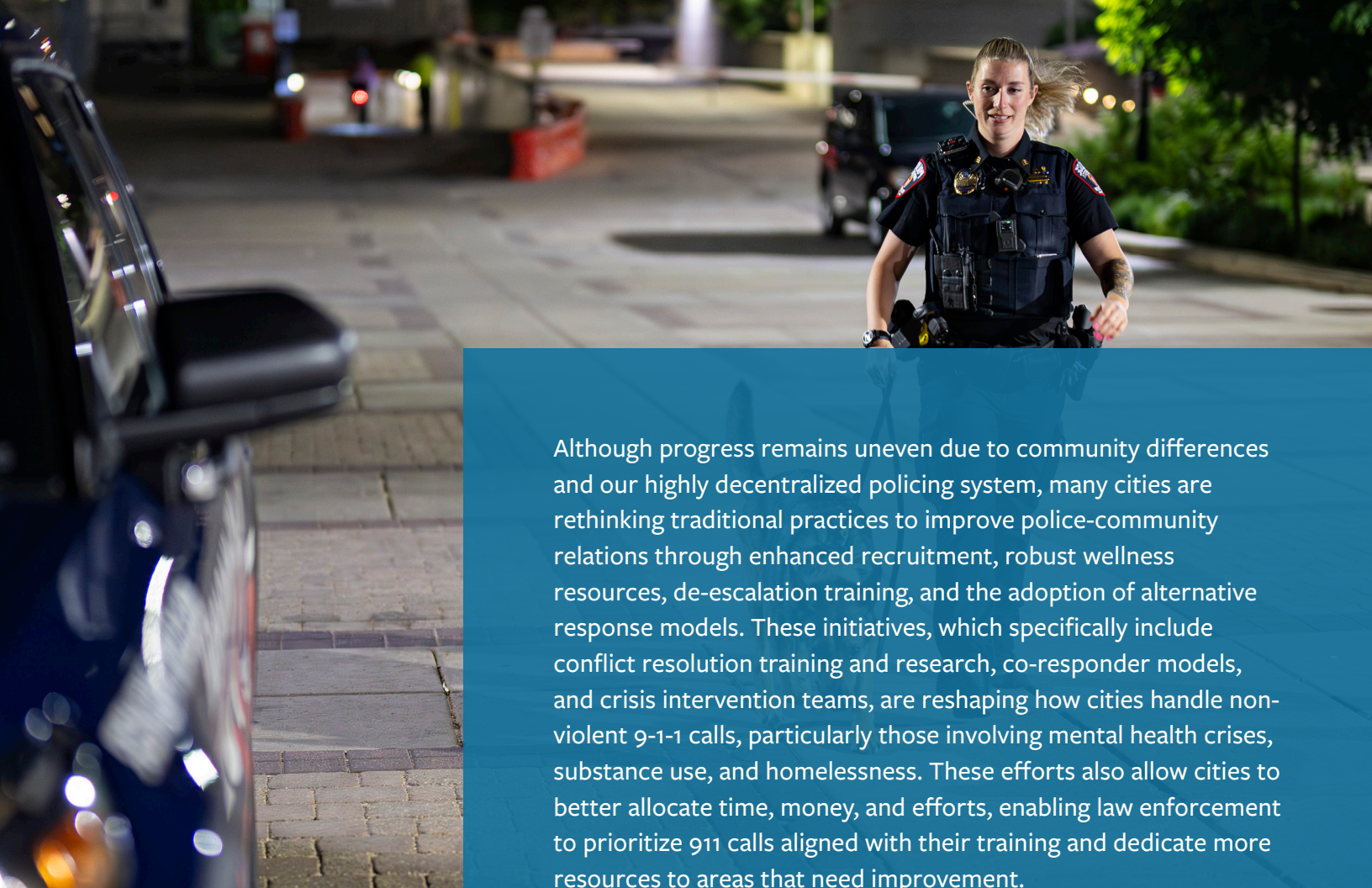




EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Ensuring public safety is the first task of government. But since our country's founding, the behavior of police in carrying out this role has been a perennial point of debate, social contest, and often violence. In the wake of the widely publicized police killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis in 2020 – and in response to years of frustration with the effectiveness of police, jails, and prisons in enhancing public safety – cities across the country are rethinking how they allocate police resources to respond to crime.

There are two main types of public safety reforms that have been demonstrated to have a measurable positive impact on police, the public, and crime. The first, commonly known through terms like focused deterrence and group violence strategies, are data driven efforts with promising results in cities like St. Louis, MO, Knoxville, TN, and Baltimore, MD. This approach is best suited for target cities with high and/or rising rates of violent crime, and this is not the focus of this brief, though you can learn more about them here. The second type, and the focus of this brief, is a suite of interventions that can be applied effectively to nearly all cities. These interventions target the training, culture, and accountability of police officers and departments, and aim to ensure that the appropriate type and trained individual is responding to each incident. This approach helps to protect the mental and physical health of everyone involved, while helping to address the historic harm and mistrust caused by decades of misconduct and abuse. Communities that invest in this suite of interventions can begin to rebuild trust, repair relationships, reduce crime, and successfully hire and retain effective officers.



Although progress remains uneven due to community differences and our highly decentralized policing system, many cities are rethinking traditional practices to improve police-community relations through enhanced recruitment, robust wellness resources, de-escalation training, and the adoption of alternative response models. These initiatives, which specifically include conflict resolution training and research, co-responder models, and crisis intervention teams, are reshaping how cities handle non-violent 9-1-1 calls, particularly those involving mental health crises, substance use, and homelessness. These efforts also allow cities to better allocate time, money, and efforts, enabling law enforcement to prioritize 911 calls aligned with their training and dedicate more resources to areas that need improvement.

