

POLICE & SOCIETY

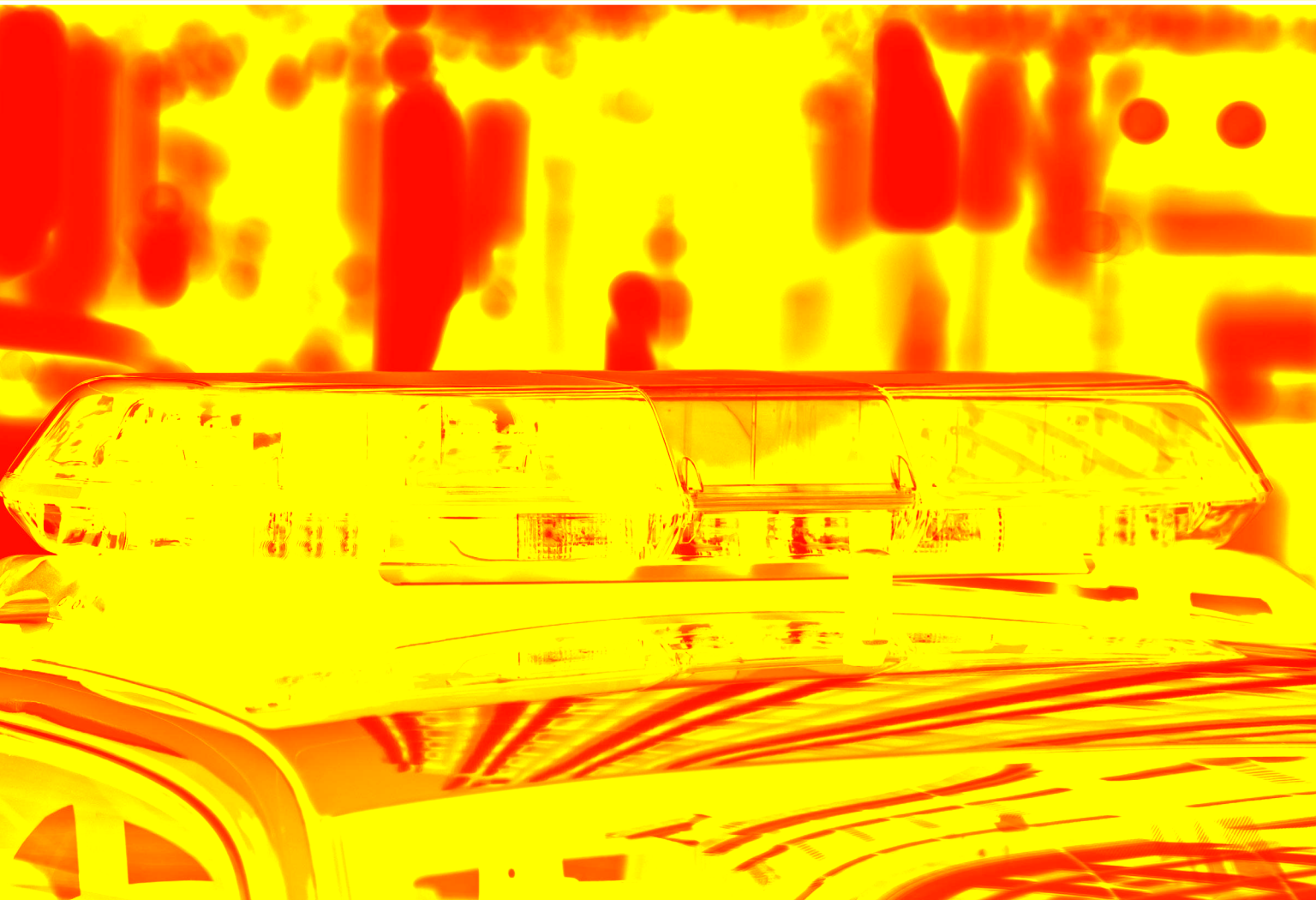


KENNETH NOVAK • GARY CORDNER
BRAD SMITH • ROY ROBERG

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Eighth Edition

Police & Society



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Kenneth Novak
Gary Cordner
Brad Smith
Roy Roberg

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PREFACE

*P*olice & Society offers a comprehensive introduction to policing in the United States. The text is both descriptive and analytical in nature, covering the process of policing, police behavior, organization, operations, and historical perspectives. Contemporary issues and future prospects are also addressed. Throughout the text, an emphasis is placed on describing the relationship between the police and the public and how this relationship has changed through the years. To adequately explain the complex nature of police operations in a democracy, we have integrated the most important theoretical foundations, research findings, and contemporary practices in a comprehensible, yet analytical manner.

Because of the substantial increase of published research in the field and consistent with previous editions of this text, in the eighth edition we have attempted to include only the most valid and reliable research available, leading to the “best policies and practices” in policing. We emphasize in-depth discussions of critical police issues rather than attempting to cover—in a relatively brief manner—every conceivable topic or piece of research in the field. We believe this approach contributes more substantially to the intellectual and practical development of the field of policing.

Although all chapters have been revised and updated, we focused additional attention on emerging themes that are important to students of policing, including evidence-based strategies to prevent crime; evolving crime trends; policing in a changing American society; advances in technology; policing in an era of declining budgets; immigration; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender issues; legitimacy; procedural justice; terrorism/homeland security; and growing concerns about surveillance and privacy.

In addition, numerous topics have been significantly expanded, as follows: legitimacy, procedural justice, criminal procedure, misconduct, racial and gender diversity, officer stress and safety, contemporary policing interventions, national estimates on police use of force, social media, intelligence-led policing, competing police strategies, and the bottom line of policing.

There are two significant structural changes to the eighth edition that deserve highlighting. First, we combined two chapters—Chapter 5 contains information on police organization and management, which also includes organizational change. Second, we significantly expanded the discussion on field operations into two separate chapters. Chapter 7 focuses on foundations of field operations and investigations, and Chapter 8 focuses on policing innovations. The goal of separating foundations and innovations is so that each topic can be discussed and expanded fully. We are grateful for the reviewers who recommended these revisions to *Police & Society*.

To provide the most realistic and up-to-date view of the police, several types of offsets are provided. “Inside Policing” boxes provide a brief description of real-world police issues and operations as well as biographical sketches that highlight the contributions of

influential police leaders. We have also incorporated contemporary discussions from *Modern Policing* (<https://gcordner.wordpress.com/>), a blog managed by one of the authors (Cordner). Here students are directed to additional articles, reports, op-eds, editorials, and news stories directly related to topics within the chapter. “Voices from the Field” boxes highlight nationally recognized experts, who provide their insights into contemporary police practices and problems in a thought-provoking format.

The eighth edition features an expanded glossary of key terms, and each chapter begins with a listing of key terms. Ancillaries to enhance instruction include a **Companion Website** and a revised and expanded **Ancillary Resource Center for Instructors**.

We thank the many police officers, police executives, professors, and students with whom we have interacted over the years. Their experiences and insights have given us the basis for many of our ideas and have provided us with a basis for conceptualizing critical issues in policing. We hope this book increases the understanding and appreciation of policing in society and encourages thought-provoking dialogue among students and the police.

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We especially thank all of the contributors to the “Voices from the Field” offsets throughout the text. These individuals are experts in policing and academe and have served in policy-making positions in police departments throughout the United States. Their contributions to our discussion on the police are significant, and they have provided a perspective on policing that cannot be found in any other forum.



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Kenneth Novak received his Ph.D. in criminal justice from the University of Cincinnati and is currently a professor in the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology at the University of Missouri–Kansas City. He has published scientific research articles on a variety of topics in policing, including officer decision making, citizens' attitudes toward the police, racially biased policing, and program evaluation. He has conducted research with a number of criminal justice agencies, including the Kansas City Police Department, the Jackson County Prosecutor's Office, and the U.S. Attorney for the Western District of Missouri. He is coauthor of the third edition of *Police Management* (2002, Roxbury). Follow Ken on Twitter at @KenNovak_1.

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Part I

Policing Foundations



CHAPTER 1

Police in a Democracy



CHAPTER OUTLINE

- Policing a Free Society
 - Police and Government
 - Police and Rule of Law
 - Police, Terrorism, and Homeland Security
- Police Systems
- The U.S. Police System
 - Other Types of Law Enforcement Agencies
 - Similarities and Differences
- Police Role and Purpose
 - Law Enforcement or Politics?
 - Crime-Fighting or Social Service?
 - Proactive or Reactive?
 - Police Activities and Workload
 - Police Goals and Strategies
- Looking Ahead
- Summary
- Critical Thinking Questions
- References

KEY TERMS

■ case law	■ federalism	■ reactive
■ civil law	■ homeland security	■ regional police
■ consolidated agencies	■ jurisdiction	■ rule of law
■ contract law enforcement	■ private police	■ separation of powers
■ counterterrorism	■ proactive	■ special-jurisdiction police
■ criminal justice system	■ procedural law	■ substantive law
■ criminal law	■ public police	■ task forces
■ discretion	■ public safety agencies	■ tribal police

THE POLICE HAVE POWER and authority and, as we have been reminded over the past several years, the actions they take are frequently controversial. The functions that police perform are critical to the safety of people and communities, but those very functions sometimes collide with our rights, freedoms, and privacy. Recent events and developments illustrate some of the issues and challenges surrounding modern policing today:

- In response to complaints about “police militarization,” in 2012 the federal government temporarily suspended its “1033 program” through which state and local law enforcement agencies could obtain surplus military equipment (Balko 2012; Wofford 2014). The program later resumed with additional restrictions on the types of equipment available and clearer limitations on how the equipment can be used (Executive Office of the President 2014).
- A fatal police shooting in Ferguson, Missouri, in September 2014 led to several months of tense confrontations and an ongoing national dialogue about police use of force, Black Lives Matter, transparency, and accountability (Civil Rights Division 2015). Subsequent police-related deaths in New York, Cleveland, Baltimore, North Charleston, and Chicago variously resulted in protests, riots, indictments, and convictions.
- In response to national concerns, a President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing was established by the Obama administration. The task force published its final report in 2015, including 64 recommendations plus 92 action items in six main topic areas: Building Trust & Legitimacy, Policy & Oversight, Technology & Social Media, Community Policing & Crime Reduction, Training & Education, and Officer Well-being & Safety (President’s Task Force 2015).
- Responding to public and congressional pressure, in 2015 the Department of Justice (DOJ) halted its “equitable sharing” program through which a portion of assets seized from suspects in a federal case can be distributed to state and local law enforcement agencies that participated in the investigation (O’Harrow, Horwitz, and Rich 2015). Critics complain that investigations become profit driven and the people who lose their property are often never convicted. The program resumed in 2016 after the DOJ placed additional restrictions on it (Ingraham 2016).
- Fourteen people were killed and 22 seriously injured in December 2015 when a young married couple attacked a holiday gathering in San Bernardino, California (Finnegan 2016). In the aftermath, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Apple engaged in a heated dispute over access to information on the suspects’

encrypted iPhone. The company resisted demands to open a “backdoor” to the phone, saying it would compromise the privacy of all owners of the popular device. Before the matter could be litigated, the FBI withdrew its demand, saying it had obtained a separate “tool” that unlocked the phone (Grodén 2016).

