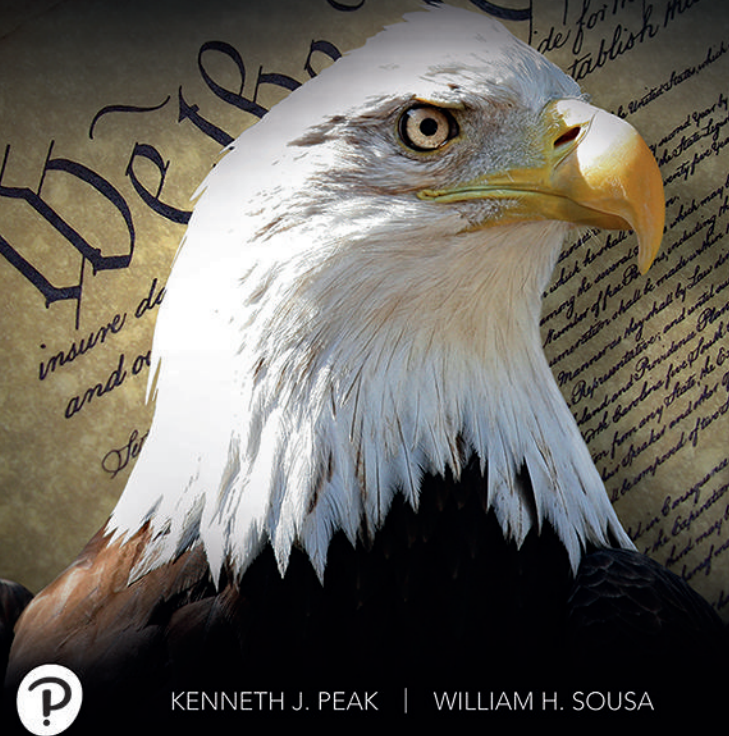# POLICING AMERICA

CHALLENGES AND BEST PRACTICES

TENTH EDITION

KENNETH J. PEAK | WILLIAM H. SOUSA

Tenth Edition

POLICING AMERICA

CHALLENGES AND BEST PRACTICES

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Bullfight critics ranked in rows

Crowd the enormous stadium full.

But only one there *really* knows -

And that is the one who fights the bull.

This quote - alleged to have been carried in the wallet of President John F. Kennedy - speaks to the human tendency to criticize others in whose shoes they've not walked. This tenth edition is therefore dedicated to all those officers who "fight the bull," and especially to those who gave all.

—K. J. P.

To the first responders and many civilians who remained in harm's way in order to treat the injured and help others to safety on the evening of 1 October 2017. Vegas Strong.

—W. H. S.

BRIEF CONTENTS

CONTENTS

PREFACE

▶ Purposes and Approaches

Famed educator John Dewey advocated the "learning by doing" approach to education or problem-based learning. The tenth edition is written, from start to finish, with that philosophy in mind and is reflected in the book's subtitle, *Challenges and Best Practices*. And, as with its nine predecessors, this book benefits from the authors' many years of combined practical and academic experience. Its chapters contain a real-world, applied flavor not found in most policing textbooks and reflect the changing times in which we live and the tremendous challenges facing federal, state, and local agents and officers every day. And like its nine preceding editions, this edition continues to represent our best attempts to allow the reader, to the fullest extent possible, to vicariously experience carrying a law enforcement badge or wearing a police uniform by providing a highly practical, comprehensive world view of the challenging occupation. As shown in the below "New Topics" section, included are several beneficial additions in topics as well as changes in its organization and content.

▶ Special Features and Attributes

The first aspect of the book that will be noted are its several pedagogical attributes. First, to help make this textbook more reader-friendly, each chapter begins with learning objectives and an introduction. A summary, list of key terms, review questions, "Learn by Doing," and endnotes are found at the end of each chapter. Other instructional aids found in the chapters include the Career Profiles, Court Close-ups, tables and figures, and exhibits describing police methods and news items. Finally, a detailed index at the end of the book makes it easy to find information on specific topics.

A few additional comments are in order concerning the "Learn by Doing" and "Career Profiles" sections of this edition, which are to further enhance its applied nature. Coupled with John Dewey's aforementioned "learning by doing" approach to education, or problem-based learning, another popular learning method was espoused by Benjamin Bloom known as "Bloom's Taxonomy." Bloom called for "higher-order thinking skills"—critical and creative thinking that involves analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. These chapter scenarios and activities place you in hypothetical situations, shifting attention away from the textbook-centered instruction and moving the emphasis to student-centered projects. These activities also allow you to practice skills in communication and self-management, act as a problem-solver, and learn about/address current community issues. Hopefully, you will be inspired to become engaged in some or all of these scenarios and activities.

The "Career Profiles" appearing in chapters contain information provided by current police practitioners and provide the reader with their insights concerning the nature of their duties, a "typical day," and some career advice.

▶ New Topics in This Tenth Edition

In addition to updated information throughout the book as well as new case studies and exercises, following are other substantively new materials added to this revised tenth edition:

Chapter 1: The impact of the 2014 President's Task Force on Twenty-First Century Policing

Chapter 2: The use of new technologies in the training of police officers, including computer-based training, simulation training, and Avatar-Based Interview Training; a new Career Profile of a police academy development coordinator

Chapter 3: A new exhibit on advances in patrol technology; a new Career Profile of a veteran patrol officer

Chapter 4: Declining use of military equipment; nature/extent of police training in problem-solving; impact evaluations for problem-solving; same, case study of prostitution problem; community policing and cybercrime

Chapter 5: Innovative detective practices related to proactive crime prevention; the use of open-source genealogy databases in the investigation of crime; a new Career Profile of a director of a state police crime laboratory

Chapter 6: Dangers of policing (as relates to stress); police suicide; safety study; three cases studies on officer wellness; mindfulness training; sample police union contract; a hypothetical problem to solve (concerning an agency firearms policy); updates on college degrees held by police; updates on usage of private police and public-private police relationships

Chapter 7: Recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions concerning searches of cell phones, homes, and vehicles; possible decisions forthcoming on use of electronic listening devices (i.e., Alexa)

Chapter 8: Police shootings data; Hippocratic Oath for police; updates on Black Lives Matter and Blue Lives Matter movements; police shootings in Toronto vs. Brooklyn; sample agency policy governing officer conduct; moral dilemmas; recreational marijuana (use by police officers); qualified immunity; "random acts of kindness" by police

Chapter 9: Expanded discussion on the impact of civil litigation on small police departments; the role of risk management to address concerns over potential lawsuits against police; sexual harassment as an area of potential liability

Chapter 10: New exhibit on university policing; extended description of the role of state police agencies; new Career Profiles of a former FBI special agent and a chief of a special jurisdiction police department

Chapter 11: Expanded discussion on the political nature of the sheriff position, particularly as it relates to rural counties; a new Career Profile of a sheriff of a large agency

Chapter 12: America's drug epidemic, particularly opioids; update on marijuana laws; gang extent, activities; involvement in sex trafficking; gun violence—ownership, uses, movement toward stricter gun-control laws; terrorism (updates, the Asian threat, cyberterrorism); new case studies; emphases on what police, legislation, other entities and approaches are doing with same

Chapter 13: Extent of issues surrounding undocumented immigration to the United States; the border wall conundrum; crimes committed by undocumented immigrants in the United States vis-à-vis native-born; challenges of asylum seekers; what state and local police can do; Sec. 287(g); case studies of sex trafficking; approaches to the crime; massive arrests of offenders; updated domestic violence data; status of mental illness in the United States.

Chapter 14: Handling big data; expanding uses (good and bad) of drones; facial recognition; preparing for autonomous vehicles; addressing texting while driving; mobile drivers' licenses; handheld drug testing devices; long range acoustic devices (LRADs); radar for seeing inside premises; addressing sexual assault kit backlogs; FirstNet

▶ Chapter Organization and Contents

The book's fourteen chapters are divided into five parts; following is a description of the organization and contents of those parts and chapters that compose this tenth edition, as well as its supplemental attributes.

In Part 1, the foci are on the foundations—that is, evolution and development—of policing. Chapter 1 traces policing in history, from its English origins through its migration to the United States; included are discussions of its striving for acceptance both here and abroad as well as its struggles (e.g., political influence, reform, and the civil rights movement in the United States) and transformations during this historical period. Chapter 2 charts the "making" of a police officer and begins by examining how common citizens are prepared for doing the work of policing: recruitment (to include the testing process used to discern whether one possesses the physical and psychological attributes that are sought), training (both during and after the recruit academy), and the different styles and roles of policing. Next, having hired and formed citizens into police officers, Chapter 3 takes the officers to the street, looking at the very fundamental (and at times hazardous) function of patrolling and its purposes and nature; the variations in patrol work by shift, beat, and assignment; officers' use of discretion; and the traditional traffic function.

Part 2 considers contemporary policing practices and challenges and begins with a discussion of community policing, community-oriented policing, and problem-solving (Chapter 4), and includes this strategy's principles, strategies, and various applications, as well as Smart Policing, intelligence-led policing, and predictive policing. Next, Chapter 5 focuses on criminal investigation, including some discussion of how this field evolved, the roles of detectives, working undercover, DNA and other forms of analysis and technologies, uses of behavioral science, and recent developments in the field. This part's concluding chapter, Chapter 6, examines selected personnel issues: stress, labor relations, higher education, and the private police.

Next, in the three chapters composing Part 3, we combine several means by which police authority is constrained. More specifically, Chapter 7 looks at the rule of law: court decisions and constitutional enactments that direct and constrain police actions; the focus here is on the Bill of Rights in the Constitution, particularly the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Amendments. Chapter 8 considers police accountability from several perspectives, including the issue of police ethics, use of force, corruption, and discipline (particularly in light of recent deterioration in police–minority relations and unlawful use of deadly force). Potential civil liability of the police is the focus of Chapter 9, to include various areas in which officers may be liable, and the means by which citizens may seek legal redress when they believe their civil rights have been violated.

Part 4 has as its underlying theme the fact that federal and state law enforcement as well as local (municipal and county) policing in the United States doesn't "just happen" or occur in random, unplanned fashion. Such organizations are in fact organized and administered by

virtue of their sovereignty, jurisdiction, and type of assignment so as to be more effective and efficient. Chapter 10 examines the organization and administration of U.S. federal and state law enforcement agencies, and Chapter 11 continues this type of discussion, examining the organization and administration of local (i.e., municipal police and county sheriff) agencies; included are profiles of both and comparisons with each other. Also discussed are definitions of organizations; organizational communication; functions of police executive officers, middle managers, and supervisors; influence of politics; media relations; contract and consolidated policing; and agency accreditation.

Part 5, like the four previous ones, is intended to have a grouping effect in terms of common attributes, with the emphasis here being on the problems caused by special populations of criminals, the challenges they pose for the police, and some of the methods and tools being used to deal with those problems. Chapter 12 examines several groups in our society that pose significant challenges for police, including drug abusers/traffickers, terrorists, and gangs. Methods, relevant legislation, and other tools for coping with these crime collectives is included. Chapter 13 largely moves away from this "collective" grouping of offenders as discussed in Chapter 12 and looks instead at selected *individual* offenders as well as other "people problems." Included in this chapter are the problems posed by immigration, sex trafficking, domestic violence, and mental illness.

Emphases here, as in the previous chapter, are on the best practices, relevant legislation, and other tools that are available to the police for coping with these crimes. Finally, Chapter 14 examines a wide array of exciting police technologies that exist today or are on the horizon for detecting crime, analyzing evidence, and doing everyday work.

From its beginning through the final chapter, this book provides a penetrating view of policing in America, demonstrating that this occupation inherently continues to be one of the most challenging and difficult occupations our society has ever witnessed.

▶ Instructor Supplements

Instructor's Manual with Test Bank Includes content outlines for classroom discussion, teaching suggestions, and answers to selected end-of-chapter questions from the text. This also contains a Word document version of the test bank.

TestGen This computerized test generation system gives you maximum flexibility in creating and administering tests on paper, electronically, or online. It provides state-of-the-art features for viewing and editing test bank questions, dragging a selected question into a test you are creating, and printing sleek, formatted tests in a variety of layouts. Select test items from test banks included with TestGen for quick test creation, or write your own questions from scratch. TestGen's random generator provides the option to display different text or calculated number values each time questions are used.

