

State-level estimates of the number of volunteer police in the United States

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Abstract

To effectively develop and evaluate policing policies and practices, researchers and stakeholders need to know the numbers of volunteer police officers. Limited national estimates exist in the United States, but have shortcomings. This study collects state-level counts of volunteer police from all 50 states (and the District of Columbia), and finds that relying on state-level counts of volunteer police officers is not an effective way of capturing this information. The implications are discussed and a solution is suggested.

Keywords

Volunteer police estimates, reserve police, auxiliary police, number of volunteer police, state-level police data

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Introduction

During the history of the Anglo/American police, volunteer police officers have always participated significantly in almost all aspects of local policing, with a wide variety of roles, responsibilities and authority that benefit their agencies and communities (Dobrin, 2015; Greenberg, 1984, 2005). Although providing only a relatively small portion of the manpower of the full-time police, volunteer officers play an important, yet often overlooked, role in modern American policing. They represent a significant number of government agents (discussed below) and have legal authority to restrict the freedom of citizens, ranging from detention and arrest, to the legal use of lethal force. They are also of political importance. In a democratic society, the governed need to participate in the process of governance and oversight. The ethic of civil participation is crucial to a viable democracy (Sullivan and Transue, 1999). Volunteer police perfectly represent this ideal.

As durable and common as volunteer policing has been, a proportionate amount of research on this topic has not been carried out (Dobrin and Wolf, 2016). This may be due to bias, with practitioners and researchers thinking that volunteer police are amateurish (Bullock and Leeney, 2016) or, more likely, a simple oversight of an aspect of

policing that is not well known outside its participants. As such, there are limited data to guide evidence-based policies concerning volunteer police. One of the fundamental types of data needed to guide any evidence-based discussion is a simple count of the number of volunteer police in the United States. Other levels of measurement, such as at the state level, would also be very useful. This article discusses the shortcomings in both national and state-level estimates of the numbers of volunteer officers in the United States, goes into greater detail for each state and their counts, and suggests realistic ways to address the shortcomings in the data.

The term ‘volunteer police’ is primarily used in this study, but the terms ‘reserve police’ and ‘auxiliary police’ often have the same meaning, and are used by different states to refer to volunteer police. Some reserve and auxiliary programs include part-time paid and seasonal paid officers, but they are not the focus of this research; only volunteer officers are. There are also many other volunteer positions within policing, including community service

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aides, explorers, search and rescue teams, chaplains, citizens on patrol, senior volunteers and neighborhood watch liaisons, among others. This research focuses on only those volunteers who are sworn police officers,¹ who generally wear uniforms identical or very similar to those of regular paid officers, are armed (with firearms)² and have either full or reduced arrest authority. It should also be noted that in many states, sheriff's deputies are responsible for traditional policing duties (traffic patrol, criminal investigations, etc.) and are often synonymous with the nomenclature of 'police officers'. They are included here when only the word 'police' is used, unless differences are specifically distinguished.

Estimates of the number of volunteer police in the United States

For researchers and other stakeholders wishing to know the number of full-time paid police officers in the United States, data are readily available. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Uniform Crime Reporting System (UCR) has an item that asks responding agencies how many full-time paid officers they employ, as well as how many full-time civilians (FBI, 2004, 2016). Regrettably, no items inquire about part-time or unpaid officers, so there are no annual UCR numbers of volunteer officers. In addition, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) conducts the Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies (CSLLEA), which asks about the number of full- and part-time paid officers, but has no items about unpaid officers. Finally, a unique survey carried out by the U.S. Census Bureau collects information about pay for all paid officers in its Annual Survey of Public Employment and Payroll. Unpaid officers have no information to collect (Banks et al., 2016).

There is one national survey that estimates the number of volunteer officers every so often. The BJS Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) survey of a nationally representative sample sometimes has relevant items. Earlier versions of the LEMAS survey did not ask about volunteer officers specifically, but did inquire about the numbers of full-time sworn reserves and auxiliaries, part-time sworn reserves and auxiliaries, and non-sworn reserves and auxiliaries. These were the closest approximations for volunteer officers available, although they may include paid reserves and auxiliaries. The only national estimates published for both sheriff's deputies and police officers are from 2003 (Hickman and Reaves, 2006a, 2006b), but the BJS will provide 2007 tables of police and sheriff reserves and auxiliaries to researchers that request them (Dobrin, 2015).