- The Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ), exercised oversight of at least 25 law enforcement agencies as of 2016, including Albuquerque, Cleveland, Ferguson, New Orleans, Seattle, and the Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Office (Special Litigation Section 2016). Another 10 police departments were engaged in collaborative reform projects with a different branch of the DOJ, the COPS Office, including Baltimore, Las Vegas, Philadelphia, and San Francisco (Office of Community Oriented Policing Services 2016). Since 2017, though, the Trump administration has sharply curtailed these kinds of federal oversight of local police.
- Early in 2016, the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) produced a set of 30 “guiding principles” designed to emphasize deescalation of critical incidents and stricter standards on police use of lethal force. The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) and police labor groups quickly criticized the guidelines, arguing that they were inconsistent with prevailing law and would jeopardize officer safety (Jackman 2016).
- In February 2018, a former student entered Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, and fatally shot 17 people, including 14 students, wounding 17 others. Response by the law enforcement agency having jurisdiction, the Broward County Sheriff’s Office, was harshly criticized for not being consistent with modern active-shooter policies and training (Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School Public Safety Commission 2019). Ten days after receiving a commission report on the incident and response, the Florida governor suspended the Broward County sheriff (Romo 2019).
- During 2018, 150 law enforcement officers died in the line of duty, including 52 by gunfire, 40 by motor vehicle crash, and 16 due to 9/11-related illnesses (Officer Down Memorial Page 2019). The 2018 total was lower than each of the previous four years. Although police fatalities peaked at 284 in 1974 and have generally decreased over the past 40+ years (Bier 2015), any time the number goes up causes grave concern and tends to inflame political passions (Gainor 2014).

To begin to understand these kinds of situations and controversies, we must start with some basic questions: Why do the police exist? What do they do? What are their problems? How has policing changed over the years? The central theme of this book is to attempt to answer these and related questions about police in the United States.

One note about semantics: Throughout this book, the terms *police* and *law enforcement* are used interchangeably. With either term, the intent is to refer to all those who provide police services, whether they work for a police department, sheriff’s office, state police, or federal agency.

This book contains a lot of information. To help you digest it, the book is organized into four sections:

1. *Policing foundations*, including a discussion of the democratic context of policing and the police role, the history of police, legal issues, and the evolving strategies used by police.

2. *Police administration*, which includes a discussion of police management and organizational behavior, police selection and development, and police field operations.
3. *Police behavior*, which includes a discussion of discretion, behavior and misbehavior, police authority and the use of coercion, and police professionalism and accountability.
4. *Contemporary issues*, including higher education, cultural diversity, stress and officer safety, and the future of policing.

Each chapter contains special sections called “Voices from the Field” and “Inside Policing.” These sections provide brief descriptions of real-world police issues, excerpts from research studies, and brief descriptions of the contributions of important historical and contemporary figures in law enforcement.

Policing a Free Society

The police play a double-edged role in a free society. On the one hand, they protect our freedom—not only our rights to own property, to travel safely from place to place, and to remain free from assault, but also such fundamental rights as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom to change the government through elections. However, the police also have the power to limit our freedom through surveillance, questioning, search, and arrest. It is particularly important to understand this anomalous situation when thinking about policing in the United States because “the police . . . are invested with a great deal of authority under a system of government in which authority is reluctantly granted and, when granted, sharply curtailed” (Goldstein 1977, 1).

In our democratic system, government is based on consensus of the people, but policing often comes into play when agreement breaks down. In our system, government is expected to serve the people, but police often give out “services” that people do not want—orders, tickets, arrests. In our system people are largely free to do as they please, but police can force them to stop. In our system everyone is considered equal, but police have more power than the rest of us. It has been said that “democracy is always hard on the police” (Berkeley 1969, 1). It might also be said that police can be hard on democracy.

These factors indicate why the opposite of a democratic state is often called a police state. Democracy represents consensus, freedom, participation, and equality; the police represent regulation, restriction, and the imposition of government authority on an individual. That is why the police in a democracy are often confronted with hostility, opposition, and criticism no matter how effectively or fairly they operate.

Police and Government

The word *police* is derived from the Greek words *politeuein*, which means to be a citizen or to engage in political activity, and *polis*, which means a city or state. This derivation emphasizes that policing is every citizen’s responsibility, although in the modern world it is a responsibility that is often delegated to certain officials who do it on a full-time basis. Also, the derivation emphasizes that policing is political—not in the sense of Republicans versus Democrats, but in the sense that policing entails carrying out decisions made by the people and their representatives, decisions that benefit some members of society but not others.

Today, we tend to say the same thing in a slightly different way—police enforce the law and carry out the policies of the government. Governments are vested with *police power* to regulate matters of health, welfare, safety, and morality because a society requires

structure and order if it is to be effective in meeting the needs of its members. One important expression of police power in a society is a police, or law enforcement, organization.

The activities and behavior of the police are determined, in part, by the type of government of which they are a part. In more totalitarian governments, power is exercised by only one person (e.g., a dictator), a small number of individuals, or one political party. The established laws and policies that control all aspects of life in a totalitarian state are intended to maintain the interests of those in power; the social order is preserved at the expense of individual freedom. More democratic governments, by contrast, are based on the principle of “participation of the governed.” The members of a democratic society either directly participate in deciding the laws or elect representatives to make such decisions for them.

The United States has a republican form of government known as **federalism**. Some powers are exercised by the national government, but many others are decentralized to state and local units of government to allow more people to participate in the political system and to limit the power of those individuals elected to national political office. Among the governmental functions that are largely delegated to state and local governments is policing.

Another important organizational feature of the U.S. government is **separation of powers**, which results in three branches of government: executive, judicial, and legislative. This separation exists to provide a system of “checks and balances” so that one branch of government will not become too powerful. In the United States, the combination of federalism and separation of powers results in a governmental system that is highly fragmented, with widely dispersed power and authority. This system is sometimes criticized for being inefficient and incapable of governing effectively, but that is exactly what its designers intended—they wanted a limited form of government (including police) that would not interfere with peoples’ freedoms any more than absolutely necessary.

Law enforcement is a responsibility of the executive branch of government in our system. Checks and balances help to constrain policing in two fundamental ways. First, the police do not make the laws they enforce—the legislature does that, along with appropriating the money that police agencies need to operate. Second, the police do not decide what happens to people who violate the law and are arrested—the judicial branch does that, along with interpreting and reinterpreting the meaning of laws in our changing society.

Government and laws are created through a political process or system. Voters, special-interest groups (e.g., the National Rifle Association, the American Medical Association, or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), political parties, and elected officials are active participants in the political process. Theories of political decision making in a democracy take both pluralistic and elitist perspectives. The pluralistic perspective argues that debates, bargains, and compromises determine the allocation of resources and the enactment of laws and policies. Further, although there are many different interests and groups in a society, some more influential than others, no one group dominates. In contrast, the elitist or class perspective argues that only a limited number of persons (e.g., the rich or special-interest groups) have any real influence in the political process. The playing field is not level, so politics results in preferential treatment for the most influential individuals and discrimination against those with little or no influence or power.

These two contrasting perspectives are important for our understanding of the police. From the pluralist perspective, police can be seen as a benign institution that helps

implement laws and policies that result from an honest and fair political contest. From the elitist perspective, police are usually characterized as the “iron fist” that helps protect the powerful and repress the rest of society. Policing is a more noble enterprise within the pluralist framework than within the elitist framework. From either perspective, however, the police wield power and thus deserve careful attention.

Police and Rule of Law

Democracies are concerned about the rights and freedoms to be given to individuals and about the limits to be placed on the government’s use of police power. This concern is usually addressed by creating a constitution. Constitutions may be written or unwritten, but they serve the same basic purpose: to establish the nature and character of government by identifying the basic principles underlying that government. The Constitution of the United States identifies the functions of government and specifies in its first 10 amendments (the Bill of Rights) the most important rights of individuals relative to the government.

The United States has a constitutional democracy in which the exercise of power is based on the **rule of law**. Ideally, laws created through a democratic process are more reasonable and more likely to be accepted by citizens than laws created by only a few influential persons. And although democratic government does not always work in this fashion, ours has evolved so that the rule of law in practice has gradually become less tyrannical and more representative of the concerns of all citizens. One of the reasons that the rule of law is considered necessary is that proponents of democracy assume that individuals in power will be inclined to abuse their power unless they are controlled by a constitution, democratically developed laws, and the structure or organization of government.

Police accountability to the rule of law is an important tradition in democratic societies. According to Reith (1938, 188), the basis for democratic policing “is to be found in rational and humane laws.” The significance of the rule of law to democracy and the police is further described in a Royal Commission Report on the British police:

Liberty does not depend, and never has depended, upon any particular form of police organization. It depends upon the supremacy of . . . the rule of law. The proper criterion [to determine if a police state exists] is whether the police are answerable to the law and ultimately, to a democratically elected [government]. In the countries to which the term police state is applied . . . , police power is controlled by a [totalitarian] government [that] acknowledges no accountability to democratically elected (representatives), and the citizens cannot rely on the [law] to protect them. (Royal Commission on the Police 1962, 45)

There are a number of ways to categorize laws; for example, laws may be civil or criminal and substantive or procedural (legal issues are discussed further in Chapter 3). **Civil laws** are concerned with relationships between individuals (e.g., contracts, business transactions, family relations); **criminal laws** are concerned with the relationship between the individual and the government. Those behaviors that pose a threat to public safety and order (e.g., operating a motor vehicle without a valid driver’s license, theft, rape, murder) are considered crimes. The prosecution of a crime is brought in the name of the people as represented by government officials (e.g., a prosecuting attorney). Although police must be familiar with both civil and criminal law, their primary concern is with criminal law.

In the realm of criminal law, **substantive laws** are those that identify behavior, either required or prohibited, and the punishments for failure to observe these laws. For example,

driving under the influence of alcohol is prohibited, and such behavior may be punished by a fine or imprisonment or both, along with suspension of the privilege to drive a motor vehicle. **Procedural laws** govern how the police go about enforcing substantive laws. Procedural laws specify the level of evidence required to justify an arrest, for example, and whether the police can arrest based on their own authority or must first obtain a warrant.

Important frames of reference for procedural criminal laws are the Bill of Rights (the first 10 amendments of the U.S. Constitution; see Table 1.1) and **case law** (the written rulings of state and federal appellate courts), which more specifically define when and how each procedure is to be used. When enforcing substantive laws, officers are supposed to follow procedural laws, which exist to restrict the power of government and to reduce the possibility that police will abuse the power they have been given. The law not only provides a framework for police activity and behavior but also is intended to ensure that the police have good reason (e.g., “reasonable suspicion” or “probable cause”) to intrude into the lives of citizens. Procedural laws also balance what would otherwise be an unequal relationship between government and the individual because the government usually has more resources, and often more public support, than a person suspected of committing a crime.

Even when the police have legal authority, however, they do not always enforce the law because of limited resources, public expectations, organizational priorities, and officer preferences. Rather, both the organization and the officer exercise **discretion**; that is, they make

TABLE 1.1 Selected Amendments to the U.S. Constitution

Fourth Amendment

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall be issued but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

Fifth Amendment

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Sixth Amendment

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Eighth Amendment

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

a choice concerning what laws will be enforced and how that enforcement will take place. A number of factors influence police discretion; they are discussed in Chapters 9 and 10.