PowerPoint Presentations Our presentations are clear and straightforward. Photos, illustrations, charts, and tables from the book are included in the presentations when applicable.

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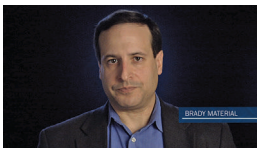
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Foundations: Development of American Policing and Police Officers

1 History: From English Origins to the United States

2 Preparing for the Street: Recruitment, Training, and Socialization

3 On Patrol: Methods and Menaces

In Part 1, the foci are on the foundations—that is, evolution and development—of policing. Chapter 1 traces policing in history, from its English origins through its migration to the United States; included are discussions of its striving for acceptance both here and abroad as well as its struggles (e.g., political influence, reform, and the civil rights movement in the United States) and transformations during this historical period. Chapter 2 charts the "making" of a police officer and begins by examining how common citizens are prepared for doing the work of policing: recruitment (to include the testing process used to discern whether one possesses the physical and psychological attributes that are sought), training (both during and after the recruit academy), and the different styles and roles of policing. Next, having hired and formed citizens into police officers, Chapter 3 takes the officers to the street, looking at the very fundamental (and at times, hazardous) function of patrolling and its purposes and nature; the variations in patrol work by shift, beat, and assignment; officers' use of discretion; and the traditional traffic function.

▲ Scranton (Pennsylvania) Bureau of Police prisoner transport vehicle, early 1900s. *(Arthur Miller/Alamy Stock Photo.)*

1   History

From English Origins to the United States

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, the student will be able to:

❶ *Explain the four major police-related offices and their functions during the early English and colonial periods*

❷ *Explain the old English and colonial systems of policing and their legacies*

❸ *Describe changes in policing in the nineteenth century in England and the United States*

❹ *Describe the political era of policing and list its major characteristics*

❺ *Describe the reform era of policing and list its major characteristics*

❻ *Describe the community era of policing and list its major characteristics*

Introduction

To understand contemporary policing in America, it is necessary to understand its antecedents; we will gain a better understanding of this history by looking at its three eras. The police, it has been said, are "to a great extent, the prisoners of the past. Day-to-day practices are influenced by deeply ingrained traditions."[1] Another reason for analyzing historical developments and trends is that several discrete legacies have been transmitted to modern police agencies. In view of the significant historical impact on modern policing, it is necessary to turn back the clock to about A.D. 900.

Therefore, we begin with a brief history of the evolution of four primary criminal justice officers—sheriff, constable, coroner, and justice of the peace—from early England to the twentieth century in America. We then examine policing from its early beginnings in England to the American colonial period, when volunteers watched over their "human flock." The concepts of patrol, crime prevention, authority, professionalism, and discretion can be traced to the colonial period. We move on to the adoption of full-time policing in American cities (beginning with what is termed the *political era*, with its predominant issues, political influences, and other problems) and on the Western frontier. Then we consider the reform (or professional) era, the movement to professionalize the police by removing them from politics (and, at the same time, the citizenry) and casting them as crime fighters; included here is a look at the tumultuous 1960s and 1970s, which often saw the police pitted against minority groups who were seeking equal rights. Next, we discuss the movement away from the professional model into the community era, centering on the influence of the President's Crime Commission; this portion of the chapter also briefly considers community-oriented policing and problem solving (discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 4). Included at the chapter's end are a summary, key terms, review questions, and several scenarios and activities that provide opportunities for you to learn by doing.

▶ English and Colonial Officers of the Law

All four of the primary criminal justice officials of early England—the sheriff, constable, coroner, and justice of the peace—either still exist or existed until recently in the United States. Accordingly, it is important to have a basic understanding of these offices. The following section therefore discusses each of these positions, first as they functioned in England and then as they appeared in the American colonies.

Sheriff

The word sheriff is derived from the term *shire reeve*—*shire* meaning "county" and *reeve* meaning "agent of the king." The shire reeve appeared in England before the Norman conquest of 1066. His job was to maintain law and order in the tithings. (Tithings will be discussed further in the next section.) The office survived in England, although the sheriff was never a popular officer in England, and since the nineteenth century the sheriff has had no police powers. When the office began, the sheriff assisted the king in fiscal, military, and judicial affairs and was referred to as the "king's steward." As men could buy their appointment from the Crown, the office was often held by nonresidents of the county who seemed

intent only upon fattening their purses and abusing the public. In addition, English sheriffs were often charged with being lazy in the pursuit of criminals. Indeed, by the late thirteenth century, sheriffs were forbidden to act as justices. The position of coroner was created to act as a monitor over the sheriff. Thereafter, the status and responsibility of the position began to diminish. In response, just before his death, King Edward I granted to the counties the right to select their sheriffs. With the subsequent appearance of the justice of the peace, the sheriff's office declined in power even further. At the present time in the UK, a sheriff's only duties are to act as officer of the court, summon juries, and enforce civil judgments.[2]

The first sheriffs in America appeared in the early colonial period, where control over sheriffs has rested with the county electorate since 1886. Today, the American sheriff remains the basic source of rural crime control. When the office appeared in the American colonies, it was little changed from the English model. However, the power of appointment was originally vested in the governor, and the sheriff's duties included apprehending criminals, caring for prisoners, executing civil process, conducting elections, and collecting taxes.[3]

In the late nineteenth century, the sheriff became a popular figure in the legendary Wild West (discussed later in this chapter). The frontier sheriffs often used the concept of *posse comitatus*, an important part of the criminal justice machine that allowed the sheriff to deputize common citizens to assist in the capture of outlaws, among other tasks. Overall, by the turn of the twentieth century the powers and duties of the sheriff in America had changed very little in status or function. In fact, the office has not changed much today.

Constable

Like the sheriff, the constable can be traced back to Anglo-Saxon times. The office began during the reign of Edward I, when every parish or township had a constable. As the county militia turned more and more to matters of defense, the constable alone pursued felons—hence the ancient custom of citizens raising a loud "hue and cry" and joining in pursuit of criminals lapsed into disuse. During the Middle Ages, there was as yet no high degree of specialization. The constable had a variety of duties, including collecting taxes, supervising highways, and serving as magistrate. The office soon became subject to election and was conferred upon local men of prominence. However, the creation of the office of justice of the peace around 1200 quickly changed this trend forever; soon the constable was limited to making arrests only with warrants issued by a justice of the peace. As a result, the office, deprived of social and civic prestige, was no longer attractive. It carried no salary, and the duties were often dangerous. In addition, there was heavy attrition in the office, so the constable's term was limited to one year in an attempt to attract officeholders; in 1856 Parliament completely discarded the office.[4]

The office of constable experienced a similar process of disintegration in the colonies. However, the American constables, usually two in each town, were given control over the night watch. By the 1930s, constitutions in twenty-one states provided for the office of constable, but constables still received no pay, and like their British colleagues they enjoyed little prestige or popularity after the early 1900s. The position fell into disfavor largely because most constables were untrained and were believed to be wholly inadequate as officials of the law.[5] In America today, constable offices still exist in many states, although their functions, powers, and jurisdictions vary significantly from place to place.

Coroner

The office of coroner is more difficult to describe. It has been used to fulfill many different roles throughout its history and has steadily changed over the centuries. There is no agreement concerning the date when the coroner first appeared in England, but there is general consensus that the office was functioning by the end of the twelfth century.
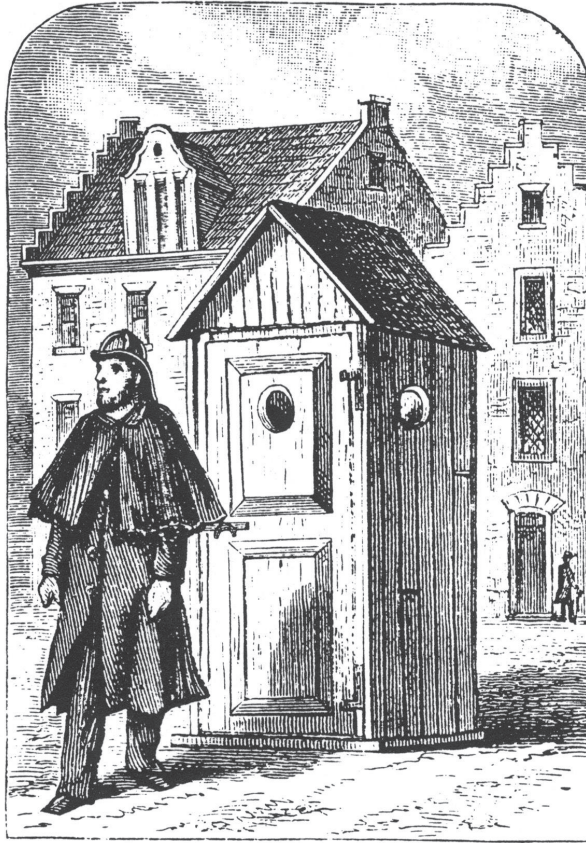
▲ Constables (also known as leatherheads because of their leather helmets) existed in every parish and township in England in the early 1800s, patrolling from scattered sentry boxes; they later existed in the early American colonies.

(Courtesy International Association of Chiefs of Police.)

From the beginning, the coroner was elected; his duties included oversight of the interests of the Crown, not only in criminal matters but also in fiscal matters. In felony cases, the coroner could conduct a preliminary hearing, and the sheriff often came to the coroner's court to preside over the coroner's jury. The coroner's inquest provided another means of power and prestige, determining the cause of death and the party responsible for it. Initially, coroners were elected for life. Soon becoming unhappy with the absence of compensation, however, eventually they were given the right to charge fees for their work.[6]

As was true of sheriffs and constables, at first the office of the coroner in America was only slightly different than what it had been in England. The office was slow in gaining recognition in America, as many of the coroners' duties were already being performed by the sheriffs and justices of the peace. By 1933, the coroner was recognized as a separate office in two-thirds of the states. Tenure was generally limited to two years. By then, however, the office had been stripped of many of its original functions, especially its fiscal roles. In many states, the coroner legally served as sheriff when the elected sheriff was disabled or disqualified. However, since the early part of the twentieth century, the coroner in the 2,000 coroners' offices in the United States has basically performed a single function: determining the causes of all deaths by violence or under suspicious circumstances. The coroner or his or her

assistant is expected to determine the causes and effects of wounds, lesions, contusions, fractures, poisons, and more. The coroner's inquest resembles a grand jury at which the coroner serves as a kind of presiding magistrate. If the inquest determines that the deceased came to his or her death through criminal means, the coroner may issue a warrant for the arrest of the accused party.[7]

The primary debate regarding the office of coroner has centered on the qualifications needed to hold the office. Many states have traditionally allowed laypeople, as opposed to physicians, to be coroners. Thus, people of all backgrounds—ranging from butchers to musicians—have occupied this powerful office.[8]

Justice of the Peace

The justice of the peace (JP) can be traced back as far as 1195 in England. By 1264 the *custos pacis*, or conservator of the peace, nominated by the king for each county, presided over criminal trials. Early JPs were wealthy landholders. They allowed constables to make arrests by issuing them warrants. Over time, this practice removed power from constables and sheriffs. By the sixteenth century, the office came under criticism because of the caliber of the people holding it. Officeholders were often referred to as "boobies" and "scum of the earth."[9] The only qualification necessary was being a wealthy landowner who was able to buy his way into office.

By the early twentieth century, England had abolished the property-holding requirement, and many of the medieval functions of the JP's office were removed. Thereafter, the office possessed extensive but strictly criminal jurisdiction, with no jurisdiction whatsoever in civil cases. This contrasts with the American system, which gives JPs limited jurisdiction in both criminal and civil cases.