The most recent LEMAS survey does inquire specifically about volunteer officers. The BJS reports the estimated number of 'unpaid sworn reserve or auxiliary

officers by local police departments' in the United States as 29,500 for 2013 (Reaves, 2015, Appendix Table 1), although unsworn officers are not reported. The comparable publication for sheriff's offices (Burch, 2016) does not include information on volunteer deputies, but 2013 LEMAS survey data are available from the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research's National Archive of Criminal Justice Data, and estimate about 29,000 sworn volunteer sheriff's deputies (United States Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs and Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015). The most recent data available for non-sworn reserve and auxiliary police and sheriff's deputies are from 2007, with 9700 police and 9300 deputies (BJS, 2014a). Summing these data gives a total estimate of approximately 58,500 sworn volunteer police and deputies, and approximately 19,000 unsworn volunteer reserve and auxiliary police and deputies; a combined total of 77,500 in the United States. This is a significant number of volunteer police officers, totaling approximately 12% of the 635,781-full-time city and county police officers in the United States (FBI, 2016; Tables 71 and 74. State-level officers are not included in either figure here). Relatedly, research suggests that volunteer officers participate in 30–35% of all public safety organizations in the United States (Brudney and Kellough, 2000; Hickman and Reaves, 2006a, 2016b; Reaves, 2015). Given that there are more than 18,000 law enforcement agencies in the United States (FBI, 2016), it would stand to reason that more than 5000 policing agencies use volunteer officers in some capacity.

The LEMAS survey is the only national estimate of the number of volunteer police in the United States, and it has its shortcomings. It does not collect relevant data every iteration; only the most recent survey asks specifically about unpaid officers, and then only sworn officers. The BJS did not publish the relevant information from sheriff's offices from that survey, either. In addition, although the LEMAS survey is methodologically sound, relying on extrapolated data from a small sample collected every few years is not as beneficial to researchers and policy-makers as an annual full enumeration, like that of full-time paid officers that the FBI collects in the UCR system.

With limited national-level estimates of the number of volunteer officers available, a helpful alternative would be detailed state-level counts. Regrettably, no single data source consolidates this type of information at the state level. This study begins the process of recording the number of volunteer officers by state.

Methods

Data for this study were collected from state-level agencies that had the authority to collect aggregate data covering police personnel issues. Web searches, emails and

telephone inquiries were made for each state to find the appropriate agency. Emails and follow-up telephone calls were then made to the appropriate agencies to solicit the desired data. Every state (and Washington DC, which is henceforth included as a state), responded. The emails and telephone calls requested information on numbers of volunteer police officers within the state. Respondents were informed that, for this project, ‘volunteer police’, ‘auxiliary police’ and ‘reserve police’ were the most likely phrases associated with the concept being studied. Officers had to be volunteers, not part-time or seasonal paid employees who may also be called reserves or auxiliaries, and if sheriff’s deputies carried out traffic patrol law enforcement activities similar to the police, they should be included as well. Respondents were also informed that although there are many volunteer police positions, such as community service aides, explorers, search and rescue teams, chaplains, citizens on patrol, senior volunteers and neighborhood watch liaisons, data were requested only for those volunteers who are sworn police officers who generally wear uniforms identical or very similar to those worn by regular paid officers, are armed, and have either full or reduced arrest authority.

Results

The collected data are reported below. The reported number of volunteer police officers, reporting agency and a brief description are presented for each state. Highlighting differences in the data collected by each state, the information presented here has been standardized as much as possible, but what information was collected and how it was reported varied considerably between states.

Alabama. Unknowable at the state level – Alabama Peace Officers Standards Commission (APOSTC).

In Alabama, there are currently two types of reserve law enforcement officers, certified and non-certified. Certified reserve officers must meet the same entry-level, academy and continuing education requirements as employed certified law enforcement officers. Non-certified reserve officers do not have arrest authority and are allowed to perform only limited duties under the direct supervision of a certified law enforcement officer. The APOSTC officer database does not provide a listing or report that identifies reserve officers separate to and apart from employed officers, and APOSTC does not track, monitor or otherwise maintain any information on non-certified reserve officers.

Alaska. Unknowable at the state level – Alaska Police Standards Council (APSC).

APSC tracks only full-time officers. The only way to count the number of volunteers is to contact each agency individually.