Police, Terrorism, and Homeland Security

Perhaps there is no greater test of our commitment to freedom, democracy, and the rule of law than the challenge of policing in the post-9/11 era. The events of September 11, 2001, at the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and in western Pennsylvania suddenly created new top priorities for American law enforcement—**counterterrorism** and **homeland security**. To achieve these new priorities, the U.S. national government considered and/or adopted a range of responses, including the USA Patriot Act, that impinge on traditional American views about privacy, freedom of movement, and the rights of people accused of crimes. Who is asked to carry out these controversial new responses? The police, of course.

The post-9/11 situation is challenging for police in several respects. For example, terrorists operate with a different type of motivation than traditional criminals and often are willing to die to further their causes. Terrorists may employ tools (chemical, biological, or radiological) or explosive weapons of mass destruction that local and state police are ill equipped to resist. When local and state police engage in counterterrorism activities, they often work with national-level agencies that they have not traditionally had much interaction with, such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Agency (NSA). Homeland security engages the police with the military in a way that has historically been discouraged in America (the military has generally been restricted in its role within the borders of the United States). Overall, the counterterrorism and homeland security missions tend to thrust federal agencies into the forefront; this is awkward because local and state police have historically had the primary responsibility for law enforcement and crime control in the United States.

We will have more to say about the specific challenges of post-9/11 policing in Chapter 15. In the big picture, these challenges go to the core issues of democracy and law—how best to ensure safety and order while protecting individual freedoms. Institutions such as Congress, the president, and the courts are responsible for making and reviewing laws and programs designed to support safety with freedom. But there is no more crucial institution than the police when it comes to constructing the reality of safety and freedom on the streets and in our communities. In “Voices from the Field,” former Philadelphia police commissioner Charles Ramsey provides his perspective on balancing policing and freedom in the post-9/11 era.

Police Systems

At a fundamental level, there are three basic types of police in the United States: citizens, private police, and public police. This book is primarily about public police officers.

It is not uncommon for people in a democracy to participate in the policing process. As citizens, we may make arrests when a felony is committed in our presence (in some states, citizens may also arrest for breaches of the peace). When we report a crime and cooperate in the subsequent investigation, we are participating in the policing process. Another type of citizen involvement is related to the legal doctrine of *posse comitatus*, in which individuals can be required to assist police officers. This conjures up the image of the sheriff’s or marshal’s posse in Western movies, but it also includes the possibility that any of us, if requested, would be required to aid a police officer.

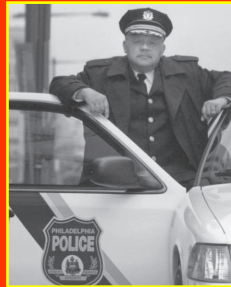
Vigilantism is another example of citizen participation in law enforcement. Historically, vigilantes were community members (e.g., civic, business, or religious leaders) or mobs who

VOICES FROM THE FIELD

Charles H. Ramsey

Police Commissioner (Ret.), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; formerly Chief of Police, Metropolitan Police Department in Washington, DC

When I was chief of the Metropolitan Police Department in Washington, DC, I partnered with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Anti-Defamation League to build an experiential training program called “Law Enforcement and Society: Lessons from the Holocaust.”



With the Holocaust as the historical backdrop, police officers are asked to examine their role in a democratic and pluralistic society. The program gains access to some of the most critical issues facing police officers and law enforcement agencies today—issues such as racial profiling, biased policing, equal treatment under the law, and, perhaps most importantly, the role of police officers in upholding the rights of all citizens.

What followed from the state-sanctioned policies in Nazi Germany 70 years ago was nothing short of the denial of the most basic of human rights and individual freedoms. And almost from the beginning, local police were intimately involved in this process. Whether it was providing intelligence information to invading army troops or harassing people who violated Nazi taboos, arresting political opponents or being the foot soldiers in the mobile killing squads, local police soon became integrated into the Nazi reign of repression and brutality. The Holocaust, however, did not just happen overnight. It occurred along a continuum that started with the use of inappropriate language separating people along the lines of religion and nationality and ended with the absolute denial of a person’s constitutional rights.

The Law Enforcement and Society program is a critical part of teaching law enforcement officers our core values of democracy—fairness, equality, and compassion. In that moment where a police officer encounters a victim of crime, or is arresting an offender, or is answering a request for directions, or on routine patrol, she has a choice about how to treat the person

standing before her. Does she treat him with dignity and respect? Or does she see him simply as the “other,” based on a label such as race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, class, ability, nationality, or ethnicity?

The lesson in the Law Enforcement and Society training is straightforward, but powerful: When police officers violate their oath and their code of ethics, there are consequences—devastating consequences. We cannot close our eyes and divorce ourselves from our own sense of morality. We cannot think of ourselves, as we are so often portrayed, as the “thin blue line” between right and wrong or good and evil. I believe that is an inadequate metaphor and that true “community policing” does not define police officers as a line—thin, blue, or otherwise. We are not now—nor should we ever be—something that divides and separates our communities.

Rather, I like to think of the police as a thread—a thread that is woven throughout the communities we serve and that holds together the very fabric of democracy and freedom in our communities. If the police begin to unravel, then our very democracy begins to unravel as well. That image, much more so than the thin blue line concept, captures the true role of the police in protecting and preserving a free society.

took the law into their own hands. These groups developed as the result of a public perception that the existing law enforcement system was inadequate and corrupt or that it did not serve the interests of the vigilantes (Walker 1977, 30–31). Although it was more common in the nineteenth century, this type of citizen involvement in law enforcement still occurs.

There are also both public and private police. **Public police** are employed, trained, and paid by a government agency; their purpose is to serve the general interest of all citizens. **Private police** are those police employed and paid to serve the specific purposes, within the law, of an individual or organization. A municipal police officer is a public police officer; a guard at a bank or department store is a private police officer. One way in which these lines can be blurred is that public police may sometimes also serve in a private capacity when they are off duty and hired to provide security, such as at a nightclub or shopping center.

Public police agencies fit into the governmental structure in different ways. On the one hand, most police chiefs report to an elected official (mayor) or appointed official (city manager) within the executive branch of government, although a few report directly to a city council or quasi-independent police commission. Sheriffs, on the other hand, are elected by the voters and generally report only to them. There is one important caveat to the independence of sheriffs, however—they usually must apply to a county council for a portion of their annual budget. Thus, although sheriffs are directly elected officials, they are typically dependent on other elected officials for the resources they need to operate. This is another example of checks and balances.

Public police organizations are part of the **criminal justice system**, which includes the courts and correctional institutions. The police function as the “gatekeepers” of the criminal justice system because they determine who will be cited or arrested. The judicial branch and its representatives, including prosecutors, defense attorneys, and judges, process the accused to determine guilt or innocence and to sentence those who are convicted. The correctional part of the system (e.g., probation, community treatment programs, jails, prisons, parole) supervises, rehabilitates, and/or punishes convicted criminals.

Around the world, police systems vary greatly. One feature that varies is the extent to which police systems are unitary or fragmented. Some countries have one police institution for the entire nation—these are unitary systems. Many other countries have more than one police institution, but still only a few, such as a national police plus a gendarmerie for rural areas, or a preventive police, an investigative police, and a border police. At the other end of the spectrum are countries that have many separate police institutions, often dispersed among national, state, and local levels of government. Mexico, India, Brazil, Germany, Canada, and England have relatively fragmented police systems.

A second important feature of police systems in different countries is their connection to the military. The modern trend has been toward a clear separation of the police and the military, partly in the spirit of checks and balances on government authority, but mainly because the use of military power against a country’s own citizens is considered repressive except in the gravest emergencies. In some countries, however, the police and the military are still indistinguishable or the police are subservient to the military.

The police system in the United States is distinctive with regard to both of these comparative features. Police in the United States are clearly separate from, and independent of, the military. Even at the federal (national) level, where most military resources and assets are situated, the military is in the Department of Defense, whereas law enforcement agencies are mainly in the DOJ and the Department of Homeland Security. As described in the following section, when it comes to unitary versus fragmented policing systems, ours is the most fragmented in the world by far.

The U.S. Police System

The most distinctive feature of American policing is that it is fragmented and local. There are almost 18,000 public police agencies in the United States (Reaves 2011), far more than can be found in any other country. Almost 90 percent (15,564 agencies) are local (city, town, township, village, borough, parish, county, etc.), whereas the rest are federal, state, or special-purpose law enforcement agencies.

The organization of the U.S. police tends to follow the geographical and political structure of the U.S. government. Each of the levels of government—federal, state, county (or parish in Louisiana), and municipal—has police powers and may have its own police forces. The federal and state levels of government tend to have multiple police forces that specialize in specific types of law enforcement. County and municipal (collectively called local) governments each tend to have just one police force that provides a wide range of police services.

Law enforcement organizations differ, in part, by their legal **jurisdiction**, including the criminal matters over which they have authority. For example, the jurisdiction of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) Criminal Investigation Division is limited to violations of federal tax laws. The FBI is the most generalist law enforcement agency of the federal government. It is charged with the investigation of all federal laws not assigned to some other agency (e.g., the Secret Service or the Postal Service or the Internal Revenue Service). By contrast, local police enforce all laws that are applicable, including state laws and local ordinances, within the legally incorporated limits of their city or county. Their jurisdiction is defined mostly by geography, whereas federal agency jurisdictions are nationwide, but limited to specific federal statutes.

The federal government has more than 60 agencies with law enforcement and investigative powers (see Table 1.2 for a list of the 10 largest federal law enforcement agencies). State governments, in addition to having a state police or highway patrol department (e.g., the

TABLE 1.2 Ten Largest Federal Agencies with the Authority to Carry Firearms and Make Arrests

AGENCY	FULL-TIME OFFICERS
U.S. Customs and Border Protection	36,863
Federal Bureau of Prisons	16,835
Federal Bureau of Investigation	12,760
U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement	12,446
U.S. Secret Service	5,213
Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts ^a	4,696
Drug Enforcement Administration	4,308
U.S. Marshals Service	3,313
Veterans Health Administration	3,128
Internal Revenue Service, Criminal Investigation	2,636

Note: Excludes employees based in U.S. territories or foreign countries.

^a Limited to federal probation officers employed in federal judicial districts that allow officers to carry firearms.

Source: B. A. Reaves, *Federal Law Enforcement Officers, 2008* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2012), 2. <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/fleo08.pdf/>.

Alaska Department of Public Safety, the New York State Police, or the California Highway Patrol), often have other agencies with police powers to address such matters as revenue collection, parks and recreation, and alcoholic beverage control. At the county level, the most common type of law enforcement agency is the sheriff's office, but some counties also have investigators who work for prosecuting attorneys and public defenders. In addition, some counties have police departments (e.g., Fairfax County, Virginia). When there is a county police department, the sheriff's department is usually responsible for operating the county jail and for assisting the courts but does not engage in extensive policing activities. Finally, municipal governments typically have their own police force (e.g., the Los Angeles Police Department [LAPD]). County sheriffs and local police are generally involved in patrolling, responding to calls for service, and conducting investigations; however, sheriffs' departments also invest substantial resources in managing jails and providing court services.

Table 1.3 presents information on state and local law enforcement agencies by size of the organization. Small police departments are most common. Almost half of all U.S. police agencies have fewer than 10 full-time sworn officers. Nearly 75 percent have fewer than 25 officers, and more than 90 percent have fewer than 100 officers. This feature of American law enforcement is important to keep in mind. Although most of us picture the FBI, New York Police Department, or LAPD when we think of police organizations, Mayberry RFD is more typical.