The JP's office in the colonies was a distinct change from the position as it existed in England. JPs were elected to office and given jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases. By 1930, the office had constitutional status in all of the states. JPs have long been allowed to collect fees for their services. As in England, it is typically not necessary to hold a law degree or to have pursued legal studies in order to be a JP in the United States.[10]

▲ Justice of the Peace Roy Bean, Langtry, Texas, about 1900. *(Courtesy Library of Congress. Prints and Digital Photographs.)*

Perhaps the most colorful JP was Roy Bean, popularized in film as the sole peace officer in a 35,000-square-mile area west of the Pecos River, near Langtry, Texas. Bean was known to hold court in his shack, where signs hung on the front porch proclaimed, "Justice Roy Bean, Notary Public," "Law West of the Pecos," and "Beer Saloon." Cold beer and the law undoubtedly shared many quarters on the Western frontier.

JPs are today what they perhaps were intended to be—lay and inexpert upholders of the law. On the whole, the office has declined from high prestige to relative obscurity. As one observer noted, this loss of prestige can never be recovered.[11]

▶ The Old English and Colonial Systems of Policing

Old English Traditions

Like much of the American criminal justice system, modern American policing can be traced directly to its English heritage. Ideas concerning community policing, crime prevention, the posse, constables, and sheriffs were developed from English policing. Beginning about A.D. 900, the role of law enforcement was placed in the hands of common citizens. Each citizen was responsible for aiding neighbors who might be victimized by outlaws.[12] No formal mechanism existed with which to police the villages, and the informal voluntary model that developed was referred to as "kin police."[13] Slowly this model developed into a more formalized community-based system.

After the Norman conquest of 1066, a community-based system called "frankpledge" was established. This system required that every male above the age of twelve form a group with nine of his neighbors. This group, called a tithing, was sworn to help protect fellow citizens and to apprehend and deliver to justice any of its members who committed a crime. Tithingmen were not paid salaries for their work, and they were required to perform certain duties under penalty of law.[14] Ten tithings were grouped into a hundred, directed by a constable who was appointed by a nobleman. The constable was the first police official with law enforcement responsibility greater than simply protecting his neighbors. As the tithings were grouped into hundreds, the hundreds were grouped into shires, which are similar to today's counties.

By the late sixteenth century, however, wealthier merchants and farmers became reluctant to take their turn in the rotating job of constable. The office was still unpaid, and the duties were numerous. Wealthier men paid the less fortunate to serve in their place until there came a point at which no one but the otherwise unemployable would serve as constable. Thus, from about 1689 on, the demise of the once-powerful office was swift. All who could afford to pay their way out of service as constable to King George I did so.[15]

Meanwhile, the JP was rewarded in proportion to the number of people he convicted, so extortion was rampant. Ingenious criminals were able to exploit this state of affairs to great advantage. One such criminal was Jonathan Wild, who, in the early 1700s obtained single-handed control over most of London's criminals. Wild's system was simple: After ordering his men to commit a burglary, he would meet the victim and courteously offer to return the stolen goods for a commission. That he could have operated such a business for so long is a testimony to the corrupt nature of the magistrates of the "trading justice" period.[16]

This early English system, in large measure voluntary and informal, continued with some success well into the eighteenth century. By 1800, however, the collapse of its two primary offices and the growth of large cities, crime, and civil disobedience required that the system be changed. The British Parliament was soon forced to consider and adopt a more dependable system.

Policing in Colonial America

The first colonists transplanted the English policing system, with all of its virtues and faults, to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America. Most of the time, the colonies were free of crime as the settlers busied themselves carving out a farm and a living. Occasionally, colonists ran afoul of the law by violating or neglecting some moral obligation. They then found themselves in court for working on the Sabbath, cursing in public, failing to pen animals properly, or begetting children out of wedlock. Only two "crime waves" of note occurred during the seventeenth century, both in Massachusetts. In one case, between 1656 and 1665, Quakers who dared challenge the religion of the Puritan colony were whipped, banished, and, in three instances, hanged. The second "crime wave" involved witchcraft. Several alleged witches were hanged in 1692 in Salem; dozens more languished in prison before the hysteria abated.[17]

Once colonists settled into villages, including Boston (1630), Charleston (1680), and Philadelphia (1682), local ordinances provided for the appointment of constables, whose duties were much like those of their English predecessors. County governments, again drawing on English precedent, appointed sheriffs as well. The county sheriff, appointed by a governor, became the most important law enforcement official, particularly when the colonies were small and rural. The sheriff apprehended criminals, served subpoenas, appeared in court, and collected taxes. The sheriff was also paid a fixed amount for each task performed; the more taxes he collected, for example, the higher his pay.[18]

Criminal acts were so infrequent as to be largely ignored. Service as a constable or watchman was obligatory, and for a few years citizens did not seem to mind this duty. But as towns grew and the task of enforcing the laws became more difficult and time consuming, the colonists, like their English counterparts, began to evade the duty when possible. The "watch-and-ward" responsibility of citizens became more of a comical "snooze-and-snore" system. New Amsterdam's Dutch officials introduced a paid watch in 1658, and Boston tried the concept in 1663, but the expense quickly forced both cities to discontinue the practice.[19]

Unfortunately for the colonists, their refusal to provide a dependable voluntary policing system came at a time when economic, population, and crime growth required a reliable police force. The citizen-participation model of policing was breaking down, and something had to be done, especially in the larger colonies. Philadelphia devised a plan, enacted into law, restructuring the way the watch was performed. The law empowered officials, called wardens, to hire as many watchmen as needed; the powers of the watch were increased; and the legislature levied a tax to pay for it. Instead of requiring all males to participate, only male citizens interested in making money needed to join the watch. Philadelphia's plan was moderately successful, and other cities were soon inspired to follow its example and offer tax-supported wages for watches.[20]

From the middle to the late eighteenth century, massive social and political unrest caused police problems to increase even more. From 1754 to 1763, the French and Indian War disrupted colonial society. In 1783, after the American Revolution had ended, property and street crime continued to flourish, and the constabulary and the watches were unable to cope with it. Soon it became evident that, like the English, the American people needed a more dependable, formal system of policing.

Legacies of the Colonial Period

As uncomplicated and sedate as colonial law enforcement seems, especially when compared to contemporary police problems, the colonial period is very important to the history of policing because many of the basic ideas that influence modern policing were developed during that era. Specifically, the colonial period transmitted three legacies to contemporary policing.[21]

▲ Engraving of the Bow Street Runners (circa 1800), forerunners of modern police. *(M&N / Alamy Stock Photo.)*

First, as just discussed, the colonists committed themselves to local (as opposed to centralized) policing. Second, the colonists reinforced that commitment by creating a theory of government called republicanism. Republicanism asserted that power can be divided, and it relied on local interests to promote the general welfare. Police chiefs and sheriffs might believe that they alone know how to address crime and disorder, but under republicanism, neighborhood groups and local interest blocs have input with respect to crime-control policy. Republicanism thus established the controversial political framework within which the police would develop during the next 200 years.[22]

Finally, the colonial period witnessed the onset of the theory of crime prevention. This legacy would alter the shape of policing after 1800 and would eventually lead to the emergence of modern police agencies.

The population of England had doubled between 1700 and 1800. Parliament, however, had done nothing to solve the problems that arose from social change. Each municipality or county, therefore, was left to solve its problems in piecemeal fashion. After 1750, practically every English city increased the number of watchmen and constables, hoping to address the problem of crime and disorder but not giving any thought to whether this ancient system of policing still worked. However, the cities did adopt paid, rather than voluntary, watches.[23]

London probably suffered the most from this general inattention to social problems; awash in crime, whole districts had become criminal haunts that no watchmen visited and no honest citizens frequented. Thieves became very bold, robbing their victims in broad daylight on busy streets. In the face of this situation, English officials still continued to prefer the existing policing arrangements over any new ideas. However, three men—Henry Fielding, his half brother John Fielding, and Patrick Colquhoun—began to experiment with possible solutions and laid the foundation on which later reformers would build new ideas.

Henry Fielding's acute interest in, and knowledge of, policing led to his 1748 appointment as chief magistrate of Bow Street in London. He soon became one of England's most acclaimed theorists in the area of crime and punishment. Fielding's primary argument was that the severity of the English penal code, which provided for the death penalty for a large number of offenses, including the theft of a handkerchief, did not work in controlling criminals. He believed the country should reform the criminal code to deal more with the origins

of crime. In 1750, Fielding made the pursuit of criminals more systematic by creating a small group of "thief takers." Victims of crime paid handsome rewards for the capture of their assailants, so these volunteers stood to profit nicely by pursuing criminals.[24]

When Henry Fielding died in 1754, John Fielding succeeded him as Bow Street magistrate. By 1785, his thief takers had evolved into the Bow Street Runners—some of the most famous police in English history. While the Fieldings were considering how to create a police force that could deal with changing English society, horrible punishments and incompetent policing continued throughout England.

Patrick Colquhoun was a wealthy man who was sincerely interested in improving social conditions in England. In 1792, Colquhoun was appointed London magistrate, and for the next quarter of a century he focused on police reform. Like the Fieldings, he wrote lengthy treatises on the police, and he soon established himself as an authority on police reform. Colquhoun believed that government could, and should, regulate people's behavior. This notion contradicted tradition and even constitutional ideals, undermining the old principle that the residents of local communities, through voluntary watchmen and constables, should police the conduct of their neighbors. Colquhoun also endorsed three ideas originally set forth by the Fieldings: (1) the police should have an intelligence service for gathering information about offenders; (2) a register of known criminals and unlawful groups should be maintained; and (3) a police gazette should be published to assist in the apprehension of criminals and to promote the moral education of the public by publicizing punishments such as whipping, the pillory, and public execution. To justify these reforms, Colquhoun estimated that London in 1800 had 10,000 thieves, prostitutes, and other criminals who stole goods valued at more than a half million pounds from the riverside docks alone.[25]

Colquhoun also believed that policing should maintain the public order, prevent and detect crime, and correct bad manners and morals. He did not agree with the centuries-old notion that watchmen—who, after all, were amateurs—could adequately police the communities. Thus, Colquhoun favored a system of paid professional police officers who would be recruited and maintained by a centralized governmental authority. Colquhoun believed that potential criminals could be identified before they did their unlawful deeds.[26] Thus began the notion of proactive policing—that is, preventing the crime before it occurs. Colquhoun died before his proposals were adopted, and as the eighteenth century ended, the structure of policing in England and America was largely unchanged. However, both nations had experienced the inadequacies of the older form of policing. Although new ideas had emerged, loyalties to the old system of policing would remain for some time.

▶ Police Reform in England

Two powerful trends in England (and later in the United States) brought about changes in policing in the early and mid-nineteenth century. The first was urbanization, and the second was industrialization. These developments generally increased the standard of living for western Europeans. Suddenly, factories needed sober, dependable people who could be trusted with machines. To create a reliable workforce, factory owners began advocating temperance. Clearly, a new age, a new way of thinking, had begun. Crime also increased during this period. Thus, social change, crime, and unrest made the old system of policing obsolete. A new policing system was needed, one that could deal effectively with criminals, maintain order, and prevent crime.[27]

England began witnessing food riots (due to food scarcity and high prices) and increases in crime. The British army, traditionally used to disperse rioters, was becoming less effective as people began resisting its commands. In 1822, England's ruling party, the Tories, moved to consider new alternatives. The prime minister appointed Sir Robert Peel to establish a police

▲ Sir Robert Peel. *(Courtesy Library of Congress Prints and Digital Photographs [LC-USZ62-96480].)*

force to combat the problems. Peel, a wealthy member of Parliament who was familiar with the reforms suggested by the Fieldings and Colquhoun, found that many English people objected to the idea of a professional police force, thinking it a possible restraint on their liberty. They also feared a stronger police organization because the criminal law was already quite harsh, as it had been for many years. By the early nineteenth century, there were 223 crimes in England for which a person could be hanged. Because of these two obstacles, Peel's efforts to gain support for full-time, paid police officers failed for seven years.[28]