Despite challenges, innovative approaches to police reform are already showing results. Cities like Philadelphia and Cincinnati are leading the charge with groundbreaking de-escalation training, while states like Ohio and New York have introduced programs to support first responders' mental health. These reforms are designed not only to reduce police violence but also to shift law enforcement culture toward one of accountability, care, and community partnership. As more cities adopt these models, the potential for national best practices grows. True reform, however, requires bold leadership, data-driven policy, and sustained community engagement to dismantle systemic racism and build a justice system that serves all Americans equitably.

2
5
6
9
10
17

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

THE CURRENT PROBLEM

EFFECTS ON OFFICERS

SOLUTIONS

CONCLUSION



INTRODUCTION

Every day, hundreds of thousands of people in the U.S. call 9-1-1. These calls may include vehicle accidents, domestic disputes, life-threatening injuries, people experiencing a mental health crisis, and more. Of the 240 million 9-1-1 calls made annually, the majority of them have nothing to do with violent crime. One study of public 9-1-1 data from nine major cities including Baltimore, Detroit, New Orleans, and Seattle found that between 2019-2021 less than three percent of the 15.6 million calls involved violent crime.¹ Calls involving “non-criminal” situations, where there are no clear safety concerns, made up 62.6 percent of total calls. Although most 9-1-1 calls involve nonviolent situations, police officers are disproportionately tasked with addressing them, resulting in far more police violence in America than any other comparable democratic country.² Over-reliance on police departments as the primary, and oftentimes sole, response to public safety in the United States has led to over-policing in many communities, resulting in increased police violence and greater distrust in law enforcement, disproportionately harming poor communities and communities of color. This issue is compounded by the absence of robust mental health resources, the lack of de-escalation and emotional intelligence training, and the negative portrayal of police in the media and public discourse, making it harder to attract and retain qualified officers and furthering the cycle of violence and mistrust.

This current reality is, of course, deeply rooted in racism that stretches back to the founding of our nation, with early “slave patrols” charged with capturing and returning enslaved runaways. As the concept of policing was formalized in the early days of colonial America, the focus was on protecting the economic security of the wealthy and ensuring the continuity of slavery. The Jim Crow laws of post-reconstruction capitalized on a loophole in the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which abolished slavery except in cases of punishment, leading to escalating detention and abuse of Black Americans. Ongoing legal segregation throughout the 19th century and beyond, the redlining of cities in the 20th century, and the riot control approach to policing throughout the Civil Rights Movement all underpin the current culture of policing in America.

Police play a vital role in public safety but should not be the only solution. By properly funding and allocating resources, we can reduce the overreliance on police for non-violent situations, freeing officers to focus on areas where their training is most effective. This shift would also enable police departments to invest in necessary training areas for

Over-reliance on police departments as the primary, and oftentimes sole, response to public safety in the United States has led to over-policing in many communities, resulting in increased police violence and greater distrust in law enforcement, disproportionately harming poor communities and communities of color.

building trust, such as communication and crisis intervention. It's crucial to meet community needs with appropriate investments, to ensure that police are not placed in roles without proper support and training. Collaborating with community members and social service programs is key to creating a more balanced approach to public safety, where police are no longer the default response to every issue and call for help.

THE CURRENT PROBLEM

Compared to other developed nations, U.S. police forces often have less selective hiring processes, undergo fewer hours of training, place a greater emphasis on militarization, and operate with limited oversight and resources — all of which contribute to the growing sense of insecurity many Americans feel around law enforcement. As a result, public confidence in law enforcement is declining, with increasing demands for reform that ensures community safety and officer accountability. A lack of trust in police has also created difficulties in recruiting and retaining officers nationwide. To restore police–citizen relations, city leaders, community members, and local police departments must work together to eliminate the culture of violence among departments by providing quality wellness resources for officers, reforming police training to prioritize de-escalation, and collaborating with other social service providers to ensure police are not the sole responders to mental health and non-violent 9-1-1 calls.

Unlike many other police systems worldwide, the United States maintains a decentralized structure that effectively eliminates any national standards for the requirements, education, training, and procedures followed by nearly 18,000 local police agencies in the U.S. To become a police officer in America, most agencies require applicants to be a U.S. citizen, at least 21 years of age (some agencies allow applicants as young as 18), and have a minimum education of a high school degree or equivalent.³ Meanwhile, in other similarly developed countries, police academies have much higher requirements for applicants and don't face nearly the same amount of police violence. In England and Wales, for example, all police officers are required to have an academic degree before applying.⁴ Some countries even require candidates to study policing at a national college such as Finland and Norway — two countries that rival the U.S. in civilian gun ownership but don't face nearly the same number of fatalities.⁵

According to a report by the Institute for Criminal Justice Training Reform (ICJTR), American police are also vastly under-trained compared to their international counterparts.⁶ On average, U.S. police are required just 21 weeks of training before they are allowed to patrol the streets — ranking lower than 95 other countries in terms of time spent training.⁷ In countries like India, the basic recruitment course is 9 months. Meanwhile, police recruits in Japan train for 15-20 months, and in Germany, it's 2-3 years.⁸