The most common type of local law enforcement agency is the municipal (city, town, township, village, borough) police force. There were 12,501 municipal police departments in the year 2008, at the latest census of law enforcement agencies (Reaves 2011). The next most common type is the county sheriff's department (3,063). Other types of local law enforcement agencies such as tribal police departments, county police departments, and multijurisdictional regional agencies account for about 2 percent of the total. There are also 638 local constable and marshal offices, many filled by election, though their authority is frequently limited.

TABLE 1.3 State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies by Size of Agency

NUMBER OF FULL-TIME SWORN PERSONNEL	NUMBER OF AGENCIES	PERCENTAGE OF AGENCIES
All sizes	17,985	100.0
1,000 or more	83	0.5
500–999	89	0.5
250–499	237	1.3
100–249	778	4.3
50–99	1,300	7.2
25–49	2,402	13.4
10–24	4,300	23.9
5–9	3,446	19.2
2–4	3,225	17.9
0–1	2,125	11.8

Source: B. A. Reaves, *Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 2008* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011), 2. <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/leo08.pdf/>.

TABLE 1.4 Thirty Largest State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies by Number of Full-Time Sworn Personnel

AGENCY	FULL-TIME SWORN PERSONNEL
New York (NY) Police	36,023
Chicago (IL) Police	13,354
Los Angeles (CA) Police	9,727
Los Angeles County (CA) Sheriff	9,461
California Highway Patrol	7,202
Philadelphia (PA) Police	6,624
Cook Co. (IL) Sheriff	5,655
Houston (TX) Police	5,053
New York State Police	4,847
Pennsylvania State Police	4,458
Washington (DC) Metropolitan Police	3,742
Texas Department of Public Safety	3,529
Dallas (TX) Police	3,389
Phoenix (AZ) Police	3,388
Miami–Dade County (FL) Police	3,093
New Jersey State Police	3,053
Baltimore (MD) Police	2,990
Las Vegas (NV) Metropolitan Police	2,942
Nassau County (NY) Police	2,732
Suffolk County (NY) Police	2,622
Harris County (TX) Sheriff	2,558
Massachusetts State Police	2,310
Detroit (MI) Police	2,250
Boston (MA) Police	2,181
Riverside County (CA) Sheriff	2,147
Illinois State Police	2,105
San Antonio (TX) Police	2,020
Milwaukee (WI) Police	1,987
San Diego (CA) Police	1,951
San Francisco (CA) Police	1,940

Source: B. A. Reaves, *Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 2008* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011), 14. <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/leo08.pdf>.

Although the typical police department in the United States is small, there are some large law enforcement agencies in the country (see Table 1.4). Fifteen federal law enforcement agencies have 1,000 or more sworn personnel (Reaves 2012). Each state has a state police or highway patrol agency, all with at least 100 sworn personnel (North Dakota is the smallest, with 139 full-time sworn officers, and California is the largest, with 7,202). In

addition, there are 49 local agencies with 1,000 or more sworn police personnel. The largest municipal police department is in New York City, with 36,023 full-time sworn personnel. The largest sheriff's department is in Los Angeles County, with 9,461 sworn personnel (Reaves 2011).

Police agencies are one important aspect of the structure of policing in America—another is *police employment*. Consistent with what has been described earlier, most police officers work at the local level. About 73 percent of America's 885,000 sworn law enforcement officers work for local agencies, 14 percent for federal agencies, 7 percent for primary state agencies, and 6 percent for special-purpose agencies (Reaves 2011, 2012). The proportion of all officers who work for large agencies might be surprising, however, given the preponderance of small police departments. The reason is that small agencies are just that—small. There are a lot of them (more than 16,000 with fewer than 100 officers), but by definition they do not employ many personnel. Thus, although more than 90 percent of American law enforcement agencies have fewer than 100 officers, those agencies employ only about 31 percent of all sworn police officers in the country. To put it another way, 69 percent of all police *officers* in the United States (including federal, state, and local) work for agencies with more than 100 sworn officers.

The pattern of police agencies and police employment varies substantially across the United States (Cordner 2011; Reaves 2011, 2012). In general, western states have fewer law enforcement agencies and fewer police officers in proportion to their population than mid-western or eastern states. Hawaii and California have the fewest police agencies per population, and South Dakota and North Dakota have the most. Washington and Vermont have the fewest police officers per population while Louisiana and New York have the most. Rural states tend to rely more on state police than urbanized states—the most “state police-dependent” states are Delaware, Vermont, West Virginia, and Alaska. Sheriffs' departments play a big role in law enforcement in some states and a negligible role in others. The states in which sheriffs' departments represent the biggest portion of police employment are Louisiana, Wyoming, Florida, and Idaho. At the other end of the spectrum, the least “sheriff-dependent” states (not counting Alaska and Hawaii, which have no counties and therefore no sheriffs' departments at all) are Delaware, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island.

Other Types of Law Enforcement Agencies

In addition to the basic structure of policing described earlier, there are several other forms of public policing, including tribal police, public safety agencies, consolidated agencies, regional police, special-jurisdiction police, contract law enforcement, and task forces.

Tribal police are law enforcement agencies created and operated by Native Americans. Their jurisdiction is usually, but not always, limited to reservation land. These types of police agencies are separate from the law enforcement organizations operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is a federal agency.

Public safety agencies represent the integration of police and firefighting services (and possibly other services like disaster preparedness, hazardous waste disposal, and emergency medical services). This integration can be limited to administrative matters or may include the joint performance of both firefighting and police duties. When the duties or work are integrated, employees are trained to perform both police and firefighting activities.

Consolidated agencies represent the integration of two or more police departments. This integration can be either by function or by organization. Functional, or partial,

integration involves combining the same activity, perhaps communications or training. For example, two or more police departments may decide to share the same communication system or develop a common training academy. Organizational integration involves two or more departments becoming one. This usually occurs between a county and a city department, as in Clark County–Las Vegas, Nevada, or Duval County–Jacksonville, Florida, but it could also involve two or more cities.

Historically, it has been common for communities to consider the consolidation of police departments, particularly in urban areas. Supporters of consolidation argue that a larger police force can provide better service at lower cost. Although this argument is not always accurate, it does tend to generate support for consolidation. Opponents of consolidation argue that if the community maintains control of its own police force, it will be more responsive to the needs of that community. Citizens often want to maintain direct control over the use of police power in their community. Although functional consolidation of police departments is common in urban areas, the complete consolidation of two or more police departments is rare.

Regional police can result from full-fledged consolidation, but generally the term refers to a situation in which two or more local governments decide to jointly operate a police agency across their jurisdictions. The regional police agency is often overseen by a board or commission with representation from all participating jurisdictions, and funding is provided by each on a proportional basis. Pennsylvania is distinctive in having several of these types of agencies, such as the York Area Regional Police Department, which serves two townships and six boroughs.

Special-jurisdiction police usually have the same police powers as the officers employed in other police departments, but they tend to have jurisdiction in a tightly specified area. Colleges and universities often have their own campus police force (e.g., the San Jose State University Police Department). Other examples include transit police (e.g., the Bay Area Rapid Transit in California), park or recreation area police, and public school police. Table 1.5 provides data on the number and types of special-jurisdiction police.

Contract law enforcement, or contract policing, involves a contractual arrangement between two units of government in which one agrees to provide law enforcement services for

TABLE 1.5 Special-Jurisdiction Law Enforcement Agencies by Type of Jurisdiction and Number of Full-Time Sworn Personnel

TYPE OF SPECIAL JURISDICTION	AGENCIES	FULL-TIME SWORN PERSONNEL
Total	1,733	56,968
College/university/school	1,011	18,328
Other public buildings/facilities	115	3,090
Natural resources	246	14,571
Transportation systems/facilities	167	11,508
Criminal investigations	140	7,310
Special enforcement	54	2,161

Source: B. A. Reaves, *Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 2008* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011), 7. <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/leo08.pdf/>.

the other. For example, a county sheriff's department might enter into a contract with a municipality to provide a given level of police service for a certain amount of money. The municipality might not wish to pay to establish its own police department or it might believe it would receive better services from the larger organization. Although it is possible to have a contractual relationship between any two governmental units, the most common relationship is between a county and a city. Contract law enforcement is common in many urban areas.

Task forces are a form of functional consolidation but tend to be temporary (i.e., from a few weeks to years) rather than permanent. Some task forces, however, have lasted more than 20 years. Two or more departments may decide to create a task force to respond to crimes such as auto theft, drugs and related problems, serial rape, or serial murder. Cooperative arrangements can exist at the local level (e.g., several municipal police departments and the county sheriff) or between local and state, or local and federal, law enforcement agencies (e.g., a drug, gun, or gang violence task force). A task force may also include representatives from other criminal justice agencies (e.g., probation and parole) or other governmental and community organizations (e.g., social services). What is unique about this arrangement is that it involves the joint efforts of two or more police departments directed toward common problems.

Similarities and Differences

Local police, when compared with state and federal law enforcement, have the most employees, cost the most money, deal with most reported crime, respond to the majority of other police-related problems that occur (traffic accidents, domestic disputes, barking dogs), and tend to have a closer relationship with citizens. State police, naturally, are spread farther apart, tend not to be as closely connected to local communities, and often have a primary focus on traffic safety. Federal law enforcement agencies, with a few exceptions (such as the U.S. Park Police), are mainly investigative and are least connected to local communities.

There are substantial differences within these categories, however. Some local agencies are large and have many personnel who perform specialized duties (investigation, traffic, juvenile, etc.), whereas others are small, with no specialization. State law enforcement agencies vary, especially between state police and highway patrol and depending on whether the state has a separate Bureau of Investigation or whether that function is incorporated within the state police. Even federal agencies that might seem similar have significant differences. For example, the FBI has traditionally emphasized reactive (after the fact) investigation (although that has shifted to some degree since 9/11), whereas the Drug Enforcement Agency has long emphasized proactive and instigative methods of investigation (Wilson 1978). A significant amount of Secret Service work involves executive protection rather than investigation.

Local jurisdictions vary greatly among urban, suburban, and rural, from New York City to rustic West Virginia, remote Alaska, or the Mississippi Delta. Although urban crime rates tend to be higher than rural crime rates, crime associated with urban areas is often exported to rural areas; for example, urban drug trafficking is a driving force behind the spread of drug use and the development of gangs in rural areas. Some of the crimes that tend to be associated with rural areas include growing marijuana and manufacturing methamphetamine; theft of crops, timber, and animals; and poaching. Some crimes in rural areas are more easily solved (i.e., an arrest is made) because homicide, rape, and assault are more likely to occur among acquaintances than in urban areas. Also, rural witnesses may be better able to personally identify observed suspects. By contrast, a witness in an urban area is more likely to be describing a total stranger.

INSIDE POLICING 1.1 The Only Cop in Town

The United States has 2,000 or so one-officer police departments. This photo-essay highlights “the only cop in town” in three such agencies located in Delaware, Kansas, and Alaska, along with brief audio clips. One common theme for the chiefs is that they know their residents, and the residents know them, which has its pros and cons. One comments, “You know everybody, and you know how they are. You’re seeing them at their worst, but you know how they are at their best too.”

Discussion Question: Sometimes we say that police should treat everybody the same. But we also say that police should use discretion in order to treat us as people, not just pieces of work. Which way do you lean, and why?