Peel finally succeeded in 1829. He had established a base of support in Parliament and had focused on reforming only the metropolitan police of London rather than trying to create policing for the entire country. Peel submitted a bill to Parliament. This bill, which was very vague about details, was called "An Act for Improving the Police in and Near the Metropolis." Parliament passed the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829. The General Instructions of the new force stressed its preventive nature, specifying that "the principal object to be attained is 'the prevention of crime.' The security of person and property will thus be better effected, than by the detection and punishment of the offender after he has succeeded in committing the crime."[29] The act called on the home secretary to appoint two police commissioners to command the new organization. These two men were to recruit "a sufficient number of fit and able men" as constables.[30] Peel chose a former military colonel, Charles Rowan, as one commissioner, and a barrister (attorney), Richard Mayne, as the other. They divided London into seventeen divisions, using crime data as the primary basis for creating the boundaries. Each division had a commander called a superintendent; each superintendent had a force of four inspectors, sixteen sergeants, and one hundred and sixty-five constables. Thus, London's Metropolitan Police immediately consisted of nearly 3,000 officers. The commissioners

decided to put their constables in a uniform (a blue coat, blue pants, and a black top hat) and to arm them only with a short baton (known as a "truncheon") and a rattle for raising an alarm. The choice of a blue coat and a baton was a calculated decision, meant to clearly distinguish the police from the British military (who wore red coats and who were trained with firearms). Each constable was also to wear his own identifying number on his collar, where it could be easily seen.[31]

Interestingly, the London police (nicknamed "bobbies" after Sir Robert Peel) quickly met with tremendous public hostility. Wealthy people resented their very existence and became particularly incensed at their attempts to control the movements of their horse-drawn coaches. Several aristocrats ordered their coachmen to whip the officers or simply drive over them. Juries and judges refused to punish those who assaulted the police. Defendants acquitted by a hostile judge would often sue the officer for false arrest. Policing London's streets in the early 1830s proved to be a very dangerous and lonely business. The two commissioners, Rowan and Mayne, fearing that public hostility might kill off the police force, moved to counter it. The bobbies were continually told to be respectful yet firm when dealing with the
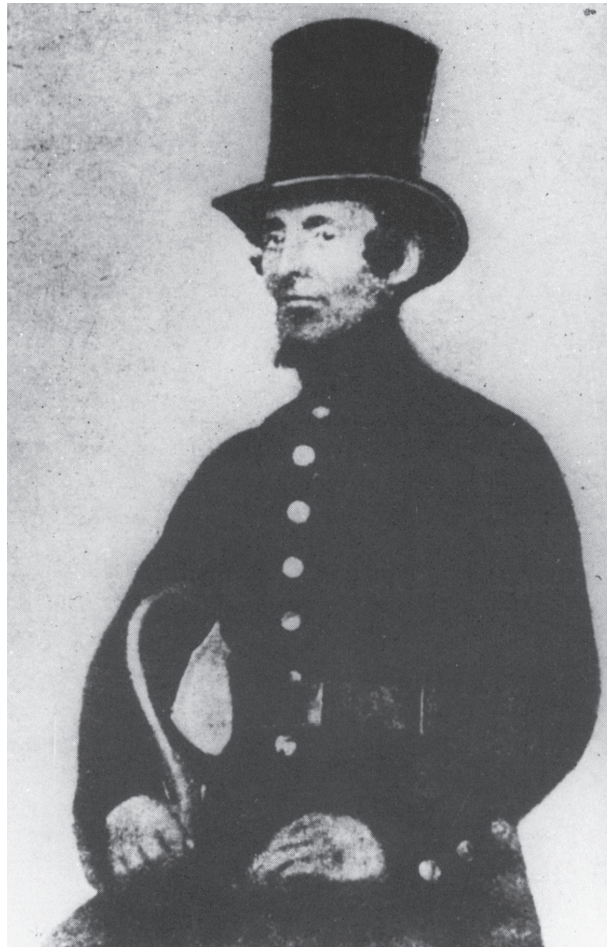
▲ A "Peeler," c. 1829. "Peeler," "Robert," and "Bobby" were all early names for a police officer, the latter remaining as a nickname today. *(Courtesy IACP National Law Enforcement Policy Center.)*

public. Citizens were invited to lodge complaints if their officers were truly unprofessional. This policy of creating public support gradually worked; as the police became more moderate in their conduct, public hostility also declined.[32]

Peel, too, proved to be very farsighted and keenly aware of the needs of both a professional police force and the public that would be asked to maintain it. Indeed, Peel saw that the poor quality of policing contributed to social disorder. Accordingly, he drafted several guidelines for the force, many of which focused on community relations. He wrote that the power of the police to fulfill their duties depended on public approval of their actions; that as public cooperation increased, the need for physical force by the police would decrease; that officers needed to display absolutely impartial service to law; and that force should be employed by the police only when attempts at persuasion and warning had failed, and then they should use only the minimal degree of force possible. Peel's remark that "the police are the public, and the public are the police" emphasized his belief that the police are first and foremost members of the larger society.[33]

During this initial five-year period, Peel endured the largest police turnover rate in history. Estimates vary widely, but the following is thought to be fairly accurate: 1,341 constables resigned from London's Metropolitan Police from 1829 to 1834; that's roughly half of the constables on the force. The pay of three shillings a day was meager, and probably few of the officers ever considered the position as a career.[34]

Peel proved very prescient, giving his early police practitioners a number of **principles of policing** that even today prove relevant to the policing community. As examples, Peel argued early on that the police should be organized along military lines and under governmental control—certainly two facets of modern policing that are prevalent. He also believed that the distribution of crime news is absolutely essential, and that police should not be deployed in willy-nilly fashion, but rather based on activities and calls for service as dictated by time and area. Peel recognized as well that police officers must be able to control their temper, present a good appearance, be properly hired and trained (and sent out on the streets only after satisfactorily completing a probationary period), and be identifiable with a badge number. He believed that the public should have easy access to police headquarters—which must be centrally located and contain excellent records. His principles also expressed the belief that crime *prevention* was as important as crime *suppression*, and that public approval of police actions is paramount. Indeed, he argued that the very authority given to the police is dependent on the public's approval of their existence, actions, and behavior. Furthermore, Peel included a principle that, again in a very foresighted manner, stands at the heart of today's community policing and problem-solving era: The police must always recognize that they require the willing cooperation of the public if there is to be public observance of laws. This principle stands today as one of the hallmarks of Peel's viewpoints, underscoring his aforementioned, classical statement that "the police are the public, and the public are the police." And, in keeping with that directive, Peel noted that the need for the police to exercise force will *decrease*, as public cooperation *increases*. Indeed, Peel appeared to be quite apprehensive concerning the use of force by police, arguing that such force should be employed only as a last resort—when the officer's powers of persuasion, warning, and so on failed to secure public compliance. Moreover, Peel maintained that the police should be impartial in their enforcement of the laws, without regard to one's wealth or public standing.[35]

Note that Peel's emphasis is on the *prevention* of crime. Peel felt that all efforts of the police were to be directed toward that end, and all other work of the police flowed from attempting to prevent crimes from occurring: the security of person and property, the preservation of the public tranquility, and ultimately the arrest, conviction, and punishment of those who in fact commit crimes. By the same token, Peel is implying that when many offenses are committed in a given area, police leaders and planners must recognize that their efforts are lacking in that locus and must govern their actions accordingly.

Also note that Peel's principles of 1829 relate very closely to the tenets of community policing—the current era of policing. Peel observed that the police are situated to proactively curb criminal activity and to provide order in the community, are no different from the people they are to serve, and should be visible in the community and interact with its citizens.

If Peel could speak today, however, he would likely indicate great displeasure with both the political and the reform (professional) eras of policing that came to pass in the United States (discussed later) because their motives and practices served to move the police away from his views of policing and into directions that were in opposition to his nine principles.

▶ Policing Comes to the United States

The English experiment with policing was not going unnoticed in the United States, where Peel's experiments with the bobbies were being closely watched. However, while different regions of the United States had developed various enforcement methods (see, for example, Exhibit 1-1 ■), industrialization and social upheaval had not reached the proportions here that they had in England, so there was not the same urgency for full-time policing. Yet by the 1840s, when industrialization began in earnest in America, U.S. officials began to watch the

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Exhibit 1-1

SOUTHERN SLAVE PATROLS

States relied on an assortment of ways to enforce laws prior to the development of modern police departments in America. Many of these methods were informal, disorganized, and often relied on citizen volunteers, but others were more formal in nature. The Southern slave patrols are an example of a formalized system of enforcement created for a specific purpose. From the time Dutch slave ships began to bring slaves to the U.S. colonies as early as 1670, colonists began attempting to control slaves. The "slave codes" of the day defined slaves as mere property of their masters who were indentured for life; slaves were valuable property, and thus slave masters were given the right to control their "property" through discipline and punishment.

Slave patrols were a legal mechanism for enforcing these codes; as a formal means of social control, particularly in rural areas of the Southern colonies, these patrols were to maintain the institution of slavery as well as capture runaway slaves and protect the white majority from slave uprisings and crimes. Members of such patrols in South Carolina and other states could enter the home of anyone—black or white—that was suspected of harboring slaves who were runaways or had violated the law.[36]

According to Phillip Reichel, the first such patrol was probably organized as a special enforcement arm in South Carolina in 1704.[37] Slave patrols were not a police service in the way we think of police today, but instead functioned "with specific responsibility for regulating the activity of slaves."[38] Slave patrols often worked in combination with local militias and, although generally small in size, were well armed and often visited plantations where they were allowed to flog slaves who were violating the codes.[39] Indeed, the right of patrols to administer such punishment existed in a number of states: patrols in Georgia, Arkansas, and South Carolina could administer twenty lashes, while North Carolina, Tennessee, and Mississippi permitted fifteen lashes.[40] Any hopes held by slaves for a better life were no doubt dashed—and the existence of slave patrols no doubt enhanced—by the infamous 1857 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Scott* v. *Sanford*, in which a slave named Dred Scott was in effect told that he could not sue for his freedom: he was mere "property" and had no rights which white men needed to respect.

In sum, while very different from modern-day policing in America, Southern slave patrols can be said to represent an early form of organized, state-sponsored enforcement.

TABLE 1-1   The Three Eras of Policing

	Political Era (1840s to 1930s)	Reform Era (1930s to 1980s)	Community Era (1980s to Present)
Authorization	Politics and law	Law and professionalism	Community support (political), law, and professionalism
Function	Broad social services	Crime control	Broad provision of services
Organizational design	Decentralized	Centralized and classical	Decentralized using task forces and matrices
Relationship to community	Intimate	Professional and remote	Intimate
Tactics and technology	Foot patrol	Preventive patrol and rapid response to calls	Foot patrol, problem solving, and public relations
Outcome	Citizen and political satisfaction	Crime control	Quality of life and citizen satisfaction

Source: Adapted from *The Evolving Strategies of Policing*, Perspectives on Policing by George L. Kelling and Mark H. Moore, U.S. Department of Justice.

police reform movement in England more closely. Eventually, of course, policing would become entrenched in America and evolve through three full eras: political, reform, and community (see Table 1-1 ■).

▶ The Political Era: 1840s to 1930s

Imitating Peel

When the movement to improve policing did begin in America in the 1840s, it occurred in New York City. (Philadelphia, with a private bequest of $33,000, actually began a paid day-time police force in 1833; however, it was disbanded three years later.) The police reform movement had actually begun in New York in 1836, when the mayor advocated a new police organization that could deal with civil disorder. The city council denied the mayor's request, saying that, instead, citizens should simply aid one another in combating crime.

Efforts at police reform thus stayed dormant until 1841, when a highly publicized murder case resurrected the issue, showing again the incompetence of the officers under the old system of policing. Mary Cecilia Rogers left her New York home one day and disappeared; three days later, her body was discovered in the Hudson River. The public and newspapers clamored for the police to solve the crime. The police appeared unwilling to investigate until an adequate reward was offered.[41] Edgar Allan Poe's 1850 short story "The Mystery of Marie Roget" was based on this case. The Rogers case and the police response did more to encourage police reorganization than all of the previous cries for change. Thus began the political era of policing.

