

EXHIBIT 15

A National Study of Sustained Use of Force Complaints in Law Enforcement Agencies

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Analytical Strategy section), there are nonetheless other measures that may explain variance in the dependent variable.

A related, fifth limitation that bears on interpretability is that our study does not capture citizen perceptions of use of force. There is ample evidence suggesting that citizen perceptions differ from that of law enforcement officers (Klockars, 1996). Our hybrid data only allow us to study the departmental viewpoint regarding the complaint and the pathway through which the case was processed. In a related manner, our data were all collected prior to the Michael Brown incident in Ferguson, Missouri. Not only has Ferguson has impacted citizen perceptions of police (Culhane, Boman, & Schweitzer, 2016), it may have changed policing in general (Shjarback, Pyrooz, Wolfe, & Decker, 2017). Given the significance of this event as it relates to policing and use of force, research with more current data is warranted. This research could also bear in mind that jurisdictions often contain multiple departments that serve both similar and different populations. Since these departments are likely to have different policies, complaint processes, and characteristics, these nuances could potentially impact the amount of use of force complaints that end up being sustained. As such, the community and departmental measures in this study all could be potentially further understood as being nested within jurisdiction, community, or even neighborhood-level. This is an intriguing possibility that would introduce an extra potential level of variance that should be explored by future research.

Finally, a sixth limitation concerns the LEMAS data itself. Though the LEMAS data contain some of the only department-level data on use of force complaints available (Shjarback & White, 2015), Hickman (2006) notes that examining citizen complaint data requires caution for a variety of reasons. For example, agencies often vary greatly in how they record and process citizen complaints, and a citizen's decision to file a complaint is likely affected by a wide-range

of factors not directly associated with the agency or specific police-citizen interaction. Likewise, rather than indicate strong community-police relations, a low number of use of force complaints could indicate that the complaint process is not accessible to citizens (Hickman, 2006). Hickman and Poore (2015; 2016) note that the LEMAS data also suffer from measurement flaws, particularly in regards to how citizen complaint data were gathered. Taken together, future research should consider additional data sources in which to examine the links between police and community characteristics and use of force complaints.

Despite having some limitations, this study contributes to a growing, highly important, and socially relevant set of studies that focus on correlates of sustained use of force complaints. Heading into the future, there is little reason to suspect that the public's established – and increasing (Culhane et al., 2016) – interest in police use of force incidents will waiver. Amid mixed results from our hypotheses, our findings highlight a variety of factors that are ineffective at reducing the number of sustained complaints in response to police uses of force. However, there appears to be one simple, cost-effective thing that police administrators can do to significantly reduce the number of sustained complaints: Implement volunteer and community service history tools into the hiring process and prioritize applications from prospective officers who have demonstrated a firm commitment to the broader community. If our results serve as any indication, simply screening for a candidate's commitment to volunteering their time to community improvement can reduce the number of sustained complaints by over a third.