SOURCE: Modern Policing blog, October 24, 2018. gcordner.wordpress.com/2018/10/24/the-only-cop-in-town/.

Sims (1996, 45) describes other differences that exist between urban and rural police:

Urban police tend not to live where they work, while rural officers do. . . . [R]ural law enforcement is personalistic and nonbureaucratic, in contrast to the formality, impersonality and bureaucratization of urban police. Rural law enforcement involves . . . more face-to-face interaction and communication. [It also] . . . includes a greater . . . percentage of police–acquaintance contacts and . . . [fewer] police–stranger contacts.

In addition, rural law enforcement officers, more than their urban counterparts, often work with lower budgets, fewer staff, less equipment, and fewer written policies. They typically work alone and must wait longer for back-up assistance. But they also appear to be more efficient than urban police and more respected by the public. The context in which rural police work takes place also affects their activities (see Inside Policing 1.1). Rural citizens may be more likely to rely on informal social controls (i.e., take care of the problem themselves) than to report a “private” matter to the police. In addition, rural residents may be more likely to mistrust government and, therefore, may be more reluctant to share information (Weisheit, Falcone, and Wells 1994; McDonald, Wood, and Pflug 1996).

Police Role and Purpose

Egon Bittner (1970, 46) famously described the core of the police role as “the distribution of nonnegotiable coercive force employed in accordance with the dictates of an intuitive grasp of situational exigencies.” The police are who we call when something really bad is happening right now, and we give them the authority to deal with it forcefully, if necessary. Moreover, police have discretion in deciding what to do and how to do it. None of this authority or discretion is unlimited, but the reality is that society needs a mechanism for handling trouble, including trouble that must be dealt with immediately. That mechanism is the police.

The police are the major representatives of the legal system in their transactions with citizens. The police “adapt the universal standards of the law to the requirements of the citizen and the public . . . through their right to exercise discretion.” They are also the “major emergency arm of the community in times of personal and public crisis.” In carrying out their mandate, the police “possess a virtual monopoly on the legitimate use of force” (Reiss 1971, 1–2).

Although using force may be at the core of the police role, the police also provide a variety of more mundane governmental and social services. In doing their job, the police have intimate contact with a wide variety of citizens in a wide variety of situations:

Police officers deal with people when they are both most threatening and most vulnerable, when they are angry, when they are frightened, when they are desperate, when they are drunk, when they are violent, or when they are ashamed. Every police action can affect in some way someone's dignity, or self-respect, or sense of privacy, or constitutional rights. (President's Commission 1967, 91–92)

The police role is the part that police are expected to play in a democratic society. There are several major sources of expectations concerning what the police should do and how they should do it, including the law, the police organization, the community, and the individual (Roberg, Kuykendall, and Novak 2002). The extent of role-related conflict over the police either increases or decreases depending on the degree to which these expectations are shared. When expectations from different sources are compatible, there is minimal difficulty in deciding what the police should do and how they should do it. When expectations differ, however, conflict can arise over the police role.

1. **Legal expectations.** Laws provide the basic framework in which the police are supposed to function. Although the police do not always follow the law, legal expectations have a substantial influence on what they do and how they behave. Police do not enforce all laws all the time, however; rather, they exercise discretion in deciding what laws to enforce and how to enforce them. These discretionary decisions may not always be compatible with what either the formal organization or the community expects.
2. **Organizational expectations.** The formal and informal aspects of a police department produce organizational expectations. Formal expectations are derived from leaders, supervisors, training programs, and the goals, objectives, policies, procedures, and regulations of the police department. Informal expectations are derived from officers' peers, the work group, and the police culture (Crank 1998; Paoline 2001). Officers are strongly influenced by their work experiences and the way in which they adjust to the emotional, psychological, intellectual, and physical demands of police work. They must attempt to do their job in a manner that is acceptable to both the police department and their peers, while trying to stay safe and not provoke citizen complaints.
3. **Community expectations.** Societal trends and problems, in general and in each community, create an environment of community expectations. Individual citizens and subgroups—women and men, youth, rich and poor, traditionalists and cosmopolitans, members of minority groups, immigrants—all have their own opinions about police and their own priorities and preferences. In some communities there can be a reasonable degree of consensus about the role that the police should play, but in many communities there are divergent expectations. To add an additional complication, these expectations often change over time in response to specific events, evolving conditions, or changes in the composition of the community.
4. **Individual expectations.** Police employees' individual expectations refer to their personal perspectives concerning the degree to which their needs are met by the organization and their working environment. All employees expect to be treated

fairly and adequately rewarded. They also have their own beliefs about police work and how the police role should be carried out. Those beliefs may be affected by peers and the police culture, but they can also be individualistic—police officers can have “pet peeves” just like anybody else (Linn 2008).

Law Enforcement or Politics?

What is the most effective way to integrate the role of police into a democratic society? At the extremes there are two alternatives: one that is rule-oriented and one that is responsive and individualized. The former is a legalistic (or bureaucratic, quasi-military, professional, or reform) approach; the latter is a political approach. The concept of a law enforcement or legalistic approach assumes that justice is a product of consistent application of laws and departmental policies and procedures. Ideally, these laws, policies, and procedures are rationally developed and free of any bias that would be inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the society.

There are two different variations of the political view of the police role. One is that laws and the police primarily serve the interest of the most influential persons in a community. Such individuals are considered above the law, whereas others are treated more harshly. This view leads to politics of preference and discrimination. The second view focuses on responsiveness and individualization. Its advocates argue that strict enforcement of the rules does not take into account the uniqueness of the problems and needs of individuals and neighborhood groups in the community. Complete consistency is not required, and preferential treatment and discrimination are not inevitable if police officers are professional. The police response should be lawful but otherwise a function of the situational context and community values as they relate to community problems.

This debate between the legalistic and the political approach emphasizes a long-standing tension in democratic societies—the rule of law versus community expectations. At the one extreme is the uncaring bureaucrat who never deviates from the rules and does not seek opinions about which rules are important and when and how they should be applied. At the other extreme is the tyranny of the majority. However much we subscribe to the rule of law, those who provide government service are often called on to tailor that service to the needs of a particular community. But how can they do this without providing preferential treatment for some (individuals, groups, neighborhoods) while discriminating against others? The answer to this question remains elusive and varies concerning how, or even whether, it can be done.

The legalistic approach and the two variants of the political approach to the role of the police identify three possible types of police–community relationships. The *political model* refers to a police–community relationship that is plagued by problems of preferential treatment, discrimination, and corruption. The *legalistic or reform/professional model* is based on the assumption that political influence has a corrupting influence on policing; therefore, the police–community relationship must be more structured or bureaucratic. The *community policing model* is based on the desirability of the police being responsive to individuals and groups while at the same time not engaging in preferential treatment or discrimination.

Crime-Fighting or Social Service?

The debate about whether the police should only fight crime or should also provide social services influences the priority given to police activities, the type of personnel selected, the way officers are trained, and the styles that officers adopt. Officers who consider

INSIDE POLICING 1.2 Not a Police Matter

Police have been called recently to deal with a black guy wearing socks at a private pool (in Memphis), an 11-year-old black kid on his first day delivering newspapers (in Cincinnati), a 12-year-old black kid mowing a lawn who accidentally crossed into a neighbor's yard (outside Cleveland), and a 9-year-old black girl selling water outside her apartment building (in San Francisco). This article discusses what police should do, including having call takers ask more specific questions and routing such calls through supervisors before assigning them to patrol officers.

Discussion Question: These seem to be cases in which the caller (the complainant) thinks something is suspicious, mainly due to the person's race. What should the police do when they get calls like this? What happens if they ignore the call? What happens if they respond and check it out?

SOURCE: *Modern Policing* blog, July 16, 2018. <https://gcordner.wordpress.com/2018/07/16/not-a-police-matter/>.

themselves crime-fighters believe that crime is a function of a rational choice made by criminals and that the primary police purpose is to patrol and conduct investigations to deter crime and apprehend offenders. Officers who consider themselves social service providers believe that crime results from a variety of causes and that there are other police activities, such as crime prevention education and community building, that may also reduce the crime rate. The social service orientation tends to result in more police-community involvement and a less aggressive and authoritarian approach to policing.

There are, of course, no “pure” crime-fighters or social service providers; however, the belief that police are, or should be, one or the other influences how the police role in a community will be constructed. Often the role expectations vary by source. Some communities, neighborhoods, or groups may expect police to be crime-fighters, whereas others may want a social service orientation. Often, police officers prefer to think of themselves as crime-fighters.

Proactive or Reactive?

Proactive police work emphasizes police-initiated activities by the individual officer and the department. **Reactive** police work occurs more in the form of responses to incidents when assistance is specifically requested by citizens. Giving a traffic ticket or other citation or conducting a field interrogation of someone acting suspiciously is proactive. Developing a solution to a crime or other problem that is designed to keep it from occurring is also proactive. For example, undercover decoy programs are proactive, as are “stakeouts” (following suspected career criminals) and picking up truants (who may be committing burglaries when absent from school). Responding to specific incidents based on citizen requests and following up on those incidents are reactive responses.

Proactive responses can be problematic because they make the police more intrusive in the community—that is, police are more likely to initiate contacts or tactics without being asked, and some proactive efforts are potentially dangerous (e.g., stakeout and decoy programs). Being proactive can be associated with good management, but it may also be intrusive and risky. In recent years, several police departments, including Philadelphia and New York, were criticized for excessive use of “stop-and-frisk” (American Civil Liberties Union of Pennsylvania 2016; New York Civil Liberties Union 2016). A particular concern is that when police proactively stop people they think are acting suspiciously, conscious or

unconscious bias may influence who they decide to stop, resulting in racial profiling or other forms of discrimination.

Which is more compatible with democracy—a police force that is primarily reactive or one that is more proactive? Passive reactive policing interferes with our freedom the least, but likely also protects us the least. In trying to strike the right balance, it may be important to distinguish the degree to which proactive police work is in response to community expectations (but see Inside Policing 1.2) versus the expectations of the police department or individual police officers. What is clear, however, is that the more proactive and intrusive the police are, the greater the risk to police officers, citizens, and democracy.

Police Activities and Workload

As these debates about the role of the police suggest, police officers perform a variety of different kinds of tasks and activities. Since the 1960s, many studies have attempted to summarize the nature of police work by categorizing different measures of reactive and proactive police work, such as calls to the police, calls dispatched, time consumed, and encounters with citizens. By the 1980s, it had become widely accepted that actual police work, as contrasted with its depiction in the media, was a rich and varied blend of several types of activities, including crime control (taking crime reports, investigating crimes, inquiring into suspicious circumstances), law enforcement (making arrests, issuing traffic citations), order maintenance (handling disputes, keeping the peace), and service (from finding lost children to helping disabled motorists). The actual mix of these different types of activity varies among different jurisdictions (such as between a city and an affluent suburb) and among different patrol beats within a jurisdiction.