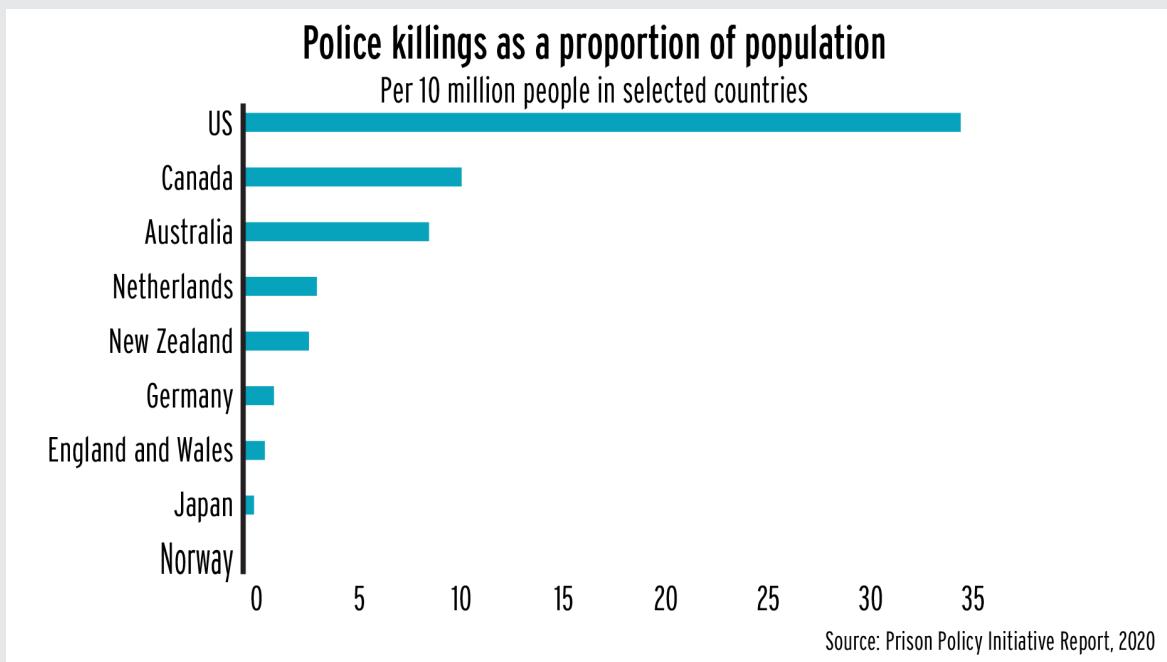
Police trainings are not only shorter than in other developed countries, but they also tend to focus on combat and weaponry rather than de-escalation and crisis intervention training despite several studies demonstrating the latter's effectiveness at reducing injuries to both police officers and civilians. A 2021 study focused on state-mandated basic police training curricula across the 50 states found that police recruits spend an average of 633 hours on academy training before becoming certified police officers. Of those 633 hours, only 20 hours, or less than 3.2%, are dedicated to what author Dr. Cohen defines as “public administration training” which are skills relevant to all public service professions such as ethical decision making, social equity, racial relations, impartiality, and cultural diversity.⁹ Further research by Apex Officer shows that, as of 2021, 33 states have no de-escalation training requirements for police officers. Of the few states that do, many either have no minimum hours of training set or have low requirements, such as 2 hours every 2 years and 3 hours every 3 years in California and Connecticut respectively.¹⁰

Although there are no uniform standards across U.S. law enforcement agencies, police officers are often shielded from misconduct allegations in similar ways. One key mechanism is qualified immunity, a legal doctrine that protects government officials from personal lawsuits related to excessive use of force or misconduct. As a result, cities—and by extension, taxpayers—are left paying for settlements in cases of wrongful death, false arrest, and excessive force. In fact, a 2022 study by The Washington Post found that over the past decade, the nation's 25 largest police and sheriff's departments have spent more than \$3.2 billion on such lawsuits.¹¹ Qualified immunity gained national attention following the murder of George Floyd and other high-profile incidents of excessive force, sparking widespread calls to end this broad legal protection. According to a Cato Institute study, nearly half (46%) of Americans believe police officers are “generally not held accountable for misconduct,” and 49% think “most officers believe they are above the law.”¹² Despite growing public pressure, over 35 qualified immunity bills introduced in Congress since 2021 have failed to pass.¹³ To rebuild public trust, law enforcement agencies must take stronger steps toward holding officers accountable for their actions, while also providing the necessary training and resources to prevent misconduct in the first place.

Police trainings are not only shorter than in other developed countries, but they also tend to focus on weaponry rather than de-escalation and crisis intervention training despite several studies demonstrating the latter's effectiveness at reducing injuries to both police officers and civilians.