Arizona. 438 – Arizona Peace Officer Standards and Training Board (APOSTC).

Arizona has 438 individuals appointed as reserve officers.

Arkansas. 1571 – Arkansas Commission on Law Enforcement Standards and Training (ACLEST).

Arkansas has 1571 individuals classified as auxiliary or reserve officers.

California. Approximately 4870 reserves, but some might be paid part-time – Reserve Peace Officer Program, California Peace Officer Standards and Training (CPOST).

California currently has approximately 4870 reserve peace officers listed. CPOST does not track how many are volunteers and how many are paid an hourly wage.

Colorado. 140 (63 of whom have reserve certification and not full basic certification) – Colorado Peace Officer Standards and Training Board (CPOST).

Colorado has approximately 140 individuals acting as reserve officers for law enforcement agencies. Most have the full basic certification, the same as full-time officers; 63 have reserve certification, which is obtained by attending a reserve academy and is limited to working as a reserve only. Non-certified volunteers are not tracked in any way.

Connecticut. 0 for local police, 41 for state police – Connecticut Police Officer Standards and Training Council (CPOSTC).

Since 1985 when all police were required to be certified, Connecticut has no longer allowed volunteer local police, but there might be a few grandfathered in who donate their time; if they do, the number is unknown. Part-time local officers are paid. The state police has grandfathered in auxiliaries (41 go on patrol, but 60 are certified). No new ones will be added.

Delaware. 0 – Delaware State Police.

Approximately 9 years ago, the Delaware State Police explored implementing a ‘ready reserve’. It was to be staffed by retired troopers and was backed by legislation that has since been repealed (20 Delaware Code 3122A). Their legal counsel at the time recommended against this program because it would jeopardize the current law requiring all Delaware Troopers to retire by age 55. Also, the counsel had concerns regarding the ability of ready reserve members to maintain their Council on Police Training certification.

District of Columbia. 66 – Strategic Services Bureau Metropolitan Police Department (MPD).

Washington DC MPD has 66 active reserve police officers; 18 are unarmed (but wear uniforms identical to those of career service officers), 35 are armed/certified and 13 are armed/uncertified (field training).

Florida. Unknowable at the state level – Florida Department of Law Enforcement (FDLE).

FDLE cannot count the number volunteers exactly. Florida state law defines three law enforcement positions: full-time, part-time and auxiliary. Auxiliary positions have reduced education requirements, and are generally not paid. Part-time officers have the same educational requirements as full-time officers, and some are paid part-time employees, whereas others are volunteer reserves; there is no way to tell. There are 719 auxiliary certified officers and 2989 part-time officers. Volunteers are a subset of the two, but there is no way to identify them as volunteers.

Georgia. 1311 – Georgia Peace Officer Standards and Training (GPOST).

Georgia has 1311 reserve officers listed as actively employed. Reserve officers are unpaid and are required to maintain their peace officer certification to be listed as actively employed. Failure to maintain their annual training requirements results in suspension of their certification.

Hawaii. Unknowable at the state level – State of Hawaii Department of Public Safety, Law Enforcement Division.

There are no state-level records available in Hawaii.

Idaho. 526 – Idaho Peace Officer Standards and Training (IPOST).

Idaho has three levels of ‘reserve officers’. There are ‘Level II Reserve’ officers who are not certified by IPOST. They cannot operate on their own and must be under the direct supervision of a certified officer. However, IPOST does require that if an agency is going to use these officers as a ‘Level II Reserve’, then it must provide the officer with a minimal amount of training. There are also ‘Level I Reserve’ officers and ‘Level I Reserve’ marine deputies. These officers are certified by IPOST and can work on their own. They have all the powers of a certified officer while they are attached to an agency and on shift with that agency. Once they are off duty they have no more powers than any other citizen. The only real difference between the two is that Level I Reserve officers typically perform their duties on land, whereas Level I Reserve marine deputies perform their duties on water. The numbers of reserves were as follows: Level II Reserve, 239; Level I Reserve, 273; Level I Reserve Marine Deputy, 14.

Illinois. Unknowable at the state level – Illinois Law Enforcement Training and Standards Board (ILETSB).