In 1844, the New York State legislature passed a law establishing a full-time preventive police force for New York City. However, this new body came into being in a very different form than in Europe. The American version, as begun in New York City, was deliberately placed under the control of the city government and city politicians. The American plan required that each ward in the city be a separate patrol district, unlike the European model, which divided the districts along the lines of criminal activity. The process for selecting officers was also different. The mayor chose the recruits from a list of names submitted by the aldermen and tax assessors of each ward; the mayor then submitted his choices to the city council for approval. This system adhered to the principles of republicanism and resulted in most of the power over the police going to the ward aldermen, who were seldom concerned about selecting the best people for the job. Instead, the system allowed and even encouraged political patronage and rewards for friends.[42]

The law also provided for the hiring of 800 officers—not nearly enough to cover the city—and for the hiring of a chief of police, who had no power to hire officers, assign them to duties, or fire them. Furthermore, the law did not require the officers to wear uniforms; instead, they were to carry a badge or other emblem for identification. Citizens would be hard-pressed to recognize an officer when they needed one. As a result of the law, New York's officers would be patrolling a beat around the clock, and pay scales were high enough to attract good applicants. At the same time, the position of constable was dissolved. Overall, these were important reforms over the old system and provided the basis for continued improvements that the public supported.[43]

It did not take long for other cities to adopt the general model of the New York City police force. New Orleans and Cincinnati adopted plans for a new police force in 1852, Boston and Philadelphia followed in 1854, Chicago in 1855, and Baltimore and Newark in 1857.[44] By 1880, virtually every major American city had a police force based on Peel's model.

Early Issues and Traditions

Three important issues confronted these early American police officers as they took to the streets between 1845 and 1869: whether the police should be in uniform, whether they should be armed, and whether they should use force.

The issue of a police uniform was important for several reasons. First, the lack of a uniform negated one of the basic principles of crime prevention—that police officers be visible. Crime victims wanted to find a police officer in a hurry. Further, uniforms would make it difficult for officers to avoid their duties since it would strip them of their anonymity. Interestingly, police officers themselves tended to prefer not to wear a uniform. They contended that the uniform would hinder their work because criminals would recognize them and flee and that the uniform was demeaning and would destroy their sense of manliness and democracy. One officer went so far as to argue that the sun reflecting off his badge would warn criminals of his approach; another officer hired an attorney and threatened to sue if he were compelled to don a uniform. To remedy the problem, New York City officials took advantage of the fact that their officers served four-year terms of office; when those terms expired in 1853, the city's police commissioners announced they would not rehire any officer who refused to wear a uniform. Thus, New York became the first American city with a uniformed police force. It was followed in 1860 by Philadelphia, where there was also strong police objection to the policy. In Boston (1858) and Chicago (1861), police accepted the adoption of uniforms more easily.[45]

A more serious issue confronting politicians and the new police officers was the carrying of arms. At stake was the personal safety of the officers and the citizens they served. Nearly everyone viewed an armed police force with considerable suspicion. However, after some surprisingly calm objections by members of the public, who noted that the London police had no need to bear arms, it was agreed that an armed police force was unavoidable. Of course, America had a long tradition that citizens had the right—sometimes even the duty—to own firearms. And armed only with nightsticks, the new police could hardly withstand attacks by armed assailants. The public allowed officers to carry arms simply because there was no alternative, which was a significant change in American policing and a major point of departure from the English model. Practically from the first day, then, the American police have been much more open to the idea of carrying weapons.[46]

Eventually the use of force, the third issue, would become necessary and commonplace for American officers. Indeed, the uncertainty about whether an offender was armed perpetuated the need for an officer to rely on physical prowess for survival on the streets. The issue of use of force will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

Attempts at Reform in Difficult Times

By 1850, American police officers still faced a difficult task. In addition to maintaining order and coping with vice and crime, they would, soon after putting on the uniform, be separated from their old associates and viewed with suspicion by most citizens.

With few exceptions, the work was steady, and layoffs were uncommon. The nature of the work and the possibility of a retirement pension tied officers closely to their jobs and their colleagues. By 1850, there was a surplus of unskilled labor, particularly in the major eastern cities. The desire for economic security was reason enough for many able-bodied men to try to enter police service. New York City, for example, paid its police officers about twice as much as unskilled laborers could earn. Police departments had about twice as many applicants as positions. The system of political patronage prevailed in most cities, even after civil service laws attempted to introduce merit systems for hiring police.[47]

In New York, the police reform board was headed by Theodore Roosevelt, who sought applications for the department from residents in upstate areas. When these officers, later called bushwhackers, were appointed, they were criticized by disgruntled Tammanyites (corrupt New York City politicians) who favored the political patronage system. The Tammanyites complained that the bushwhackers "could not find their way to a single station house."[48] Roosevelt's approach violated the American tradition of hiring local boys for local jobs.[49] Citizens saw these new uniformed anomalies as people who wanted to spoil their fun or close their saloons on Sunday.
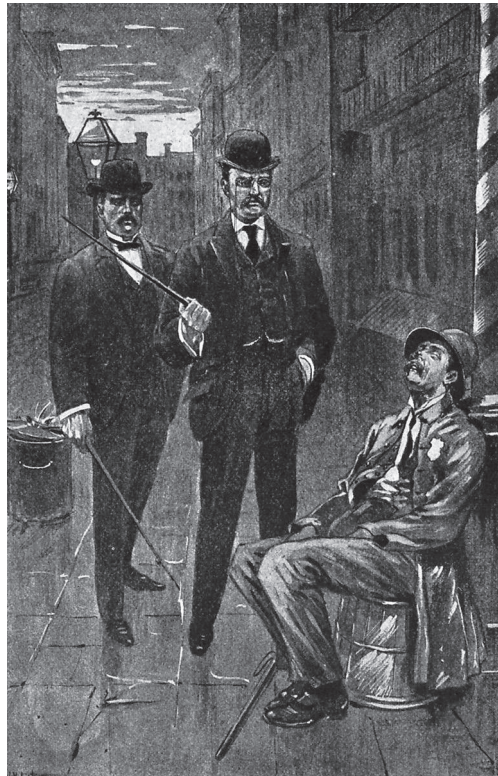
▲ 1895 depiction of Police Commissioner Theodore Roosevelt catching a police officer asleep while on duty. *(Gado Images/Alamy Stock Photo.)*

Tradition became the most important determinant of police behavior: A major teaching tool was the endless string of war stories the recruit heard, and the emphasis in most departments was on doing things as they had always been done. Innovation was frowned upon, and the veterans impressed on the rookies the reasons why things had to remain the same.[50] The police officers of the late nineteenth century were kept busy with riots, strikes, parades, and fires. These events often made for hostile interaction between citizens and the police. Labor disputes often meant long hours of extra duty for the officers, for which no extra pay was received. This, coupled with the fact that the police did not engage in collective bargaining, resulted in the police having little empathy or identification with strikers or strikebreakers. Therefore, the use of the baton to put down riots, known as the "baton charge," was not uncommon.[51]

During the late nineteenth century, large cities gradually became more orderly places. The number of riots dropped. In the post–Civil War period, however, ethnic group conflict sometimes resulted in individual and group acts of violence and disorder. Hatred of Catholics and Irish Protestants led to the killing and wounding of over one hundred people in large eastern cities. Still, American cities were more orderly in 1900 than they had been in 1850. The possibility of violence involving labor disputes remained, and race riots increased in number and intensity after 1900, but daily urban life became more predictable and controlled. And then American cities absorbed millions of newcomers after 1900.[52]

Increased Politics and Corruption

A more developed urban life also promoted order. Work groups and social clusters provided a sense of integration and belonging. Immigrants established benefit societies, churches, synagogues, and social clubs. Irish Americans constituted a heavy proportion of the police departments by the 1890s; they made up more than one-fourth of the New York City police force as early as the 1850s. Huge proportions of Irish officers were also found in Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, and San Francisco.[53]
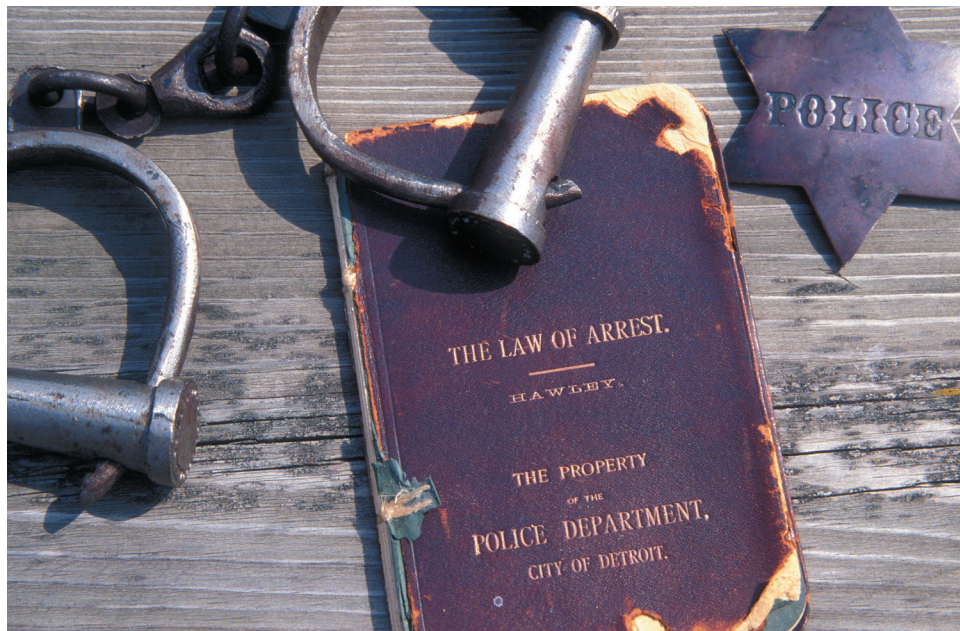
▲ Turn-of-the-century police equipment. *(Courtesy International Association of Chiefs of Police.)*

Ethnic and religious disputes were found in many police departments. In Cleveland, for example, Catholics and Masons distrusted one another, while in New York, the Irish officers controlled many hirings and promotions. And there were still strong political influences at work. Politics were played to such an extent that even nonranking patrol officers used political backers to obtain promotions, desired assignments, and transfers.

Police corruption also surfaced at this time. Corrupt officers wanted beats close to the gamblers, saloonkeepers, madams, and pimps—people who could not operate if the officers were "untouchable" or "100 percent coppers."[54] Political pull for corrupt officers could work for or against them; the officer who incurred the wrath of his superiors could be transferred to the outposts, where he would have no chance for financial advancement.

In New York, officers routinely committed perjury to protect one another against civilian complaints. An early form of "internal affairs" thus developed in the 1890s: the "shoofly," a plainclothes officer who checked on the performance of the patrol officers. When Theodore Roosevelt served as police commissioner in New York, he frequently made clandestine trips to the beats to check on his officers; any malingerers found in the saloons were summoned to headquarters in the morning.[55]

Meanwhile, on the American Frontier . . .

While large cities in the East were struggling to overcome social problems and establish preventive police forces, the western half of America was anything but passive. Many historians believe that the true character of Americans developed on the frontier. Rugged individualism, independence, and simplicity of manners and behavior lent dignity to American life.

Most Americans are fascinated by this period of police history, a time when heroic marshals engaged in gunfights in Dodge City and other wild cowboy towns. But this period is also riddled with exaggerated legends and half-truths. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the absence of government created a confusing variety of forms of policing in the West. Large parts of the West were under federal control, some had been organized into states, and still others were under American Indian control, at least on

Career Profile

Name: Francis O'Neill, Chicago

Position: Chief of Police, Chicago, Illinois, 1903

The watchman of a century ago with his lantern and staff who called out the passing hours in stentorian tones during the night is now but a tradition. He has been succeeded by a uniformed constabulary and police who carry arms and operate under semi-
military discipline. The introduction of electricity as a means of communication between stations was the first notable advance in the improvement of police methods. I remember the time when the manipulation of the dial telegraph by the station keeper while sending messages excited the greatest wonder and admiration. The adoption of the Morse system of telegraphy was a long step forward and proved of great advantage. In 1876, all desk sergeants were required to take up the immediate study of the Morse "Code" . . . Scarcely one-fourth of them became proficient before modern science, advancing in leaps and bounds, brought forth that still more modern miracle—the telephone. Less than one-quarter century ago, the policeman on post had no aid from science in communicating with his station or in securing assistance in case of need. When required by duty to care for the sick and injured or to remove a dead body, an appeal to the owner of some suitable vehicle was his only resource. These were desperate times for policemen in a hostile country with unpaved streets. The patrol wagon and signal service have affected a revolution in police methods. The forward stride from the lanterned night watch, with staff, to the uniformed and disciplined police officer of the present, equipped with telegraph, telephone, signal service, and the Bertillon system of identification
(discussed in Chapter 5), is indeed an interesting one to contemplate.

paper. Law enforcement was performed largely by federal marshals and their deputies. Once a state was created within a territory, its state legislature had the power to attempt to deal with crime by appointing county sheriffs. Otherwise, there was no uniform method for attempting to control the problems of the West.