FIG. 1

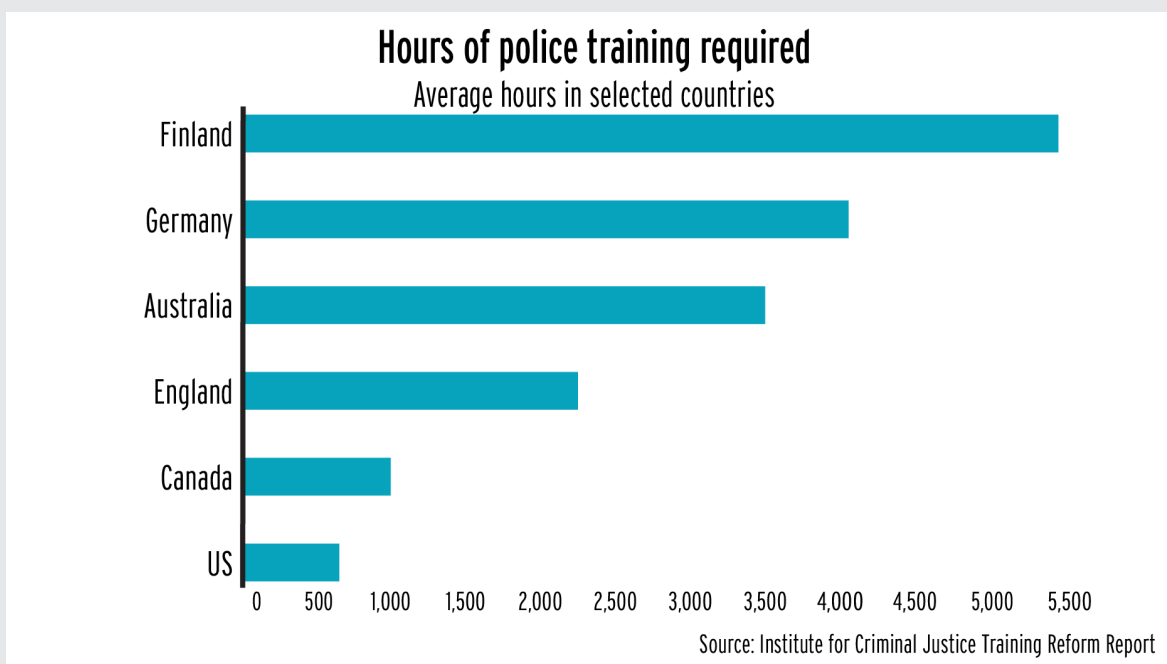
Police Killings per 10 Million People



Horton, Jake. "How US Police Training Compares with the Rest of the World." BBC News. BBC, May 17, 2021.

FIG. 2

Hours of Police Training Required



Horton, Jake. "How US Police Training Compares with the Rest of the World." BBC News. BBC, May 17, 2021.

EFFECTS ON OFFICERS

Contemporary American policing culture often fosters a “warrior-like mindset” — in which officers view themselves as soldiers in dangerous situations, according to a Harvard Law Review commentary.¹⁴ Despite this combat-oriented training model, law enforcement does not rank among the deadliest professions in the U.S. In 2020, police officers ranked 18th among occupations with the highest on-the-job-related deaths, and nearly half of the total police fatalities were accidental, with vehicle accidents cited as a leading cause.¹⁵ This combative mindset encourages officers to approach their duties with fear, thereby exacerbating the risk of violent encounters, particularly during mental health and nonviolent-related calls.

The mental health of police plays a critical role in police reform. According to the National Alliance on Mental Illness (NAMI), U.S. police officers experience disproportionately high rates of mental health issues such as PTSD, depression, and anxiety compared to the general population.¹⁶ A study of more than 400 Dallas–Fort Worth, Texas officers found that 26% had positive screening results for current mental illness symptoms while only 17% sought mental health care within the last 12 months.¹⁷ Addressing the mental health challenges police face can directly help in reducing the likelihood of violent interactions.

The pervasive toxic culture in police departments and lack of adequate mental health resources not only affects officers’ well-being, but also significantly impacts public perception of law enforcement. Consequently, cities across the United States are struggling to attract and retain quality officers. A survey conducted by the International Association of Chiefs of Police revealed that 78% of participating agencies had trouble recruiting qualified candidates, with 75% reporting that recruitment had become more difficult in the last five years.¹⁸ To address these interconnected issues, police departments must invest in resources and training that emphasize equitable policing and prioritize mental health support, thereby reducing the stigma associated with officers seeking help. This approach could simultaneously improve officer well-being and enhance public trust, potentially alleviating recruitment and retention challenges.

The pervasive toxic culture in police departments and lack of adequate mental health resources not only affects officers’ well-being, but also significantly impacts public perception of law enforcement.

SOLUTIONS

Recent data affirms ongoing public support for police reform in America. A 2022 Gallup poll revealed that 50% of adults favor major changes, while 39% believe minor adjustments are necessary, with Black and Hispanic adults more inclined to seek substantial reforms compared to their White counterparts.¹⁹ Despite the challenges of implementing nationwide reform due to the decentralized nature of law enforcement, many states and cities are making significant progress at the local level that can lend to national best practices. Public advocacy has focused on various policy recommendations, including improving police-community relationships, enhancing de-escalation and implicit bias training, increasing police oversight and transparency, revising recruitment practices, and adopting co-responder models for certain 9-1-1 calls. However, it's important to note that in the absence of federal mandates, the feasibility of these recommendations may vary across jurisdictions due to differences in local government authority over police departments and emergency services. This variability underscores the complex nature of police reform and highlights the need for tailored approaches that consider the unique circumstances of each community.

IMPROVE BASIC REQUIREMENTS

As previously mentioned, most states currently lack requirements for enhanced police training, leaving reform primarily on local jurisdictions. An exception to this is when police departments are placed under consent decree, allowing federal oversight. In recent years, many U.S. police departments have responded by increasing the minimum qualifications for new officers. In New Jersey, applicants must now hold a bachelor's degree from an accredited college or university before beginning training.²⁰ As of September 2023, New Jersey ranked 7th for lowest rate of civilians killed by police in the United States.²¹

Similarly, the Irving Police Department in Texas is improving how they interview potential hires. According to Deputy Chief James Beyer, Irving PD candidates must now pass an emotional intelligence exam, which assesses their personal and social competence through in-depth testing.²² This evaluation measures interpersonal skills and identifies areas for professional leadership improvement. Importantly, the test is also administered to existing officers, allowing interviewers to select candidates based on current departmental needs. By implementing these comprehensive interviews and emotional intelligence evaluations,

Irving PD is demonstrating a commitment to holistic candidate assessment and the potential for more equitable community policing. Enhancing hiring requirements plays a critical role in improving police culture. Officers who are better prepared are less likely to resort to excessive force, leading to safer interactions with the public and greater community trust.