Auxiliaries in Illinois may be armed or unarmed, and are not paid. Armed auxiliaries can carry out patrol duties and are usually used at times when the work force needs to be increased. Non-armed auxiliaries are usually used for traffic control at events and disasters. All appointments must be cleared through the ILETSB and it is the local police department’s responsibility to perform a thorough background investigation. Auxiliaries are not certified officers until they comply with all standards set by ILETSB. For this work, the ILETSB conducted a search of its database and found they do not track the number of auxiliaries.

Indiana. 3034 – Indiana Law Enforcement Training Board (ILETB).

There are 1171 unpaid reserves in county agencies, with 1863 in city/town departments.

Iowa. 1183 – Iowa Law Enforcement Training Academy.

Currently there are 1183 reserve officers in Iowa.

Kansas. Unknowable at the state level – Kansas Commission on Peace Officers Standards and Training (KCPOST).

Data for these volunteers are not kept by KSCPOST or other state agencies. Each of the 435 agencies across Kansas would have to be queried individually.

Kentucky. Unknowable at the state level – Kentucky Department of Criminal Justice Training (KDCJT).

KDCJT makes no distinction in record-keeping between paid, part-time and volunteer officers. They are all certified the same.

Louisiana. Unknowable at the state level – Louisiana Peace Officer Standards and Training (LPOST).

LPOST reports that there are approximately 10,000 reserves in the state, but there is no way of telling how many are volunteers. No state-level data are collected; researchers would have to query each individual agency. Also, reserves do not have to be POST certified, but do have to qualify with firearms.

Maine. 0 – Maine Criminal Justice Academy.

Maine has no volunteer officers.

Maryland. Unknowable at the state level – Maryland Police and Correctional Training Commissions (MPCTC).

The MPCTC does not require local departments to submit the number of auxiliary participants they have.

Massachusetts. Unknowable at the state level using state data – 1029 using Massachusetts Volunteer Law

Enforcement Officer Association (MVLEOA) survey, Division of Standards and Training/MVLEOA.

Massachusetts keeps no state-level records on volunteer police. A survey by the MVLEOA with the Massachusetts Chiefs of Police Association counted 1029 volunteer police officers.

Michigan. Unknowable at the state level – Commission on Law Enforcement Standards (MCOLES).

If officers are not paid, then the state does not keep records. Researchers would have to contact each individual agency.

Minnesota. 0 – Minnesota Board of Peace Officers Standards and Training (MPOST).

No licensed peace officers (police and sheriff) are unpaid in Minnesota. Auxiliaries and reserves can volunteer, but are not certified law enforcement officers and have no arrest authority.

Mississippi. Unknowable at the state level – Department of Public Safety, Office of Standards and Training (BLEOST).

Mississippi has two types of officers: part-time certified and full-time. All volunteers are counted as part-time, and there is no way to distinguish volunteers from paid part-time officers using state records. There are 3356 part-time officers, some of whom are volunteers. BLEOAST does not track whether they are being paid or volunteer.

Missouri. 2426 – Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST).

Missouri has two distinctions for officers: full-time peace officers and reserve officers. Full-time officers work 30 h or more a week, and reserve officers work fewer than 30 h. Most of the 2426 reserves are volunteers, but in some small agencies, they might be paid. There is no way to tell if a reserve officer is paid using state-level records.

Montana. Unknowable at the state level – Public Safety Officer Standards and Training (POST).

The current POST record system does not allow for the counting of unpaid officers.

Nebraska. 0 for police and unknowable for deputies at the state level – Nebraska Law Enforcement Training Center.

Police reserves can only work up to 100 h a year, and are paid. Sheriff's deputies may be volunteers, but there is no way to count them other than by contacting each individual agency.

Nevada. 170, but up to 172 more – Nevada Peace Officer Standards and Training.

There are two potential categories for volunteer officers in Nevada. The 172 part-time officers are certified, but do not work full-time. Some may be volunteers. The 170, reserve certificate only officers are volunteers.

New Hampshire. 0 – Police Training and Standards Council.

There are currently 1170 part-time police officers in New Hampshire, all are paid.

New Jersey. Unknowable at the state level – New Jersey Police Training Commission (NJPTC).

New Jersey has possible volunteers, who are either called 'specials' or auxiliaries, but no state-level data on their numbers are collected. The NJPTC only follows UCR requirements and counts the numbers of full-time paid officers. A researcher would need to contact each of the 547 local agencies, most of which would not have any volunteer officers.