When the people left the wagon trains and their relatively law-abiding ways, they attempted to live together in communities. Many different ethnic groups—Anglo-Americans, Mexicans, Chinese, American Indian, freed African Americans, Australians, Scandinavians, and others—competed for often scarce resources and fought one another violently, often with mob attacks. Economic conflicts were frequent between cattlemen and sheepherders, and they often led to major range wars. There was constant labor strife in the mines. The bitterness of slavery remained, and many men with firearms skills learned during the Civil War turned to outlawry after leaving the service. (Jesse James was one such person.) In spite of these difficulties, westerners did manage to establish peace by relying on a combination of four groups who assumed responsibility for law enforcement: private citizens, U.S. marshals, businessmen, and town officials.[56]

Private companies, such as the Pinkerton National Detective Agency, played an important role in frontier regions as they were often contracted to provide security or fugitive apprehension services. Private citizens also helped to enforce the law by joining a posse, offering services for a fee (such as bounty hunting), or otherwise making individual efforts. An example of citizen policing was the formation of vigilante committees. Between 1849 and 1902, there were two hundred and ten vigilante movements in the United States, most of them in California.[57] While throughout history many vigilante groups have practiced "informal justice" by illegally taking the law into their own hands, breaking the law with violence and force, they also performed valuable work by ridding their communities of dangerous criminals. The Career Profile that is presented is an essay written at the dawn of the twentieth century and reflects the changes in technologies and methods of that era.

Federal marshals were created by congressional legislation in 1789. As marshals began to appear on the frontier, the vigilantes tended to disappear. The marshals enforced federal laws, so they had no jurisdiction over matters not involving a federal offense. They could act only in cases involving theft of mail, crimes against railroad property, murder on federal lands (much of the West was federal property for many decades), and a few other crimes. Their primary responsibility was in civil matters arising from federal court decisions. Federal marshals obtained their office through political appointment; therefore, they did not need any prior experience and were politically indebted. Initially, they received no salary but were instead compensated with fees and rewards. Because chasing outlaws did not pay as much as serving civil process papers, the marshals tended to prefer the more lucrative, less dangerous task of serving court paperwork. Congress saw the folly in this system and, in 1896, enacted legislation providing regular salaries for marshals.[58]

Train robbers such as Jesse James and the Dalton Gang were among the most famous outlaws to violate federal laws. Many train robbers became legendary for having the courage to steal from the despised railroad owners. What is often overlooked in the tales of these legendary outlaws is their often total disregard for the safety and lives of their victims. To combat these criminals, federal marshals found their hideouts, and railroad companies and other businesses often offered rewards for information leading to their capture. Occasionally, as in the case of Jesse James and the Daltons, the marshals' work was done for them—outlaws were often killed by friends (usually for a reward) or by private citizens.[59]

Gunfights in the West actually occurred very rarely; few individuals on either side of the law actually welcomed stand-up gunfights. It was infinitely more sensible to find cover from which to have a shootout. Further, handguns were not the preferred weapon—a double-barreled shotgun could do far more damage than a handgun at close range.

When a territory became a state and people began settling into communities, the primary police functions usually fell to local sheriffs and marshals. Town meetings were held during which a government was established and local officials were elected. Sheriffs quickly became important officials, but they spent more time collecting taxes, inspecting cattle brands, maintaining jails, and serving civil papers than they did actually dealing with outlaws. In addition, with the growing use of U.S. marshals to uphold the law (some of the more storied ones being Wyatt Earp, "Wild Bill" Hickok, and William "Bat" Masterson), most people were inclined to be law abiding.[60]

Only forty-five violent deaths from all causes can be found in western cow towns from 1870 to 1885, when they were thriving. This low figure reflects the real nature of the cow towns. Businessmen had a vested interest in preventing crime from occurring and in not hiring a trigger-happy sheriff or marshal. They tended to avoid hiring individuals like John Slaughter, sheriff of Cochise County, Arizona, who never brought a prisoner back alive for eight years. Too much violence ruined a town's reputation and harmed the local economy.[61]

The Entrenchment of Political Influence

Partly because of their closeness to politicians, police during the early twentieth century began providing a wide array of services to citizens. In some cities, they operated soup lines, helped find lost children, and found jobs and temporary lodging in station houses for newly arrived immigrants.[62] Police organizations were typically quite decentralized, with cities divided into precincts and run like small-scale departments, hiring, firing, managing, and assigning personnel as necessary. Officers were often recruited from the same ethnic stock as the dominant groups in the neighborhoods and lived in the beats they patrolled, and they were allowed considerable discretion in handling their individual beats. Detectives operated from a caseload of "persons" rather than offenses, relying on their charges to inform on other criminals.[63]

Officers were integrated into neighborhoods. This strategy proved useful; it helped contain riots, and the police helped immigrants establish themselves in communities and find jobs. There were weaknesses as well: The intimacy with the community, closeness to politicians, poor recruitment and training standards, and decentralized organizational structure (and its inability to provide supervision of officers) also led to police corruption. The close identification of police with neighborhoods also resulted in discrimination against strangers, especially ethnic and racial minorities. Police officers often ruled their beats with the "end of their nightsticks" and practiced "curbside justice."[64] The lack of organizational control over officers also caused some inefficiencies and disorganization; thus, the image of the bungling Keystone Kops was widespread.

▶ The Reform Era: 1930s to 1980s

Attempts to Thwart Political Patronage

During the early nineteenth century, reformers sought to reject political involvement by the police, and civil service systems were created to eliminate patronage and ward influences in hiring and firing police officers. In some cities, officers were not permitted to live in the same beat they patrolled in order to isolate them as completely as possible from political influences. Police departments became one of the most autonomous agencies in urban government.[65] However, policing also became a matter viewed as best left to the discretion of police executives. Police organizations became law enforcement agencies with the sole goal of controlling crime. Any noncrime activities they were required to do were considered "social work." The reform era of policing (also termed the professional era of policing) would soon be in full bloom.

The scientific theory of administration was adopted, as advocated by Frederick Taylor during the early twentieth century. Taylor first studied the work process, breaking down jobs into their basic steps and emphasizing time and motion studies, all with the goal of maximizing production. From this emphasis on production and unity of control flowed the notion that police officers were best managed by a hierarchical pyramid of control. Police leaders routinized and standardized police work; officers were to enforce laws and make arrests whenever they could. Discretion was limited as much as possible. When special problems arose, special units (e.g., vice, juvenile, drugs, tactical) were created rather than problems being assigned to patrol officers.

The Era of August Vollmer

The policing career of August Vollmer has been established as one of the most important periods in the development of police professionalism (see Exhibit 1-2 ■). In April 1905 at age twenty-nine, Vollmer became the town marshal in Berkeley, California. At that time, policing had become a major issue all across America. Big-city police departments had become notorious for their corruption, and politics rather than professional principles dominated most police departments.[66]

Vollmer commanded a force of only three deputies; his first act as town marshal was to request an increase in his force from three to twelve deputies in order to form day and night patrols. Obtaining that, he soon won national publicity for being the first chief to order his men to patrol on bicycles. Time checks he had run demonstrated that officers on bicycles would be able to respond three times more quickly to calls than men on foot possibly could. His confidence growing, Vollmer next persuaded the Berkeley City Council to purchase a system of red lights. The lights, hung at each street intersection, served as an emergency notification system for police officers—the first such signal system in the country.[67]

In 1906, Vollmer, curious about the methods criminals used to commit their crimes, began to question the suspects he arrested. He found that nearly all criminals used their own
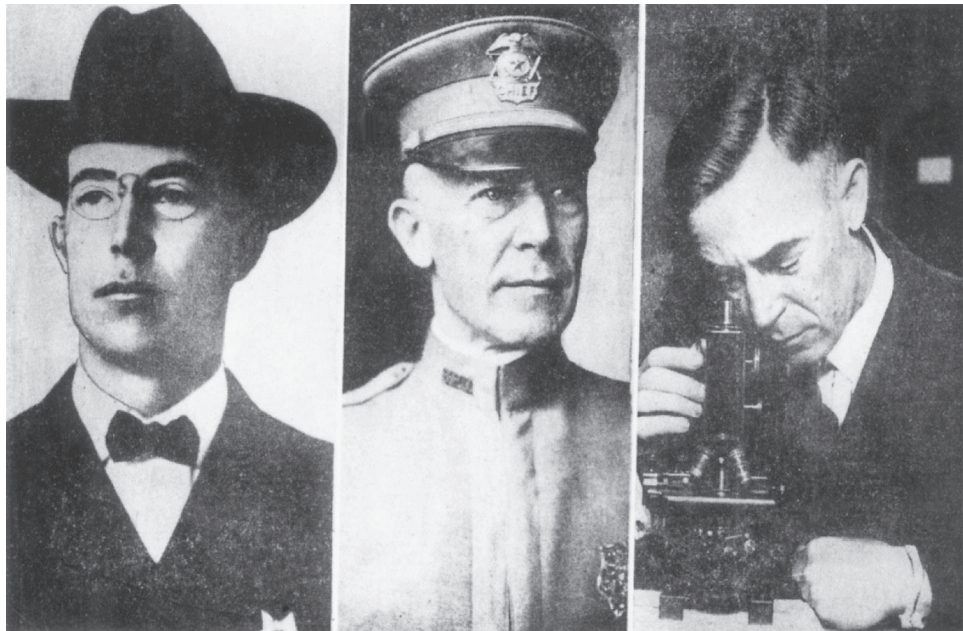
▲ August Vollmer as Town Marshal, police chief, and criminalist. *(Courtesy Samuel G. Chapman.)*

THE CRIB OF MODERN LAW ENFORCEMENT

A chronology of August Vollmer and the Berkeley Police Department:

1905   Vollmer is elected Berkeley town marshal. Town trustees appoint six police officers at a salary of $70 per month.

1906   Trustees create detective rank. Vollmer initiates a red light signal system to reach beat officers from headquarters; telephones are installed in boxes. A police records system is created.

1908   Two motorcycles are added to the department. Vollmer begins a police school.

1909   Vollmer is appointed Berkeley chief of police under a new charter form of government. Trustees approve the appointment of a Bertillon expert and the purchase of fingerprinting equipment. A modus operandi file is created, modeled on the British system.

1911   All patrol officers are using bicycles.

1914   Three privately owned autos are authorized for patrol use.

1915   A central office is established for police reports.

1916   Vollmer urges Congress to establish a national fingerprint bureau (later created by the FBI in Washington, D.C.), begins annual lectures on police procedures, and persuades biochemist Albert Schneider to install and direct a crime laboratory at headquarters.

1917   Vollmer has the first completely motorized force; officers furnish their own automobiles. Vollmer recruits college students for part-time police jobs. He begins consulting with police and reorganizing departments around the country.

1918   Entrance examinations are initiated to measure the mental, physical, and emotional fitness of recruits; a part-time police psychiatrist is employed.

1919   Vollmer begins testing delinquents and using psychology to anticipate criminal behavior. He implements a juvenile program to reduce child delinquency.

1921   Vollmer guides the development of the first lie detector and begins developing radio communications between patrol cars, handwriting analysis, and use of business machine equipment (a Hollerith tabulator).