The most comprehensive study of patrol work was the Police Services Study (Whitaker 1982). This study examined patrol work in 60 different neighborhoods, with observers accompanying patrol officers on all shifts in 24 police departments (including 21 municipal and 3 county sheriffs' departments). The observers collected information on each encounter between a police officer and a citizen, detailing nearly 6,000 encounters in all. The fact that this study included so many different police departments and police-initiated as well as citizen-initiated activity makes it persuasive. In a sophisticated reanalysis of the Police Services Study, Mastrofski (1983) examined the most frequent incidents encountered by patrol officers. He found the following breakdown:

- 29.1%—Crime-related incidents
- 24.1%—Traffic regulation and enforcement
- 22.7%—Nuisances, disputes, and dependent persons
- 24.1%—Services and other miscellaneous incidents

The Police Services Study also examined the specific actions that police officers took during their 6,000 encounters with the public. The percentages indicate the proportion of all encounters in which police officers took each kind of action. (These numbers add up to more than 100 percent because officers often took more than one type of action in an encounter.)

- 57% Interviewed a witness or person requesting service
- 40% Interrogated a suspect
- 29% Conducted a search or inspection
- 28% Lectured or threatened (other than threat of force)

- 27% Gave information
- 23% Gave reassurance
- 14% Used force or threat of force
- 11% Gave assistance
- 9% Gave a ticket
- 8% Used persuasion
- 5% Made an arrest
- 2% Gave medical help

The police invoked the law relatively rarely, making arrests in only 5 percent of the encounters and issuing tickets in fewer than 1 of 10 encounters. Officers used force or the threat of force in 14 percent of the encounters (with force actually used in 5 percent, most of which amounted only to handcuffing or taking a suspect by the arm). The use of force or its threat was about equally likely in situations involving crime, disorder, and traffic encounters, but rare in service situations.

Perhaps the most interesting characteristic of police work revealed by these percentages is the importance of interpersonal communication. Five of the six most common actions taken by officers consisted entirely of talking and listening: interviewing, interrogating, lecturing or threatening, giving information, and giving reassurance. Police officers primarily use communication to determine what is happening in any given situation, and it is primarily through communication that an amicable solution is reached. Enforcing the law and using force often come into play only after communication tactics and informal solutions prove unsuccessful, although, of course, serious law violations do sometimes require immediate enforcement, and very dangerous suspects may warrant immediate use of force.

The traffic function of policing accounts for a sizable portion of all police–citizen encounters and significantly affects how the public views the police. According to a study based on a large sample of U.S. residents, 53 million Americans aged 16 or older had a police contact in 2015, with vehicle stops accounting for 47 percent (Davis, Whyde, and Langton 2018). Of those involved in vehicle stops, 91 percent said the stop was legitimate and 90 percent or more said the police behaved properly and respectfully, unless there was a search or arrest, in which case 67 percent said the police behavior was proper and respectful.

Police officers typically have a great deal of discretion in making traffic stops and issuing citations, and the level of traffic enforcement varies greatly among individual officers and between different departments. Some departments have no formal policies regarding traffic enforcement, although there are often informal policies and expectations. For example, specialized traffic units may have policies requiring officers to generate at least one citation per hour, whereas regular patrol officers may be expected to write one or two citations per shift. Such policies or expectations can lead to unequal traffic enforcement, with officers scrambling at the end of shifts or at the end of the month to “keep their numbers up” or “meet their quotas.” We will have a great deal more to say about police behavior and police use of force in Chapters 9 and 10.

Police Goals and Strategies

In this section we have discussed several different ways of thinking about the role of the police in a free society and also some information about what police officers actually do. To complete the discussion, we will consider what police officers and entire police agencies

TABLE 1.6 Dimensions of Police Performance

Reduce crime and victimization
Call offenders to account
Reduce fear and enhance personal security
Ensure civility in public spaces (ordered liberty)
Quality services/customer satisfaction
Use force and authority fairly, efficiently, and effectively
Use financial resources fairly, efficiently, and effectively

Source: M. H. Moore and A. Braga, *The “Bottom Line” of Policing: What Citizens Should Value (and Measure) in Police Performance* (Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum, 2003), 18.

are supposed to accomplish (their purpose or goals). We will also briefly touch on the strategies that police agencies use to try to accomplish their goals.

A particularly useful listing of police goals is provided in Table 1.6. Moore and Braga (2003) present these goals as the “bottom line” of policing. This framework illustrates that the police bottom line (i.e., the measuring stick that we should use to determine how well a police agency or individual officer is performing) is actually multidimensional. This is another way of saying that we expect the police to accomplish several different things, more or less simultaneously. This helps explain why policing is complex and also why different members of the community might have different opinions about how well their police are performing—opinions regarding which goals are most or least important vary from person to person and also over time.

Individual officers who give the highest priority to the goal of calling offenders to account tend to perceive the police role as mainly law enforcement, in contrast to officers who put more priority on maintaining order (ensuring civility in public places) or reassuring the public (reducing fear). An emphasis on reducing crime reflects the crime-fighter role, whereas the social service role tends to focus somewhat more on satisfying the public by providing quality services. A proactive approach to policing might promise more success in reducing crime or holding offenders accountable, but at the risk of inefficient or unfair use of police power and authority. The interplay among these different dimensions of police performance helps explain the different ways that police officers (and the public) perceive the police role.

At the police agency level, we can see the same thing. Some police departments put their highest priority on reducing crime, perhaps because their jurisdiction has a high crime rate or because the police chief adheres to the crime-fighter role. Other police departments seem to focus more on maintaining order or providing services, perhaps because crime rates are lower in their jurisdictions or in response to different community and political expectations (Wilson 1968). Certain agencies, especially federal and some special-jurisdiction agencies, clearly put their greatest emphasis on calling offenders to account—in these agencies, investigation is the dominant activity and success is measured almost entirely in terms of cases solved.

Efficient use of financial resources has always been perceived as a high priority for taxpayers, but it has come to the forefront in recent years. Tax limitation measures adopted over the past 30 years have significantly reduced public funds in many states and local jurisdictions. In addition, the economic downturn starting in 2008 caused many police

INSIDE POLICING 1.3 Local Policing in Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania has over 2,500 municipalities and no unincorporated areas. Nearly half the municipalities have their own police departments, while the rest rely on state police, since PA sheriffs lack general police powers. This article describes the policing situation in Allegheny County, which has Pittsburgh PD and 108 other police departments. Most of the PDs are small and many depend heavily on part-time officers. The result is wide variation in staffing, workload, and pay, with the neediest communities often least able to afford reliable, consistent police service.

Discussion Question: The cost of policing has gone up substantially over the last few decades, at a rate faster than the increase in tax revenues. This has been good for police salaries, but local governments are finding it harder to afford their current level of policing. What would you suggest to solve this dilemma?

SOURCE: *Modern Policing* blog, December 19, 2018. gcordner.wordpress.com/2018/12/19/local-policing-in-pennsylvania/.

agencies to cut back on services and even lay off sworn personnel. After one or two decades during which police agencies seemed to have favored status with taxpayers, city managers, and mayors at budget time, finances have tightened and police chiefs must often find places to cut their budgets (see Inside Policing 1.3).

Additionally, the public tends to put a high priority on the “using force and authority fairly” and “quality services” dimensions. If a community believes that its police officers do not treat people fairly or if citizens have unpleasant contacts with officers, public trust and confidence are easily compromised. This seems to be true even if, at the same time, the police department can demonstrate success in achieving other goals, such as reducing crime and holding offenders to account. This characteristic of police performance is now sometimes referred to as procedural justice (Sunshine and Tyler 2003); the lesson is that process can be as important as outcome in judging the effectiveness of the police and maintaining the legitimacy of the police institution, a point to which we will return in Chapter 8.

Another implication of procedural justice and police legitimacy is that *how* the police try to accomplish their goals can be as important as whether they accomplish them, which brings strategies and tactics into the discussion. *Strategies* refers to the broad approaches that police agencies take in trying to accomplish their multiple goals, whereas *tactics* refers to narrower and more specific programs and activities. Community policing is an example of a strategy, whereas foot patrol is a tactic.

Major police strategies can be differentiated in two ways: (1) according to the specific methods that they employ, as noted previously, and (2) according to how much priority they place on the various goals of policing. In Chapters 2, 4, and 8, we discuss several police strategies, including the reform/professional model, community policing, problem-oriented policing, intelligence-led policing, and predictive policing. In a nutshell, professional policing emphasizes reducing crime and holding offenders to account, relying mainly on police presence and strict enforcement of the law. Community policing tends to put more emphasis on the goals of customer satisfaction and fear reduction than the other strategies and relies more on personalized policing, community education, and community engagement. Problem-oriented policing

emphasizes reducing the harm that is caused by crime and other types of problems, mainly by taking an analytical and preventive approach to identify tailor-made solutions to specific problems. Intelligence-led policing and predictive policing are the newest strategies, focusing mainly on crime reduction aided by high-tech approaches to prediction, prevention, and suppression.

Looking Ahead

The aim of this chapter has been to lay a brief foundation for your study of police and society. The next three chapters continue in that same vein. Chapter 2 presents the history of police to help you understand when and why modern police departments developed and how they have evolved, as well as what societies did before they had police departments as we know them today. Chapter 3 provides the legal framework of policing, including concepts from constitutional, criminal, and civil law that define the parameters or “guard-rails” within which police are allowed to use their power and authority. Chapter 4 focuses on police strategies, especially community policing and problem-oriented policing, which came to prominence in the 1990s and continue to be prominent today.

The second section of the book shifts to the organizational or administrative perspective on policing. This approach is important because police officers are members of police *organizations*, and society looks to police *organizations* to make their communities safe and free. Chapter 5 discusses police administration and management, including how police agencies are structured, how police officers are managed and led, and the challenge of achieving organizational change. Chapter 6 targets three specific police administrative processes related to acquiring and developing the right kinds of people to do police work—recruitment, selection, and training. Chapter 7 focuses on the main operational tactics and programs that police use in the field, such as patrol and investigations, while Chapter 8 focuses on contemporary innovations and alternatives aimed at more effectively accomplishing the multidimensional bottom line of policing.

The third section of the book concentrates on police behavior, in other words, what police officers do, why they do it, and how best to control it. Chapter 9 discusses a variety of types of police behavior and misbehavior, along with theories that aim to explain the behavior. Chapter 10 focuses specifically on the core of the police role, exercising force and coercion. Chapter 11 then presents information on the many internal and external methods that are used to try to hold both individual police officers and police agencies accountable for their behavior, including their use of power and authority. It has been said that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Police definitely have power, so many mechanisms must be in place to control that power and hold police accountable when power is misused.

The fourth and final section of the book discusses a variety of important contemporary issues affecting police and society. Chapter 12 reviews the experience of women and minorities in policing and explains why it is so important for police agencies to reflect the diversity of their communities. Chapter 13 examines the effects of stress on police officers and considers the highly important topic of police officer safety, including the surprising fact that fewer police die in the line of duty today than in the past. Chapter 14 assesses the role of higher education in policing; the necessity of college for police officers is an issue that has been vigorously debated since the 1960s. Chapter 15 then discusses a number of different current and emerging issues in society and within policing, such as transnational crime and cybercrime, the privatization of policing, the impact of modern technologies

such as body-worn cameras, and the still-evolving police role in homeland security and counterterrorism.

As previously noted, this is a lot of information. Each chapter is full of many important details, but as you digest them, try to keep the big picture in mind as well—policing foundations, police administration, police behavior, and contemporary issues. You might want to use that framework, along with the chapter titles, as a kind of outline or mental filing system to help you keep so much information organized in a coherent and understandable format.