New Mexico. Unknowable at the state level – New Mexico Police Officer Standards and Training (POST).

POST does not track the number of reserves, auxiliaries or other volunteers.

New York. Unknowable at the state level – Police and Peace Officer Registry, The Division of Criminal Justice Services.

The state does not have data on volunteer officers.

North Carolina. Unknowable at the state level – Criminal Justice Training and Standards Commission.

The commission says there is no statewide mechanism to count volunteers. Researchers would have to contact each individual agency.

North Dakota. Unknowable at the state level – North Dakota Peace Officer Standards and Training (NDPOST).

NDPOST does not track the number of volunteers. Contacting individual agencies would be the only way to gather this information.

Ohio. 6294 – Peace Officer Training Academy.

There are 2827 special officers, 1812 auxiliary deputies, 1311 reserve officers and 344 reserve/auxiliary officers. In all categories, the officer is neither part-time nor full-time. All are certified peace officers with the same powers as all other officers, and some may be paid. Auxiliaries are typically associated with police departments; reserves and specials are more associated with sheriff's offices.

Oklahoma. Unknowable at the state level – Council on Law Enforcement Education and Training.

There are 3515 local police, deputies and state reserves. There is no way to determine if they are paid or volunteers without contacting each agency.

Oregon. 741 – Oregon Department of Public Safety Standards and Training (DPSST).

The DPSST databases show that there are 741 officers currently reporting to their agency as serving in a reserve capacity. It should be noted that the DPSST has very limited authority over reserve officers, in fact up until last year it had none.

Pennsylvania. 0 – Pennsylvania Municipal Police Officers Training and Commission (MPOETC).

MPOETC says that Pennsylvania has no volunteer officers.

Rhode Island. Unknowable at the state level, but most likely 0 – Rhode Island Municipal Police Training Academy (RIMPTA).

No state agency collects any count data on police officers, either volunteer or paid, but Rhode Island no longer has volunteer officers for liability reasons.

South Carolina. 564 – South Carolina Law Enforcement Division (SLED).

There are 564 reserve officers in South Carolina.

South Dakota. 140 – Standards and Training Commission.

South Dakota has 140 reserves for police departments and sheriff's offices.

Tennessee. Unknowable at the state level – Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST).

Tennessee currently does not require part-time, reserve or auxiliary officers to submit employment paperwork or training to the POST Commission. They 'guesstimate' approximately 1800 reserve and auxiliary officers.

Texas. 1334 – Texas Commission on Law Enforcement (TCOLE).

The TCOLE states that there are 1334 individuals appointed as 'reserve' officers (non-paid). Of these, 173 officers have a reserve officer license, as opposed to the peace officer license that is awarded today.

Utah. Unknowable at the state level – Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST).

Utah code does allow for both reserve and auxiliary officers, however, Utah POST does not track the number of unpaid or volunteer officers who may be working within the state. The only way to obtain such information would be to contact each of the individual law enforcement agencies.

Vermont. 0 – Criminal Justice Training Council (VCJTC).

Vermont does not have volunteer police. There are many who are Level II certified, which in the past was referred to as part-time officers or specials. They are paid officers and not volunteers.

Virginia. Unknowable at the state level – Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS), Standards and Training.

The current DCJS database is not designed to query the number of auxiliary officers in Virginia.

Washington. 576 – Washington State Criminal Justice Training Commission (WSCJTC).

Prior to 1 January 2016, Washington law enforcement agencies submitted hire notices for reserve officers on a volunteer basis. This is now required.

West Virginia. 0 – Law Enforcement Professional Standards (LEPS).

West Virginia LEPS does not track the numbers of volunteer/auxiliary police because there are no such positions with any law enforcement related powers of any type. Although the sheriff's offices in West Virginia may have reserve deputies and a few of the larger municipal departments have neighborhood assistance officers or similar programs, none have law enforcement powers and may only be used to handle traffic control-related and non-law enforcement-related responses.

Wisconsin. 0 – police, unknowable for sheriff's offices – Department of Justice/Training and Standards Bureau.

The Wisconsin Law Enforcement Standards Board does not provide law enforcement certification for unpaid volunteers. Some sheriff's departments may refer to some of their officers as reserve deputies who only work parades, etc., but these officers must meet the same employment requirements (set forth in Chapter LES 2, Wisconsin Administrative Code), and the same training requirements (currently a 720-h law enforcement officer training academy) as any other law enforcement officer in Wisconsin. There is no state-level mechanism to count these numbers, individual sheriff's offices would have to be contacted.