Following his retirement from active law enforcement in 1932, Vollmer traveled around the world to study police methods. He continued serving as professor of police administration at the University of California, Berkeley, until 1938, and authored or coauthored four books on police and crime from 1935 to 1949. He died in Berkeley in 1955.

peculiar method of operation, or modus operandi. In 1907, following an apparent suicide case that Vollmer suspected of being murder, Vollmer sought the advice of a professor of biology at the University of California. He then became convinced of the value of scientific knowledge in criminal investigation.[68]

Vollmer's most daring innovation came in 1908: the idea of a police school. The first formal training program for police officers in the country drew on the expertise of university professors as well as police officers. The school included courses on police methods and procedures, fingerprinting, first aid, criminal law, anthropometry, photography, public health, and

sanitation. In 1917, the curriculum was expanded from one to three years.[69] In 1916, Vollmer persuaded a professor of pharmacology and bacteriology to become a full-time criminalist in charge of the department's criminal investigation laboratory. By 1917, Vollmer had his entire patrol force operating out of automobiles; it was the first completely mobile patrol force in the country. And in 1918, to improve the quality of police recruits in his department, he began to hire college students as part-time officers and to administer a set of intelligence, psychiatric, and neurological tests to all applicants. Out of this group of "college cops" came several outstanding and influential police leaders, including O. W. Wilson, who served as police chief in Wichita and Chicago and as the first dean of the school of criminology at the University of California. Then, in 1921, in addition to experimenting with the lie detector, two of Vollmer's officers installed a crystal set and earphones in a Model T touring car, thus creating the first radio car.

These and other innovations at Berkeley had begun to attract attention from municipal police departments across the nation, including Los Angeles, which persuaded Vollmer to serve a short term there as chief of police beginning in August 1923. Gambling, the illicit sale of liquor (prohibition was then in effect), and police corruption were major problems in Los Angeles. Vollmer hired ex-criminals to gather intelligence information on the criminal network. He also promoted honest officers, required 3,000 patrol officers to take an intelligence test, and, using those tests, reassigned personnel.[70] He was already unpopular with crooks and corrupt politicians, and these personnel actions made Vollmer very unpopular within the department as well. When he returned to Berkeley in 1924, he had made many enemies, and his attempts at reform had met with too much opposition to have any lasting effect. It would not be until the 1950s, under Chief William Parker, that the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) would become a leader in this reform era of policing.[71]

Vollmer, although a leading proponent of police professionalism, also advocated the idea that the police should function as social workers. He believed the police should do more than merely arrest offenders—that they should also seek to prevent crime by "saving" offenders.[72] He suggested that police work closely with existing social welfare agencies, inform voters about overcrowded schools, and support the expansion of recreational facilities, community social centers, and antidelinquency agencies. Basically, he was suggesting that the police play an active part in the life of the community. These views were very prescient; today, his ideas are being implemented in the contemporary movement toward community policing and problem-oriented policing. Yet the major thrust of police professionalization had been to insulate the police from politics. This contradiction illustrated one of the fundamental ambiguities of the whole notion of professionalism.[73]

In the late 1920s, Vollmer was appointed the first professor of police administration in the country at the University of Chicago. Upon returning to Berkeley in 1931, he received a similar appointment at the University of California, a position he held concurrently with the office of chief of police until his retirement from the force in 1932. He continued to serve as a university professor until 1938.[74]

The Crime Fighter Image

The 1930s marked an important turning point in the history of police reform. O. W. Wilson emerged as the leading authority on police administration, the police role was redefined, and the crime fighter image gained popularity.

Wilson, who learned from J. Edgar Hoover's transformation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) into a highly prestigious agency, became the principal architect of the police reform strategy.[75] Hoover, appointed FBI director in 1924, had raised the eligibility and training standards of recruits and had developed an incorruptible crime-fighting organization. Municipal police found Hoover's path a compelling one.

Professionalism came to mean a combination of managerial efficiency and technological sophistication and an emphasis on crime fighting. The social work aspects of the policing movement fell into almost total eclipse. In sum, under the professional model of policing, officers were to remain in their "rolling fortresses," going from one call to the next with all due haste. As Mark Moore and George Kelling observed, "In professionalizing crime fighting ... citizens on whom so much used to depend [were] removed from the fight."[76]

The Wickersham Commission

Another important development in policing, one that was strongly influenced by August Vollmer, was the creation of the Wickersham Commission. President Calvin Coolidge had appointed the first National Crime Commission in 1925, in an admission that crime control had become a national problem. This commission was criticized for working neither through the states nor with professionals in criminal justice, psychiatry, social work, or the like. Nevertheless, coming on the heels of World War I, the crime commission took advantage of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's popular "war on crime" slogan to enlist public support. Political leaders and police officials also loudly proclaimed the "war on crime" concept; it continued the push for police professionalism.

Coolidge's successor, President Herbert Hoover, became concerned about the lax enforcement of Prohibition, which had taken effect in 1920. It was common knowledge that an alarming number of American police chiefs and sheriffs were accepting bribes in exchange for overlooking moonshiners; other types of police corruption were occurring as well.

Hoover replaced the National Crime Commission with the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement—popularly known as the Wickersham Commission after its chairman, former U.S. Attorney General George W. Wickersham. This presidential commission completed the first national study of crime and criminal justice, issued in fourteen reports. Two of those reports, the "Report on Police" and the "Report on Lawlessness in Law Enforcement," represented a call by the federal government for increased police professionalism.

The "Report on Police" was written in part by August Vollmer, and his imprint on this and other reports is evident. The "Report on Lawlessness in Law Enforcement" concerned itself with police misconduct and has received the greatest public attention, both then and now. The report indicated that the use by the police of third-degree suspect interrogation methods (including the infliction of physical or mental pain to extract confessions) was widespread in America. This report, through its recommendations, mapped out a path of professionalism in policing for the next two generations. The Wickersham Commission recommended, for example, that the corrupting influence of politics should be removed from policing. Police chief executives should be selected on merit, and patrol officers should be tested and should meet minimal physical standards. Police salaries, working conditions, and benefits should be decent, the commission stated, and there should be adequate training for both preservice and in-service officers. The commission also called for the use of policewomen (in cases involving juveniles and females), crime-prevention units, and bureaus of criminal investigation.

Many of these recommendations represented what progressive police reformers had been wanting for the previous forty years; unfortunately, President Hoover and his administration could do little more than report the Wickersham Commission's recommendations before leaving office.

Police as the "Thin Blue Line": William H. Parker

The movement to transform the police into professional crime fighters found perhaps its staunchest champion in William H. Parker, who began as a patrol officer with the LAPD in

1927. Parker used his law degree to advance his career, and by 1934 he was the LAPD's trial prosecutor and an assistant to the chief.[77]

Parker became police chief in 1950. Following an uproar over charges of police brutality in 1951, he conducted an extensive investigation that resulted in the dismissal or punishment of over forty officers. Following this incident, he launched a campaign to transform the LAPD. His greatest success, typical of the new professionalism, came in administrative reorganization. The command structure was simplified as Parker aggressively sought ways to free every possible officer for duty on the streets, including forcing the county sheriff's office to guard prisoners and adopting one-person patrol cars. Parker also made the rigorous selection and training of personnel a major characteristic of the LAPD. Higher standards of physical fitness, intelligence, and scholastic achievement weeded out many applicants, while others failed the psychiatric examinations.

Once accepted, recruits attended a thirteen-week academy that included a rigorous physical program, rigid discipline, and intensive study. Parker thus molded an image of a tough, competent, polite, and effective crime fighter by controlling recruitment. During the 1950s, this image made the LAPD the model for reform across the nation; thus, the 1950s marked a turning point in the history of professionalism.[78]

Parker conceived of the police as a "thin blue line"—a force that stood between civilization and chaos and protecting society from barbarism and Communist subversion. He viewed urban society as a jungle, needing the restraining hand of the police; only the law and law enforcement saved society from the horrors of anarchy. The police had to enforce the law without fear or favor. Parker opposed any restrictions on police methods. The law, he believed, should give the police wide latitude to use wiretaps and to conduct search and seizure. For him, the Bill of Rights was not absolute but relative. Any conflict between effective police operation and individual rights should be resolved in favor of the police, he believed, and the rights of society took precedence over the rights of the individual. He thought that evidence obtained illegally should still be admitted in court and that the police could not do their jobs if the courts and other civilians were continually second-guessing them.

Basically, Parker believed that some "wicked men with evil hearts" preyed on society and that the police must protect society from attack by them. But Parker's brand of professional police performance lacked total public support. Voters often supported political machines that controlled and manipulated the police in anything but a professional manner; the public demanded a police department that was subject to political influence and manipulation and then condemned the force for its crookedness. The professional police officer was in the uncomfortable position of offering a service that society required for its very survival but that many people did not want at all.[79]

1960s and 1970s: The Struggle for Civil Rights

Certainly any review of the history of policing would be lacking if it did not discuss the civil rights movement that predominated the late 1960s and 1970s and pitted the nation's police against many of its college-age youths and minority groups (with many members of both groups viewing the police as "pigs" and representing the "establishment"). National groups (e.g., Students for a Democratic Society, Black Panthers, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) represented both sides, some violent, others nonviolent. As Benjamin Disraeli once said, "No man will treat with indifference the principle of race. It is the key to history."[80]

The 1960s were a time of great tumult, civil disobedience, social turbulence, and significant progress in civil rights. Inner-city residents rioted in several major cities, protestors denounced military involvement in Vietnam, and assassins' bullets ended the life of President John F. Kennedy (1963) as well as those of his brother U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy (1968) and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1968). The country was witnessing

tremendous upheaval, and incidents such as the Democratic National Convention (1968) in Chicago raised many questions about the police and their function and role; each night Americans witnessed scenes on national television of Chicago police officers gassing and clubbing protesters, news photographers and reporters, and other citizens in what was subsequently termed in the investigative Walker Report and in many other accounts as the Chicago "police riot."[81]

The reform (or professional) era of policing was in bloom, however, so the police were firmly ensconced in their patrol vehicles, being reactive to crime and quite removed from personal contact with the public while on random patrol and focusing on quantitative measures of their effectiveness: numbers of arrests, response times, calls for service, numbers of officers in patrol cars, numbers of miles officers drove per shift, and so on. Police training and university police science programs were booming, the latter making campuses rich with these "cash cow" programs taught largely by practitioners, with federal grants and GI benefits paying for officers' tuition, books, and often their living expenses. But the failure of the professional era became most apparent during the aforementioned urban riots, sit-ins, sniper attacks against police, gang violence, and other forms of unrest and upheaval of the time.

Specifically, Harlem, Watts, Newark, and Detroit all were scenes of major race riots during the 1960s. There were seventy-five civil disorders involving African Americans and the police in 1967 alone, with at least eighty-three people killed, mostly African Americans. In addition, many police officers and firefighters were killed or injured. Property damage in these riots totaled hundreds of millions of dollars. The 1970s busing programs that were introduced to integrate schools resulted in white "backlash" and more interracial conflict.

In the late 1980s, police–community relations appeared to worsen, with a major riot in Miami, Florida, in 1989. Also in the 1980s, affirmative action programs led to charges of reverse discrimination and more dominant-group backlash. More recent decades have witnessed burning and looting in Miami, Florida; Los Angeles, California; Atlanta, Georgia; Las Vegas, Nevada; Washington, D.C.; St. Petersburg, Florida; Ferguson, Missouri; and other cities. These incidents have demonstrated that the same tensions that found temporary release on the streets of African-American communities in the past still remain with us.

The police, viewed by many during the professional era as the "thin blue line" per William Parker, were involved in all of the social changes described previously. Although at times police were used to prevent minority group members from demonstrating on behalf of civil rights, at other times the police were required to protect those same protesting minorities from the wrath of the dominant group and others who opposed peaceful demonstrations. Over time, alienation developed from these contacts. Thus, members of both groups had an uneasy coexistence with a good deal of emotional "baggage" based on what they had seen, heard, or been told of their interactions throughout history.

History has shown that problems in police–community relations are often part of a larger problem of racism in American society. The highly respected National Academy of Sciences concluded nearly three decades ago that "black crime and the position of blacks within the nation's system of criminal justice administration are related to past and present social opportunities and disadvantages and can be best understood through consideration of blacks' overall social status."[82] More recent mass gatherings throughout the United States, engendered by such groups as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Rainbow Coalition, and the Black Lives Matter movement, have involved protests against racial profiling (discussed later), police brutality, and other perceived prejudices toward people of color; such assemblies would indicate that the Academy's statement is still valid today. Minority group members remain frustrated because the pace of gains in our society has not kept pace with their expectations.