MANDATE DE-ESCALATION AND CRITICAL THINKING TRAININGS

While enhancing hiring requirements is one approach to selecting quality officers, the majority of recruitment reforms focus on the academy training candidates receive post-hire. The Philadelphia Police Department (PPD) has implemented significant training reforms that incentivize de-escalation and reward officers who demonstrate exemplary tactics in this area. In 2021, the PPD began expanding their crisis intervention training (CIT) from only designated crisis intervention officers to all officers and dispatchers, teaching them how to handle a person in crises as a team. A key aspect of the CIT training involves focusing on de-escalation and crisis communication in which officers learn how to use time and distance to effectively de-escalate situations to keep civilians and officers safe. This reality-based training is reviewed annually, with new scenarios added regularly based on evolving laws and lessons from real-life events. To reinforce these tactics, the PPD awards the Medal of Tactical De-escalation to officers who successfully preserve life in dangerous and difficult circumstances.²³ While multiple factors may have contributed, traffic stops involving Black men in Philadelphia have decreased by 54% since 2021, and the city has seen the largest drop in gun violence among all major U.S. cities since June 2024.

Officers who are better prepared are less likely to resort to excessive force, leading to safer interactions with the public and greater community trust.



Increasing the number of women in police departments can play a key role in shifting police culture. Research suggests that female officers often excel in problem-solving, receive fewer complaints and lawsuits related to excessive force, and are perceived by the public as more honest and compassionate. The 30x30 Initiative aims to increase the representation of women in law enforcement to 30% by 2030, providing research-backed strategies on both the “why” and “how” of advancing women in policing. In 2021, Madison, WI, became one of the first cities to join the initiative. By 2023, women comprised 35% of its police academy recruits. Madison has also expanded the number of female instructors in its training academy and tripled the number of state-certified female Defense and Arrest Tactics instructors.

Another notable success story in police training reform comes from the University of Cincinnati. In 2018, the University of Cincinnati Police Division (UCPD) began implementing the Integrating Communications, Assessment, and Tactics (ICAT) training for its officers, emphasizing de-escalation and critical thinking. This training prioritizes the safety of both officers and civilians by simulating situations where individuals are behaving erratically and are either unarmed or have a weapon less lethal than a firearm. Officers are taught various methods to “slow down” these situations without causing unnecessary harm. Researchers at the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP)/UC Center for Police Research and Policy studied the effects of ICAT training and found significant positive changes in police perceptions regarding their priorities and interactions with the public.²⁴ This research is groundbreaking, as it is one of the first studies to demonstrate the substantial impact that de-escalation training in police departments can have on public safety.

EXPAND RESOURCES FOR OFFICERS THAT HELP SHIFT POLICE CULTURE

Law enforcement officers frequently encounter distressing situations that can impact their performance and wellbeing. While many officers report having mental health issues, few seek help for fear of being perceived as weak or unfit for the job. This reluctance, combined with their access to firearms, puts officers struggling with mental health at an increased risk to themselves and others. Ensuring the psychological health and well-being of police officers is crucial for public safety.

Recognizing this critical need, several states have implemented innovative programs to support first responders' mental health. In 2021, the state of Ohio established an Office of First Responder Wellness through its Department of Public Safety, focusing exclusively on the well-being of first responders to reduce the stigma associated with seeking support. This office offers a range of resources, including stress debriefing, family support, crisis management training, and therapy. Officers are also trained to recognize warning signs, risk factors, and coping strategies, enabling them to spread awareness about mental health issues among their peers.²⁵

Similarly, New York launched the NY CARES Up Initiative, which helps law enforcement, firefighters, and emergency medical service members cope effectively with career-related stresses. The initiative aims to reduce workplace trauma through healthy coping strategies,

strengthen connectedness through peer programs and social supports, and promote a cultural shift that accepts and supports mental health care for officers.²⁶ For instance, the Village of Mamaroneck is providing officers with the Cordico app, linking them to confidential peer support groups and ensuring that every officer involved in a serious event receives peer support.

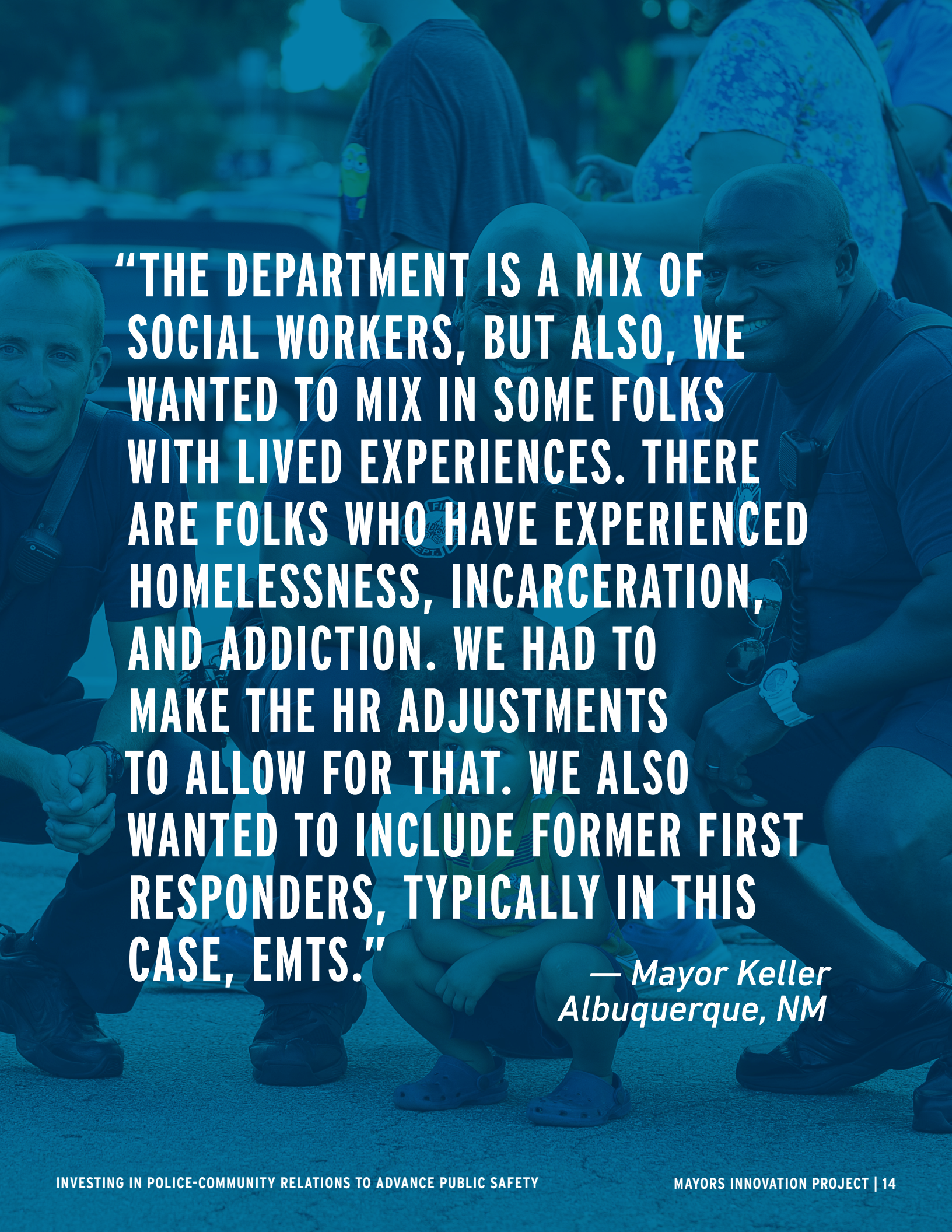
These approaches not only provide officers with much-needed support but also encourage open conversations about mental health struggles. Such practices can lead to a positive transformation in policy and police culture, shifting from a warrior/militaristic mentality to that of being a “guardian” of democratic ideals.