Wyoming. 233 – Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST).

To maintain certification in Wyoming officers must be employed by a Wyoming law enforcement agency. Reserve officers may work 0–35 h per week.

As the above information shows, relying on state-level counts of volunteer police is not useful at present. Summing the numbers of reported volunteers by state would not provide a useful representation of the number of police

volunteers in the United States, and is much smaller than estimates given by the LEMAS survey. In addition, states vary widely in what they report. Some collect data and report the total number of volunteers (including those that have no volunteer officers), some collect data on police departments but not sheriff's offices, and others have no state-level data available and require individual local agencies to be contacted and queried. Clearly, a uniform, national reporting system is needed to fully measure the scope of volunteer policing to supplement the gaps in the state-level data.

Implications and conclusions

Volunteer officers are a link between the police and those they serve, and are a force in reducing the barriers between police and the community, the 'blue curtain' (Crank, 2010; Dobrin, 2015; Phillips, 2013). 'Reserve officers, as community members, may help to bridge the distance between the department and full-time officers, on one hand, and the community, on the other' (Fredericksen and Levin, 2004: 121). In addition, volunteers who serve in government and public sector agencies are important in democratic societies as a form of popular representation and governmental oversight (Choudhury, 2010; Vigoda, 2002), highlighting participation by an active citizenry (Dover, 2010; Grimm et al., 2005; Ohmer, 2007). Currently, there are limited national data and very few state-level estimates regarding how many volunteers are participating in the process of active citizenry that volunteer policing foment.

As noted above, there are potentially large numbers of volunteer police in the United States who engage in all aspects of policing, up to and including the use of lethal force. But without an accurate count of volunteer officers, researchers cannot know what proportion engage in this or any other policing outcomes. Also, without knowledge of the numbers of volunteer officers, many evidence-based policies regarding policing will be missing key actors.

The most efficient solution to this problem is to use existing national data sources to collect state-level data than can be aggregated nationally. Three national sources of data collect information on the number of full-time paid officers (Banks et al., 2016). Two of these could be easily modified to collect these data. The third, the Annual Survey of Public Employment and Payroll conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau, would be inappropriate because the data it collects report employee payroll information, which is not relevant to volunteers.

The first of the useful sources is the CSLLEA conducted by the BJS (2014b). The CSLLEA collects data only on the number of full-time and part-time paid officers. Adding an

item about the number of unpaid officers would be very useful to researchers, and would be likely to have strong national coverage because the 2008 local agency response rate was 100% (Banks et al., 2016). Unfortunately, this census is only collected every 4 years, so annual numbers would not be available.

The final source collects annual data that can be parsed into state-level data. The FBI's UCR collects data on how many full-time paid officers agencies employ (Banks et al., 2016; FBI, 2004, 2016). Adding an item about the number of full- and part-time volunteer officers would provide a tremendous amount of useful data to stakeholders. The UCR data cover 314 million U.S. inhabitants, about 97.7% of the total population (FBI, 2016), so the collected information would be a robust estimation of the number of volunteer police in the United States. State-level data could then be estimated from the UCR records. More rigorous counts at the state level from other data sources should be encouraged, but would be difficult in reality given the 50 (plus Washington DC) different bureaucracies needed to do this, especially as many have no existing infrastructure to collect this type of data. With a more complete estimation that an enumeration by the UCR would create, researchers could then begin to measure the actual impact of volunteer officers on a myriad of policing issues.

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Notes

1. Sworn officers are defined as 'those with general arrest powers' (BJS, 2014a, 2014b). A more complete definition of full-time sworn are those employees who 'carry a firearm and a badge, have full arrest powers, and are paid from government funds set aside specifically for sworn law enforcement staff' (Banks et al., 2016). Volunteer officers may be then be sworn, but do not receive pay. Full-time non-sworn staff may be 'clerks, radio dispatchers, meter attendants, stenographers, jailers, correctional officers, and mechanics' (Banks et al., 2016).
2. This article tries to estimate the number of volunteer officers who closely resemble full-time paid officers as much as possible. Because full-time paid officers in the United States carry firearms, the appropriate comparison group must be armed volunteers.

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