Summary

The type of police a society has is determined by its history, culture, and form of government—totalitarian or democratic. In free and democratic societies, police fill an anomalous and conflicted function. The rule of law is one of the most important means for dealing with this conflict. Laws represent rules that citizens are required to follow, of course, but also rules that the police are supposed to follow in their interactions with citizens. In today's world, terrorism has introduced another new challenge for the relationship among democracy, law, and the police.

Police are defined as those nonmilitary individuals or organizations that are given the general right by government to enforce the law and maintain order, and their primary purpose is to respond to problems of individual and group conflict that involve illegal behavior. The police role and what is considered appropriate or inappropriate police behavior are influenced by legal, organizational, and community expectations as well as the personal values and beliefs of individual police officers. When the expectations arising from these different quarters all align, policing can operate from consensus in a smooth manner. Often in a democratic society, however, expectations clash, creating conflict over the police role and the specific actions that police take in their approach to crime, disorder, and other issues.

Another challenge faced in policing is a multidimensional bottom line. Society expects police to accomplish several different ends, including reducing crime as well as providing quality services, making public places orderly, and reassuring people that they are safe. In addition, police are expected to treat people fairly and equitably and to accomplish their multifaceted bottom line without expending more tax dollars than absolutely necessary. Several different police strategies currently compete for popular and professional acceptance as the most effective way to deliver policing in the twenty-first century.

Critical Thinking Questions

1. How is policing different in a free and democratic society as opposed to a totalitarian society?
2. It has been said that “democracy is always hard on the police.” Why do you think this is the case?
3. Why is the rule of law important for policing in a democracy?
4. Discuss the ramifications of the multidimensional police bottom line. If you were a mayor, how would you use this bottom line to determine how good your town's police department was and what it should do to improve?
5. The police system in the United States is very fragmented. Do you think this is a positive or a negative feature? Why?

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CHAPTER 2

Police History



CHAPTER OUTLINE

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CHAPTER OUTLINE (continued)

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 - Postal Inspectors
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KEY TERMS

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| ■ class-control theory | ■ highway patrol | ■ professionalization |
| ■ constable | ■ kin policing | ■ reform model |
| ■ constable–nightwatch system | ■ marshal | ■ sheriff |
| ■ crime-control theory | ■ nightwatch | ■ state police |
| ■ disorder-control theory | ■ patronage system | ■ thief catcher |
| ■ frankpledge system | ■ political model | ■ urban-dispersion theory |
| | ■ posse comitatus | ■ vigilante |

IT IS IMPORTANT TO understand the history of policing for several reasons. Possessing an understanding and appreciation for the history of the police allows one to identify enduring aspects of the police. It also allows for an evaluation of prior police reform efforts and provides a basis for anticipating future policing developments (Walker and Katz 2011). Yet despite extensive research into policing since the 1960s, no definitive answers exist as to what the police role should be or what particular activities are consistently more effective in reducing crime while maintaining widespread community support, particularly among the poor and minority members of society. Is it even possible for the police to be effective in reducing crime without providing preferential treatment for some while discriminating against others?

This question identifies the fundamental police problem in a democracy. The modern approach in responding to this problem is community policing, which is discussed in Chapter 4. Prior to community policing, the police used other approaches to make police compatible with democracy. These approaches, called models of policing, are briefly discussed in this chapter.

Foundations of Policing

The history of policing begins with a consideration of kin police, Greek and Roman police, and the development of policing in Europe, particularly in England, because of that country's influence on the formation of modern police departments in the United States.

Early Policing

One of the earliest methods of policing is known as **kin policing**, in which the family, clan, or tribe enforced informal and customary rules, or norms, of conduct. Often, the response to a deviation from group norms was brutal (e.g., a hand cut off for stealing or a brand on the forehead for being a criminal). In effect, each member of the group had at least some authority to enforce the informal rules (Berg 1992, 15–16).

The kin policing of clans and tribes began to change during the rise of the Greek city-states and Rome. Until about 594 BC in Greece and the third century BC in Rome, public order was the responsibility of appointed magistrates, who were unpaid, private individuals. The first paid public police officer was the *praefectus urbi*, a position created in Rome about 27 BC. By 6 AD, Rome had a large public police force that patrolled the streets night and day. After the fall of the Roman Empire, anarchy tended to prevail on the European continent until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when kings began to assume the responsibility for legal administration.

Their approach included strengthening the **nightwatch**, a group of citizens who patrolled at night looking for fires and other problems, and appointing individuals to conduct investigations, make arrests, and collect taxes. In some countries, such as France, mounted military patrols were also employed.

In the twelfth century in England, **sheriffs** were appointed by the king to levy fines and ensure that the **frankpledge system** worked. This system for keeping order had existed for centuries and was based on an organization of tithings (10 families) and hundreds (10 tithings). Eventually, these hundreds became known as parishes, and several hundred became known as a shire. The area made up of several hundred was similar to a contemporary county.

In this system, men over the age of 15 formed a **posse comitatus**, a group called out to pursue fleeing felons. In 1285 the Statute of Winchester mandated that every hundred citizens appoint two constables to assist the sheriff. Like the sheriff, the **constable** inquired into offenses (conducted investigations), served summonses and warrants, took charge of prisoners, and supervised the nightwatch. By the thirteenth century, law was administered by magistrates, who were appointed by the king, and by sheriffs and constables. In the late 1200s, the office of justice of the peace was established in England. The county sheriff was responsible for policing a county. Sheriffs were assisted by the justice of the peace, who in turn was assisted by constables.

This arrangement was the foundation for a system of law enforcement that was to stay in place until the 1800s. Much of the work of these individuals, however, except the sheriffs, was voluntary and not popular, so the practice of paying for substitutes became commonplace. In many instances, the same person was paid year after year to do the work of those who were appointed to the position but did not wish to serve. Often the substitutes were inadequately paid, elderly, poorly educated, and inefficient. These deficiencies did not help the image or effectiveness of policing in the eyes of the community.

At the end of the 1700s, families by the thousands began to move to newly established factory towns to find work. Patterns of lives were disrupted, and unprecedented social disorder resulted. Existing systems of law enforcement, primarily the justice of the peace and the constable, were inadequate to respond to the problems associated with these changes.

In the **constable–nightwatch system** of policing, the constables, who were appointed by the local justices, patrolled their parishes during the day. The constables had limited power, and when they tried to obtain citizen assistance by raising the “hue and cry” to capture a fleeing criminal, they were more likely to be ridiculed than helped. At night, men of the watch were charged with patrolling deserted streets and maintaining street lamps. However, these individuals were more likely to be found sleeping or in a pub than performing their duties.

In London, criminals had little to fear from this system of law enforcement, and they moved freely about the city streets. Victims of crime, if they were well-to-do, were protected by their servants and retainers (who formed a bodyguard or type of private police). Poorer citizens had no such protection. When property crimes were committed, the usual

procedure was for the victim to employ a **thief catcher**. This person, usually an experienced constable familiar with the criminal underworld, would attempt, for a fee, to secure the return of all or part of the stolen property. Often the thief catcher would supplement his fee by keeping part of the stolen property for himself. Thief catchers were not interested in apprehending and prosecuting criminals, but in getting paid and returning all or part of the stolen property.

Policing in Nineteenth-Century England

It is important to focus on the early policing models of nineteenth-century London because this system became a model for policing in England and, to some degree, for the United States (President's Commission 1967, 3–5). Henry Fielding, the magistrate for Middlesex and Westminster, was among the first to believe that police action could prevent crime. From 1754 to 1780 he assisted in the organization of the Bow Street station and is credited with developing the first police investigators. This station was organized into three groups that performed specific crime-control functions. Men engaged in foot patrol in the inner areas of the city. Additionally, men on horseback allowed for patrol up to 15 miles away from the Bow Street station. Finally, a group of men were responsible for responding to crime scenes to engage in investigations. These plain-clothed men became known as the *Bow Street Runners*, or *Thief Takers*, and as such represented the first detective unit (Germann, Day, and Gallati 1978).

In 1822, Sir Robert Peel, the British home secretary, criticized the poor quality of police in London. In 1829 he was able to pass the Act for Improving the Police in and Near the Metropolis, also known as the Metropolitan Police Act. This measure resulted in the creation of the first organized British metropolitan police force and the creation of modern-day police (Germann, Day, and Gallati 1978).

Initially, Charles Rowan and Richard Mayne were appointed to develop the force. They adopted a military structure and sought to employ the most competent personnel possible. There was considerable resistance, however, to this new type of police among the British populace. They feared the abuse of governmental authority, the kind of secret police that existed in countries such as France, and limitations on individual freedom. Historically, Britain, like other countries, had many problems in this regard. Eventually, the police became accepted, largely because Rowan and Mayne were selective about who they employed and how officers were to behave. By the 1850s, every borough and county in England was required to develop its own police force. Inside Policing 2.1 provides brief descriptions of the contributions of Peel, Rowan, and Mayne to the development of the British police.

One of the most important principles of the Peelian approach was to emphasize the preventive aspects of law enforcement. This attitude resulted in police officers being distributed throughout the city to prevent crimes or to be close by when crimes occurred so that officers could make arrests and help victims. This idea became an important part of the development of police in the United States. Other principles were also implemented to guide the development of the new police force. The Peelian principles include the following:

1. The police must be stable, efficient, and organized along military lines;
2. The police must be under government control;
3. The absence of crime will best prove the efficiency of police;
4. The distribution of crime news is essential;

INSIDE POLICING 2.1 Founders of the British Police

Sir Robert Peel

In 1822 Robert Peel was appointed home secretary, the person responsible for internal security in England. One of his most important objectives was to establish an effective police force to respond to riots and crime problems. It took him seven years—until 1829—to be successful. Because the idea for a new approach to policing was so controversial, Peel initially asked that the new police be established only in metropolitan London. He intended, however, that eventually a similar type of police organization would be established for all of Great Britain. Peel was a strong advocate of the concept of a civilian (rather than military) police force that did not carry guns and that was put out in the community to patrol to prevent crime. The new police became known as Bobbies, after the founder of the department.

Colonel Charles Rowan

Charles Rowan was one of the first commissioners of the new police in London. He served in that capacity until 1850, when he retired. Rowan had a military background that prepared him for such service. Early in the nineteenth century, he served under the major general Sir John Moore, whose approach to dealing with his soldiers likely had a strong influence on how Rowan thought the police should relate to the public. Moore believed that officers should show respect for soldiers and treat them firmly and justly. Rowan wanted the same type of relationship to exist between police officers and citizens. Both he and Mayne encouraged officers to listen to citizen complaints and to be tolerant of verbal abuse by citizens.

Richard Mayne

Richard Mayne, an Irish barrister, served as a police commissioner until 1868. His extended service enabled the London police to develop a force that was well respected by citizens. Together with Rowan, he organized the force into numerous divisions that varied in size depending on the amount of crime in a division's area. Each division had a superintendent in charge, with inspectors, sergeants, and constables, in descending order of rank. Constables wore a blue uniform and were armed with a short baton and a rattle (for raising an alarm). The uniform was designed so that it would not be similar to military dress. Mayne and Rowan were both concerned that military-style police would have more difficulty being accepted by the public.

SOURCES: Adapted from H. A. Johnson, *History of Criminal Justice* (Cincinnati, OH: Anderson, 1988), 173–175; D. R. Johnson, *American Law Enforcement: A History* (St. Louis: Forum Press, 1981), 20–21.