However, it’s important to note that law enforcement officers are not the only ones grappling with mental health challenges. In 2015, nearly a quarter of all people killed by police were believed to be suffering from a mental health crisis. To address this concern for both parties, an effective approach is to involve mental health professionals and other social service workers, potentially removing police involvement entirely from such situations. This strategy could help de-escalate crises and provide appropriate care for individuals experiencing mental health emergencies while reducing the burden on law enforcement officers.

ADOPT ALTERNATIVE AND CO-RESPONSE MODELS OF POLICING

Minimizing potential harm in non-violent situations, such as mental health crises and traffic stops, requires rethinking how and when law enforcement should be deployed. These situations often escalate to deadly outcomes when heavily armed professionals, ill-equipped for de-escalation, are sent to manage them. Focused deterrence strategies, where police intervene with high-risk groups and individuals to prevent future violent crime, are being adopted in many police departments, but more needs to be done to allocate police resources effectively. By adopting an alternative or a co-response model, police officers can dedicate more time and skills to addressing the most violent crimes and situations better suited for their training, while working alongside other professionals to handle non-violent scenarios. There are many ways to

In 2015, nearly a quarter of all people killed by police were believed to be suffering from a mental health crisis.

A blue-tinted photograph of police officers and a child crouching together outdoors. The officers are wearing uniforms and tactical gear, and the child is wearing a striped shirt and shorts. They are all smiling and looking towards the camera.

"THE DEPARTMENT IS A MIX OF SOCIAL WORKERS, BUT ALSO, WE WANTED TO MIX IN SOME FOLKS WITH LIVED EXPERIENCES. THERE ARE FOLKS WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED HOMELESSNESS, INCARCERATION, AND ADDICTION. WE HAD TO MAKE THE HR ADJUSTMENTS TO ALLOW FOR THAT. WE ALSO WANTED TO INCLUDE FORMER FIRST RESPONDERS, TYPICALLY IN THIS CASE, EMTS."

*— Mayor Keller
Albuquerque, NM*

introduce alternative or co-response models in cities depending on city budgets and the authority of local governments. Cities can begin small, working alongside social workers or introduce part-time pilot programs before launching larger initiatives.

In 2023, Colorado's Clear Creek County joined several U.S. cities that respond to non-violent mental health crises with clinicians, EMTs, or paramedics instead of police officers.²⁷ This shift followed a tragic incident in which a young man in Boulder experiencing a mental health crisis was shot by police after calling 911 for help. Now, 14 of the 20 most populous U.S. cities are either implementing or launching similar initiatives, reflecting growing support for removing armed officers from minor and non-violent disputes.

In San Francisco, CA, the police department is partnering with psychologists, social workers, paramedics, and peer support experts for behavioral or mental health calls through their Crisis Intervention Team (CIT). The City's CIT offers curriculum and training for officers and other social service professionals to better understand how to de-escalate incidents involving mental illness. In 2016, they created the Co-Responder Crisis Response Model where crisis intervention specialists and police work alongside each other to address calls.²⁸ This approach is similar to Eugene, Oregon's Crisis Assistance Helping Out On The Streets (CAHOOTS) program, which has been operating for nearly three decades. CAHOOTS, a collaboration between local police and the White Bird Clinic, responds to all mental and behavioral health crisis calls. In 2019, CAHOOTS handled 24,000 calls, with less than 2% requiring police backup. The program resolved nearly 20% of all calls to Eugene's public safety communication center, inspiring similar efforts in cities like Portland, Oregon, and Denver, Colorado.²⁹

While cities like San Francisco and Eugene work closely with social service organizations, Albuquerque, New Mexico's Community Safety (ACS) department operates independently from the city's police and fire departments. ACS dispatches trained professionals for non-violent, non-medical 9-1-1 calls related to mental health, substance use, and homelessness. Its responders do not make arrests or issue citations but focus on connecting individuals with community services and resources. Smaller efforts, such as Brooklyn Park, Minnesota's alternative response team, demonstrate that reform can happen on a smaller scale, allowing cities to tailor solutions based on their budgets and local authority.³⁰ However, the success of these models hinges on access to up-to-date first responder data to effectively identify which calls should receive alternative support, as well as using this data for continuous performance management and improvement.