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▶ A Retreat from the Professional Model

Coming Full Circle to Peel: President's Crime Commission and Beyond

Until the period described previously, the 1960s and 1970s, there had been few inquiries concerning police functions and methods for two reasons.[83] First was a tendency on the part of the police to resist outside scrutiny. Functioning in a bureaucratic environment, the police, like other bureaucrats, were sensitive to outside research. Many police administrators perceived a threat to their career and to the image of the organization, and they were also concerned about the legitimacy of the research itself. There was a natural reluctance to invite trouble. Second, few people in policing perceived a need to challenge traditional methods of operation. The "If it ain't broke, don't fix it" attitude prevailed, particularly among old-school administrators. Some ideas were etched in stone, such as the belief that more police personnel and vehicles equaled more patrolling and, therefore, less crime, a quicker response rate, and a happier citizenry. A corollary belief is that the more officers riding in the patrol car, the better. The methods and effectiveness of detectives and their investigative techniques were not even open to debate.

As Herman Goldstein stated, however, "Crises stimulate progress. The police came under enormous pressure in the late 1960s and early 1970s, confronted with concern about crime, civil rights demonstrations, racial conflicts, riots, and political protests."[84]

Concurrent with, and because of, the aforementioned turmoil, five national commissions attempted to examine police methods and practices during the 1960s and 1970s, each viewing them from different perspectives. Of particular note is a commission whose findings are still widely cited today and that provided the impetus to return the police to the community: the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. Termed the President's Crime Commission, this body was charged by President Lyndon Johnson to find solutions to America's internal crime problems, including the root causes of crime, the workings of the justice system, and the hostile, antagonistic relations between the police and civilians. Among the commission's recommendations for the police were hiring more minority members as officers to improve police–community relations, upgrading the quality of police officers through better-educated officers, promoting to supervisory positions college-educated individuals, screening applicants more rigorously, and providing intensive preservice training for new recruits. It was proposed that a higher caliber of recruits would raise police service delivery, promote tranquility within the community, and relegate police corruption to a thing of the past.[85]

The President's Crime Commission brought policing full circle, restating several of the same principles that were laid out by Sir Robert Peel in 1829: that the police should be close to the public, that poor quality of policing contributed to social disorder, and that the police should focus on community relations. Thus, by 1970 there had been what was termed a systematic demolition of the assumptions underlying the professional era of policing.[86] Few authorities on policing today could endorse the basic approaches to police management that were propounded by O. W. Wilson or William Parker. We now know much that was still unknown by the staff of the President's Crime Commission in 1967. For example, as will be seen in Chapter 3, we have learned that adding more police or intensifying patrol coverage does not necessarily reduce crime and that neither faster response time nor additional detectives will improve clearance rates.

Peel's principles still resonate throughout American policing today. For example, William Bratton, the former Commissioner of the New York City Police Department and one of the most influential police leaders of the early twenty-first century, often quoted Peel's principles in his speeches.[87] For Bratton and other police executives, Peel's ideas on collaboration with citizens and the prevention of crime and disorder are very much consistent with the principles of community policing.

► The Community Era: 1980s to Present

In the early 1970s, it was suggested that the performance of patrol officers would improve by redesigning their job based on motivators.[88] This suggestion later evolved into a concept known as **team policing**, which sought to restructure police departments, improve police–community relations, enhance police officer morale, and facilitate change within the police organization. Its primary element was a decentralized neighborhood focus for the delivery of police services. Officers were to be generalists, trained to investigate crimes and basically attend to all of the problems in their area; a team of officers would be assigned to a particular neighborhood and would be responsible for all police services in that area.

In the end, however, team policing failed for several reasons. Most of the experiments were poorly planned and hastily implemented, resulting in street officers who did not understand what they were supposed to do. Many mid-management personnel felt threatened by team policing and did not support the experiment.

There were other developments for the police during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Foot patrol became more popular, and many jurisdictions (such as Newark, New Jersey; Boston, Massachusetts; and Flint, Michigan) even demanded it. In Newark, an evaluation led to the conclusions that officers on foot patrol were easily seen by residents, produced a significant increase in the level of satisfaction with police service, led to a significant reduction of perceived crime problems, and resulted in a significant increase in the perceived level of neighborhood safety.[89]

These findings shattered several long-held myths about measures of police effectiveness. In addition, research conducted during the 1970s suggested that information could help police improve their ability to deal with crime. These studies, along with studies of foot patrol and fear reduction, created new opportunities for police to work with citizens to do something about crime problems. Police discovered that when they asked citizens about their priorities, citizens appreciated their asking and often provided useful information.

Simultaneously, the problem-oriented approach to policing was being tested in Madison, Wisconsin; Baltimore County, Maryland; and Newport News, Virginia. Studies there found that police officers have the capacity to do problem solving successfully and can work well with citizens and other agencies. Also, citizens seemed to appreciate working with police. Moreover, this approach gave officers more autonomy to analyze the underlying causes of problems and to find creative solutions. Crime control remained an important function, but equal emphasis was given to prevention.

In sum, following are some of the factors that set the stage for the demise of the professional era and the emergence of the **community era of policing** (discussed in Chapter 4):

- Narrowing of the police mission to crime fighting
- Increased cultural diversity in our society
- Detachment of patrol officers in patrol vehicles
- Increased violence in our society
- Scientific view of management, stressing efficiency more than effectiveness, quantitative policing more than qualitative policing
- Increased dependence on high-technology equipment rather than contact with the public
- Isolation of police administration from community and officer input
- Concern about police violation of the civil rights of minorities
- Burgeoning attempts by the police to adequately reach the community through crime prevention, team policing, and police–community relations

Today, problem-oriented policing is recognized as being on the cutting edge of what is new in policing.[90] In Chapter 4, for example, we introduce concepts such as CompStat and intelligence-led policing, which represent a shift to a more proactive style of policing and help to make agencies accountable to the communities they serve. In addition, advances in crime mapping and geographic profiling (discussed in Chapter 14) allow agencies to maximize resources by focusing on locations with higher risk of criminal activity. Also in Chapter 14, we discuss some technical innovations, such as aerial drones, body-worn cameras, and less-lethal force devices that together help to improve police tactics in the areas of search and rescue, surveillance, investigation, and use of force.

Overall, advancements associated with community policing (and the community era in general) have demonstrated a great deal of promise in terms of improving police practice and managing problems in neighborhoods. Many concerns still remain in the community era, however:

- The growing reliance on private sector policing (discussed in Chapter 6) has given rise to concerns about recruitment and training standards for private police, as well as questions about the relationship between citizens, public police, and private police agencies.

- While some of the policing tactics linked to the community era have been credited with reducing crime, they have also been criticized for being overly aggressive toward citizens—especially citizens living in minority communities.

- Although agencies have greatly increased the amount of training and equipment dedicated to the prevention of terrorism in recent years (discussed in Chapter 12), some worry that this has contributed to the further "militarization" of police—a process that can alienate police from the communities they serve.

- Recent cases of controversial deaths involving police–citizen interactions from around the country, including George Floyd (Minneapolis, Minnesota), Keith Scott (Charlotte, North Carolina), Terence Crutcher (Tulsa, Oklahoma), Michael Brown (Ferguson, Missouri), Tamir Rice (Cleveland, Ohio), Walter Scott (North Charleston, South Carolina), Freddie Gray (Baltimore, Maryland), Eric Garner (New York City), Antwon Rose (East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Laquan McDonald (Chicago, Illinois), and others, have generated calls for greater transparency in police work and stricter limits on police use of force.

President's Task Force on Twenty-First Century Policing

As we will see in the following chapters, community era strategies and tactics hold significant advantages over those from past policing paradigms. Nevertheless, as the preceding examples illustrate, there are still many challenges and areas for improvement. In 2014, then-President Obama signed an executive order that created the Task Force on Twenty-First Century Policing. This task force, comprising 11 members, was "charged...with identifying best practices and offering recommendations on how policing practices can promote effective crime reduction while building public trust."[91] The task force produced a series of recommendations focused along six core themes: building trust and legitimacy between police and communities; improving policy and oversight; advancing the use of technology and social media; promoting community policing and crime reduction strategies; improving police training and education; and encouraging the wellness and safety of police officers. Among many other recommendations, task force members indicated the need for more information on use of force by police (particularly use of deadly force) and on citizen attitudes toward police. The task force's final report was supported by many government officials, academics, and members of the public, although its recommendations have been implemented slowly and inconsistently.[92] Nevertheless, some remain optimistic that eventually these recommendations will widely impact policing across the United States.[93]

Summary

This chapter has presented the evolution of policing through its three eras, and some of the individuals, events, and national commissions that were instrumental in taking policing through those eras. It has also shown how the history of policing may be said to have come full circle to its roots, wherein it was intended to operate with the consent and assistance of the public. Policing is now attempting to throw off the shackles of tradition and become more community oriented.

This historical overview also reveals that many of today's policing issues and problems (most of which are discussed in subsequent chapters) actually began surfacing many centuries ago: graft and corruption, negative community relations, police use of force, public unrest and rioting, general police accountability, the struggle to establish the proper roles and functions of the police, the police subculture, and the tendency to withdraw from the public, cling to tradition, and be inbred. All in all, however, it would seem that the police learned well their lessons from history, as these problems do not pervade the nation's 17,000 agencies or their 800,000 officers. As we will see, the community era is spreading and thriving in today's police world. The early twenty-first century is thus an important time in the history of American policing.

Key Terms

August Vollmer
civil rights movement
community era of policing
constable
coroner
Democratic National
   Convention (1968)
justice of the peace (JP)

modus operandi
political era of policing
President's Crime Commission
President's Task Force on
   Twenty-First Century Policing
principles of policing
professional era of policing
reform era of policing

republicanism
sheriff
slave patrols
team policing
Wickersham Commission
William H. Parker

Review Questions

1. What were the major police-related offices and their functions during the early English and colonial periods?
2. What legacies of colonial policing remained intact after the American Revolution?
3. List the three early issues of American policing, and describe their present status.
4. What unique characteristics of law enforcement existed in the Wild West? What myths concerning early western law enforcement continue today?

5. What were some of the major characteristics of the political and reform eras of policing? How did they square with the earlier principles of policing as set forth by Sir Robert Peel?
6. What led to the development of the contemporary community-oriented policing and problem-solving era, and what are some of its main features?
7. How can it be said that policing has come full circle, returning to its origins?

Learn by Doing

As indicated in the Preface, this section (here and at the end of all the other chapters of this book) comports with the early 1900s teaching of famed educator John Dewey, who advocated the "learning by doing" approach to education, or problem-based learning. It also comports with the popular learning method espoused by Benjamin Bloom in 1956, known as Bloom's Taxonomy, in which he called for "higher-order thinking skills"—critical and creative thinking that involves analysis, synthesis, and evaluation.[94] The following scenarios and activities will shift your attention from textbook-centered instruction and move the emphasis to student-centered projects. By being placed in these hypothetical situations, you can thus learn—and apply—some of the concepts covered in this chapter, develop skills in communication and self-management, solve problems, and understand and address current community issues.

1. You have been tasked by the police chief to develop—and present—a one-hour History of Policing class as part of the curriculum at the Regional Police Academy. Prepare an outline, timeline of police history, and presentation that will satisfy this request. Be sure to include the major developments for each policing era.

2. Your criminal justice professor assigns you to examine your local police organizations and then, if they exist, to compare the duties of the four early English policing offices (e.g., sheriff, constable, justice of the peace, coroner) with their present status and function (or, if more appropriate, at the time of their demise) in your particular area.

3. Assume that, as part of an assigned research paper on the history of policing, you seek to interview a retired police officer(s) concerning the changes in police methods and philosophy over the past several decades (as well as areas in which policing has remained unchanged); hopefully, you would be particularly determined to locate and interview a woman who entered the field as a sworn officer in the 1970s or 1980s, and learn the unique challenges that were faced.

Notes

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