5. The deployment of police strength both by time and area is essential;
6. No quality is more indispensable to a policeman than a perfect command of temper; a quiet, determined manner has more effect than violent action;
7. Good appearance commands respect;
8. The securing and training of proper persons is at the root of efficiency;
9. Public security demands that every police officer be given a number;
10. Police headquarters should be centrally located and easily accessible to the people;
11. Policemen should be hired on a probationary basis; and
12. Police records are necessary to the correct distribution of police strength. (Germann, Day, and Gallati 1978, 60–61)

Peel may not have created the list that is attributed to him; rather, these principles may be a summary of the practices that were developed by Peel, Rowan, and Mayne. Lentz and Chaires (2007) noted that early presentations of the Peelian principles varied and there is no historical evidence that Peel actually wrote them; they may be a product of authors of twentieth-century policing textbooks who sought ways to succinctly describe the values of early English policing practices. Early policing scholars and a subsequent generation of policing textbooks likely retrospectively interpreted emerging police policy, custom, and practice to create a list of principles, conveniently attributing them to Sir Robert Peel.

This understanding is important not only to promote historical integrity but also to emphasize that policing should be examined within its social and historical frameworks. A full examination here would be beyond the scope of the current text's goals; however, we recognize (as Lentz and Chaires noted) that these principles represent an important way to demonstrate that policing was becoming rational. A look toward these principles has also been used to lend credibility and support for modern police innovations or reform. For example, the "absence of crime" emphasizes the importance of crime prevention (and not merely responding to criminal events); the "rational deployment of police strength" reinforces the importance of crime analysis; "proper training" indicates the need for professionalism and education (as championed by twentieth-century reformers); and "accessibility to the public" reinforces principles underscored in community-oriented policing. Bringing Peel back to modern strategies can romanticize the past while having intuitive and political appeal and can offer historical street credibility to would-be reformers. These principles, regardless of origin, have shaped policing in Western democratic societies and it is not our intent to minimize either this fact or the influence of Peel himself. Rather, we note that the root of the Peelian principles remains unclear.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into three sections: the development of modern policing at (1) the local (county and municipal), (2) the state, and (3) the federal level of government. The historical discussion of modern policing in this chapter ends in the 1960s, but Chapter 4 includes a discussion of the development of community policing and other emerging policing strategies since the 1970s.

The Emergence of Modern Policing in the United States

In the 1600s and 1700s, the English colonists in America brought with them the system of policing that existed in England. This system included the offices of justice of the peace, sheriff, constable, and nightwatch. Over time, the basic responsibility for law enforcement gradually shifted from volunteer citizens to paid specialists. This process of role specialization was the result of a growing and increasingly complex society attempting to master the physical environment and cope with human problems. One consequence of these economic, social, and technological changes was an increasing public concern about deviant and disruptive behavior.

Initially, the constable–nightwatch system of policing evolved as a response to the problems of maintaining order and enforcing the law. The system included a limited number of constables who had civil and criminal responsibilities and a patrolling nightwatch staffed with persons who were required to serve as a community obligation. As in England, this obligation was unpopular, and paid substitutes, who were often incompetent, were used until the nightwatch became a full-time, paid occupation.

The First City Police Forces

Between the 1830s and the 1850s, a growing number of cities decided that the constable–nightwatch system of law enforcement was inadequate. As a result, paid daytime police forces were created. Eventually, the daytime force joined with the nightwatch to create

integrated day–night, modern-type police departments. In 1833, an ordinance was passed in Philadelphia that created a 24-person day force and a 120-person nightwatch, all of whom were to be paid. In 1838, Boston created a daytime force to supplement the nightwatch, and soon other cities followed. This arrangement provided the foundation for the emergence of modern policing: a force of officers in one department available 24 hours a day to respond, often through patrolling, to problems of crime and disorder (Lane 1967; Miller 1977; D. R. Johnson 1981).

Four theories have been suggested to explain the development of police departments. The **disorder-control theory** explains development in terms of the need to suppress mob violence. For example, Boston had three major riots in the years preceding the establishment of its police department (Lane 1967). Mob violence also occurred in other cities in the 1830s and 1840s. The **crime-control theory** suggests that increases in criminal activity resulted in a perceived need for a new type of police. Threats to social order, such as highway robbers and violent pickpockets, created a climate of fear. Concern about daring thieves and property offenses was also widespread in cities during this time (D. R. Johnson 1981).

The **class-control theory** regards the development of the police as a result of class-based economic exploitation. Its advocates note that urban and industrial growth coincided with the development of the new police. During this period, many persons of different social and ethnic backgrounds competed for opportunities that would improve their economic status. The resulting disruption prompted the middle and upper classes, usually white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, to develop a means to control the people involved, usually, poor immigrants, sometimes not Anglo and often not Protestant. This theory holds that modern police forces were merely tools created by the industrial elite to suppress exploited laborers who were being used as fuel for the engine of capitalism (Cooper 1975; D. R. Johnson 1981). The last view, **urban-dispersion theory**, holds that many municipal police departments were created because other cities had them, not because there was a real need. Police forces were considered an integral part of the governmental structure needed to provide a stabilizing influence in communities (Monkkonen 1981).

No single theory provides an adequate explanation. Although some cities had major urban disturbances before they established new police departments, others did not. Although there was also public concern about crime, the degree of concern varied among communities. Some cities established after the 1830s and 1840s did not have mob violence or serious crime. Yet police departments were created because a governmental structure was assumed to include a police component similar to the ones that existed in older, larger cities. Police were also used to control class-based economic unrest, but since many police officers came from the dissident groups or had friends or family members who were participants, some police officers and departments resisted brutal or excessive responses.

The police departments established from the 1830s to 1850s—Boston in 1837, New York in 1844, Philadelphia in 1854—were loosely based on the Peelian model of the London police. As noted previously, this model emphasized prevention more than apprehension. Prevention was to be accomplished by dispersing police throughout the community to keep crime from occurring and to intervene when it did. Apprehension, or arrest, was not stressed because it was associated with secrecy, deceit, incitement, and corruption. Chapter 7 discusses the historical development of both the patrol and the investigation functions in law enforcement.

The London model also included an elaborate structure based on military principles, strict rules of conduct, and well-defined management practices. Great care was taken in the selection and retention of police officers. Since the creation of a new police force in England was controversial, the most important consideration was control of officer behavior. Community expectations and acceptance were the overriding concerns in the development and management of police.

In the United States, however, the establishment of the new police was not as controversial. Departments were generally based on the Peelian prevention concept, but few similarities existed beyond that point. Differences were essentially the result of three factors: social context, political environment, and law enforcement policies. The United States was more violent than Britain, politicians were more meddlesome, and the police were more decentralized and were expected to be locally responsive (D. R. Johnson 1981).

The County Sheriff

By the 1870s most cities had a police department, even if it consisted of only one person. In more rural areas, the county sheriff was the dominant law enforcement officer. The office of sheriff was first established in the eighth century in England. Individuals who occupied this position were both powerful and influential. They served as the chief magistrates of the courts under their jurisdiction, collected taxes, and attempted to apprehend criminals. American colonists adopted the idea of the county sheriff, but by the time all the colonies were settled, the duties of the office had been limited primarily to civil matters in the county and criminal law enforcement in areas where municipal police had no jurisdiction.

The sheriff became an elected official in the United States and, for many years, was paid based on fees received for serving summonses, subpoenas, and warrants and for looking after prisoners at the county jail. The sheriff became an important figure in western states where local law enforcement was the responsibility of the sheriff and of town or city police officers, called **marshals**. Sheriffs usually were elected to office as representatives of the most influential groups in the county. Only a small portion of the sheriff's time was spent pursuing criminals. Other duties, such as tax collecting, inspecting cattle brands, punishing convicted felons, and serving court orders, proved to be more time-consuming.

Although the primary responsibilities of the modern sheriff vary somewhat by department, the most typical include the following: (1) collect some types of taxes (in some but not all counties) and serve civil processes; (2) provide personnel (bailiffs) and security for the court system; (3) operate jails and other correctional facilities (such as prison farms); (4) maintain peace and order; (5) provide general law enforcement service in unincorporated areas (that is, those areas not in legally incorporated cities and towns); and (6) in some counties provide contract law enforcement services.

Vigilance Committees

Another form of policing that was important during the nineteenth century was the private, organized group known as a vigilance or **vigilante** committee. The word *vigilante* is of Spanish origin and means “watchman” or “guard.” Although the term *vigilante* has several possible meanings, one definition of a vigilante group is a voluntary association of men (they rarely included women) who organized to respond to real or imagined threats to their safety, to protect their property or power, or to seek revenge.

The behavior associated with vigilante movements ranges from attempts to provide reasonable due process to individuals suspected of criminal acts to arbitrary, discriminatory, and brutal acts of revenge. The term *lynching* was originally used to describe public

whippings carried out by Colonel Lynch, the head of a vigilante movement in the late 1700s in Virginia. Later this term was used to mean hanging. In southern states between 1882 and 1951, approximately 4,700 persons were lynched by unorganized mobs, a form of vigilantism. Most of the victims were black (Karmen 1983, 1616–1618).

Vigilante movements were most common in the American West during the nineteenth century. This was in large part because the western frontier was undeveloped; hence, the need for established police to engage in social control was not efficient. Vigilantes would form episodically as needed. Yet it is important not to confuse vigilantes with lawless mobs. Often a vigilante was composed of the social elite from that society, with the purpose of enforcing conservative values of life, property, and law and order. Prominent figures who were either part of vigilantes or supported their actions included two U.S. presidents (Andrew Jackson and Theodore Roosevelt), five U.S. senators, and eight governors (Brown 1991).

Modern American Policing

The development of police in America was highly localized. In 2013 the Bureau of Justice Statistics estimated there were more than 12,000 different local police departments employing more than 477,000 sworn officers and more than 128,000 nonsworn personnel (Reaves 2015). County sheriffs' offices complement the local police function; the 369,000 sworn and nonsworn personnel across the 3,000 separate offices constitute about one-fifth of the general-purpose agencies in America (Burch 2012). The policing function is also carried out at state and federal levels (whose development will be discussed later in this chapter). The fragmentation of modern police departments is directly related to the historical development, and the next sections identify and describe two models of policing: the political and the reform (also called the reform, bureaucratic, or quasi-military model). Kelling and Moore (1988) noted that American policing evolved over the twentieth century across seven different dimensions: authorization (where the police derive their power and legitimacy within society), function (the role police play within society and the goals they have), organizational design (how the police are bureaucratically structured), relationship to environment (social distance from the public controlled by the police), demand (how police services and activities are managed), tactics (programs, activities, and output the police use to achieve their goals), and outcomes (measures of success and failure). They argue that by utilizing this framework it is possible to identify distinct eras of policing.

The Political Era

From about the middle of the eighteenth century to the 1920s, local policing was dominated by politics; consequently, this era saw the development of what was essentially a **political model** of policing oriented to special interests. Politics influenced every aspect of law enforcement during this period: who was employed, who was promoted, who was the chief of police, and who was appointed to the police commission, a group of citizens appointed to run the police department in a manner approved by elected officials. To some degree, even police arrest practices and services were determined by political considerations (Kelling and Moore 1988). An example of the political model is presented in Inside Policing 2.2.

Police Development

Political and economic corruption was commonplace in police departments during this period. Although some officers were honest and responsible, a large number were neither. Police work during this period became decentralized and neighborhood oriented.