In 2019, CAHOOTS handled 24,000 calls, with less than 2% requiring police backup.

DEVELOP POLICIES THAT PROMOTE ACCOUNTABILITY

Since the murder of George Floyd in 2021, several major cities have implemented or pursued policies aimed at reducing excessive police force and increasing officer accountability. These initiatives include disciplining officers who fail to intervene during instances of excessive force, mandating the use of body-worn cameras, and establishing civilian review boards. These reforms are designed to build greater trust between law enforcement and the public by holding officers accountable for their actions.

FIG. 3

Findings Summary

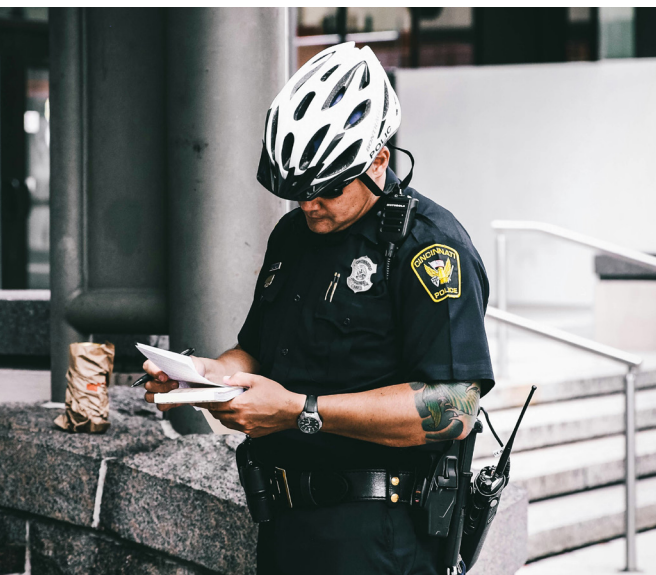
PROBLEM	SOLUTION
Low hiring standards	Implement higher entry requirements, such as a bachelor's degree or equivalent training, and require emotional intelligence assessments for both new recruits and existing officers.
Insufficient training hours and excessive focus on militarization	Mandate comprehensive de-escalation, critical thinking, and crisis intervention training to reduce unnecessary use of force. Expand ongoing training requirements to prioritize communication, ethics, and implicit bias awareness.
Lack of mental health support for officers, contributing to stress and burnout	Provide robust wellness programs, including confidential mental health services, peer support networks, and mandatory stress management training. Reduce stigma around seeking help through leadership advocacy.
Over-reliance on police for non-violent incidents (e.g., mental health crises, homelessness, substance use)	Implement alternative and co-response models that integrate social workers, crisis intervention teams, and paramedics to handle non-violent 9-1-1 calls, freeing police to focus on public safety concerns aligned with their training.
Limited oversight and accountability for officer misconduct	Enforce policies that increase transparency, such as civilian review boards, mandated body-worn cameras, public misconduct databases, and stronger disciplinary measures for officers who use excessive force.

California has been at the forefront of these efforts. In 2021, Governor Gavin Newsom signed SB 16 into law, which expands public access to police records, including those involving misconduct, firearms use, discriminatory behavior, and unlawful arrests. Alongside SB 2, which allows the state to permanently decertify officers engaged in serious misconduct, these laws represent a significant step toward transparency. Baltimore, Maryland, also enacted major reforms after the death of Freddie Gray in 2015, focusing on de-escalation, crisis intervention, and bias-free policing. Baltimore Police Department's efforts, including better technology, training, and data-driven policy changes, have contributed to a 16% reduction in violent crime since 2018.³¹

CONCLUSION

The path to police reform is deeply complex, shaped by decades of systemic racism and entrenched bureaucracy. Modern policing, with origins tied to enforcing slavery and segregation, continues to disproportionately harm Black and brown communities, where people are more likely to face excessive force, wrongful arrests, and even death at the hands of law enforcement. These communities bear the brunt of an unjust system that has yet to reckon fully with its racist past. Without meaningful reform, cities will continue to waste millions of taxpayer dollars on misconduct settlements—money that could be used to invest in services that strengthen, rather than harm, these communities.

However, the reforms outlined—such as body-worn cameras, civilian review boards, and crisis intervention teams—are steps toward building a more transparent, accountable, and just system. Successful reform



REFERENCES

1. Vera Institute of Justice. 2022. “Most 911 Calls Have Nothing to Do with Crime. Why Are We Still Sending Police?” April 22. <https://www.vera.org/news/most-911-calls-have-nothing-to-do-with-crime-why-are-we-still-sending-police>.
2. Prison Policy Initiative. 2020. “Not Just ‘a Few Bad Apples’: U.S. Police Kill Civilians at Much Higher Rates than Other Countries.” June 5. <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2020/06/05/policekillings/>.
3. International Association of Chiefs of Police. n.d. “Basic Requirements.” DiscoverPolicing.org. <https://www.discoverpolicing.org>.
4. The University of Law. n.d. “Police Officer.” <https://www.law.ac.uk/employability/career-finder/police-officer/>.
5. Terpstra, Jan, and Dirk Schaap. 2021. “The Politics of Higher Police Education: An International Comparative Perspective.” August 15. Oxford University Press. <https://academic.oup.com/policing/article/15/4/2407/6352555>.
6. Institute for Criminal Justice Training Reform. n.d. “Not Enough Training.” <https://www.trainingreform.org/not-enough-training>.
7. Reaves, Brian A. 2016. “State and Local Law Enforcement Training Academies, 2013.” July. Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice. <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/slleta13.pdf>.
8. Date, Jack. 2023. “Why Police Training in the US Falls Short Compared to the Rest of the World: Report.” February 15. ABC News. <https://abcnews.go.com/US/police-training-us-falls-short-compared-rest-world/story?id=96729748>.
9. Cohen, G. 2021. “Public Administration Training in Basic Police Academies: A 50-State Comparative Analysis.” July. Sage Journals. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0275074021999872>.
10. Apex Officer. 2021. “Police Training Courses and Units.” <https://www.apexofficer.com/police-training-requirements>.
11. Alexander, K. L., et al. 2022. “The Hidden Billion-Dollar Cost of Repeated Police Misconduct.” March 9. The Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/interactive/2022/police-misconduct-repeated-settlements/>.
12. Cato Institute. 2016. “Policing in America: Understanding Public Attitudes toward the Police. Results from a National Survey.” December 7. <https://www.cato.org/survey-reports/policing-america-understanding-public-attitudes-toward-police-results-national>.
13. Kindy, Kimberly. 2021. “Dozens of States Have Tried to End Qualified Immunity. Police Officers and Unions Helped Beat Nearly Every Bill.” October 7. The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/qualified-immunity-police-lobbying-state-legislatures/2021/10/06/60e546bc-ocdf-11ec-aea1-42a8138f132a_story.html.
14. Stoughton, Seth. 2015. “Law Enforcement’s ‘Warrior’ Problem.” April. Harvard Law Review. <https://harvardlawreview.org>.
15. USAFacts. 2023. “How Many Police Officers Die in the Line of Duty in the US?” November 30. <https://usafacts.org/articles/how-many-police-officers-die-in-the-line-of-duty/>.
16. National Alliance on Mental Illness (NAMI). n.d. “Crisis Intervention.” <https://www.nami.org/Advocacy/Crisis-Intervention/Law-Enforcement>.
17. Jetelina, K. K., et al. 2020. “Prevalence of Mental Illnesses and Mental Health Care Use among Police Officers.” October 7. JAMA Network Open. <https://jamanetwork.com/journals/jamanetworkopen/fullarticle/2771400>.

18. International Association of Chiefs of Police. n.d. “The State of Recruitment: A Crisis for Law Enforcement.” https://www.theiacp.org/sites/default/files/239416_IACP_RecruitmentBR_HR_o.pdf.
19. McCarthy, Justin. 2024. “Americans Remain Steadfast on Policing Reform Needs in 2022.” March 5. Gallup. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/393119/americans-remain-steadfast-policing-reform-needs-2022.aspx>.
20. New Jersey State Police. n.d. “New Jersey State Police Recruiting: Minimum Qualifications / Disqualifiers.” <https://www.nj.gov/njsp/recruiting/minimum-qualifications.shtml>.
21. Statista. 2024. “Rate of People Killed by Police by State U.S. 2023.” July 5. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1123317/rate-people-killed-police-us-state-population/>.
22. Smith, Claire. 2023. “Police Chiefs Reimagine the Mission and Culture of Law Enforcement.” November 10. Governing. <https://www.governing.com/community/police-chiefs-reimagine-the-mission-and-culture-of-law-enforcement>.
23. Elkins, Frank C. 2021. “Rewarding Work That Often Goes Unnoticed: The Philadelphia Police Department’s Holistic Approach to Encouraging De-Escalation.” December. U.S. Department of Justice. https://cops.usdoj.gov/html/dispatch/12-2021/rewarding_work.html.
24. Isaza, G. T., et al. 2019. “Evaluation of Police Use of Force De-Escalation Training: Assessing the Impact of the Integrating Communications, Assessment, and Tactics (ICAT) Training Program for the University of Cincinnati, OH Police Division (UCPD).” December. International Association of Chiefs of Police. https://www.theiacp.org/sites/default/files/Research%20Center/UCPD_ICAT%20Evaluation_Final.pdf.
25. Ohio Department of Public Safety. n.d. “Office of First Responder Wellness.” <https://publicsafety.ohio.gov/what-we-do/our-programs/office-of-first-responder-wellness>.
26. NY Cares UP. n.d. “CARES UP.” <https://nycaresup.com/>.
27. Peltz, Josh, and Jesse Bedayn. 2023. “Many Big US Cities Now Answer Mental Health Crisis Calls with Civilian Teams—Not Police.” August 27. AP News. <https://apnews.com/article/mental-health-crisis-911-police-alternative-civilian-responders-ca97971200c485e36aa456c04d217547>.
28. San Francisco Police Department. n.d. “Crisis Intervention Team (CIT).” <https://www.sanfranciscopolice.org/your-sfpd/explore-department/crisis-intervention-team-cit>.
29. Beck, J., et al. 2020. “Case Study: CAHOOTS.” November. Vera Institute of Justice. <https://www.vera.org/behavioral-health-crisis-alternatives/cahoots>.
30. Miller, Kim. 2024. “Brooklyn Park Sees Drop in Mental Health Calls.” April 24. CCX Media. <https://ccxmedia.org>.
31. U.S. Department of Justice. 2024. “Justice Department Announces Significant Milestone in Ongoing Policing Reforms for City of Baltimore and Baltimore Police Department.” January 16. <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/justice-department-announces-significant-milestone-ongoing-policing-reforms-city-baltimore>.

THE MAYORS INNOVATION PROJECT

is a learning network among American mayors committed to “high road” policy and governance: shared prosperity, environmental sustainability, and efficient democratic government. We are a project of the High Road Strategy Center.



mayors
innovation
project

7122 SEWELL BUILDING
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
MADISON, WI 53706

TEL 608-262-5387

INFO@MAYORSINNOVATION.ORG

MAYORSINNOVATION.ORG

[@MAYORINNOVATION](https://twitter.com/MAYORINNOVATION)

