EIGHTH EDITION

AN INTRODUCTION TO POLICING

JOHN S. DEMPSEY
LINDA S. FORST

with contributions by
STEVE CARTER

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DEDICATION

To my family: Marianne, John, Donna, Cathy, Diane, Danny, Nikki, Erin, and John, and in memory of Anne Marie (1970–2002); also, in memory of James J. Fyfe and Patrick J. Ryan. —J.S.D.

This book is dedicated to my late husband, Captain James E. Duke, Jr. (pictured below), and our beautiful daughters, Brynn and Juleigh, as well as my new son-in-law, Taylor. —L.S.F.

HONORING THE MEMORY AND CELEBRATING THE LIFE OF JOHN S. DEMPSEY (JACK)

Jack Dempsey, senior author of *An Introduction to Policing, Introduction to Investigations, Introduction to Private Security,* and *POLICE* died on Sunday, August 3, 2014, in New York at the age of 68. Jack was a member of the New York Police Department from 1964 to 1988, rising through the ranks of police officer, sergeant, lieutenant, and captain. He received his BA from John Jay College of Criminal Justice, his Masters in criminal justice from Long Island University, and his Masters in public administration from Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Upon his retirement from law enforcement, Jack dedicated his time and efforts to teaching and mentoring students at Suffolk Community College and State University of New York, Empire College and across the country. He was awarded the prestigious "Who Made a Difference Award" from Suffolk Community College for his dedication to his students.

Jack's commitment to professional law enforcement was visible in everything he did. It is impossible to know just how many students and police officers he influenced and educated as his books are widely read across the nation. Jack had a magnetic personality and a lot of charisma, making it easy for him to share his beliefs in ethical and professional law enforcement as well as his unending desire to serve his community and students in any way that he could.

He was also devoted to his family and was so happy to spend time relaxing with his wife, children, and grandchildren. He always had pictures to show, stories to tell and we all knew he was the "Grand Dude." He was well known for his infectious laugh, sense of humor, and New York accent!

Law enforcement is more professional, police officers are safer, and society has benefited due to Jack's efforts. For those of us lucky enough to know him personally, he impacted our lives tremendously and we will be forever grateful for his friendship, kindness, generosity, support, and mentoring. Jack's legacy will live on for generations.

Linda Forst

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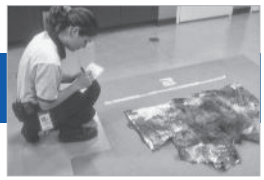

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

JOHN S. DEMPSEY was a member of the New York City Police Department (NYPD) from 1964 to 1988. He served in the ranks of police officer, detective, sergeant, lieutenant, and captain. His primary assignments were patrol and investigations. He received seven citations from the department for meritorious and excellent police duty. After retiring from the NYPD, Mr. Dempsey served until 2003 as Professor of Criminal Justice at Suffolk County Community College on Eastern Long Island where he won the college's prestigious "Who Made a Difference Award" for his teaching and work with students. In 2005, he was designated Professor Emeritus by the college. Mr. Dempsey also serves as a mentor at the State University of New York, Empire College, where he teaches criminal justice and public administration courses and mentors ranking members of law enforcement and criminal justice agencies.

In addition to this book, Mr. Dempsey is the author of *Introduction to Investigations*, Second Edition (Thomson Wadsworth, 2003), *POLICE2* (Delmar/Cengage Learning, 2013), and *Introduction to Private Security*, Second Edition (Wadsworth/Cengage Learning, 2011).

Mr. Dempsey holds A.A. and B.A. degrees in behavioral science from the City University of New York, John Jay College of Criminal Justice; a master's degree in criminal justice from Long Island University; and a master's degree in public administration from Harvard University, the John F. Kennedy School of Government. He is a member of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS), the International Association of Chiefs of Police, ASIS International, the Northeastern Association of Criminal Justice Sciences (NEACJS), and the Criminal Justice Educators Association of New York State. His latest academic distinctions were the Outstanding Contributor Award from the ACJS Community College Section in 2004 and the Fellows Award from the NEACJS in 2005.

Mr. Dempsey is married and has four children and four grandchildren.

LINDA S. FORST is a retired police captain from the Boca Raton (Florida) Police Services Department. She joined the department in 1977 and served as a patrol officer, investigator, sergeant, lieutenant, and captain. She spent most of her career in patrol but also worked in investigations, professional standards, training, hiring, and support services. She was the first female field training officer, sergeant, lieutenant, and captain in the department. She has extensive training in accident investigation, domestic violence, sexual violence, community policing, and police management, and she served on the board of directors of the local battered women's shelter for many years. Together with a state representative, she contributed to the development of Florida's stalking law and amended the sexual battery statute to better serve the community. She received numerous commendations during her career, including Boca Raton's Citizen of the Year in 1994, and brought home many gold medals from the state and International Police Olympics while representing Boca Raton.

Ms. Forst earned her B.A. in criminal justice, M.Ed. in community college education, and Ed.D. in adult education from Florida Atlantic University. Her dissertation was on acquaintance rape prevention programs. She is a graduate of University of Louisville's Sex Crime Investigation School and Northwestern University's School of Police Staff and Command. Ms. Forst is the author of numerous publications in magazines, journals, and newspapers, and presents regularly at conferences and to community groups. She is the author of *The Aging of America: A Handbook for Police Officers* (Charles C. Thomas, 2000) and *POLICE* (Delmar/Cengage, 2011). Ms. Forst is a member of Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, the Washington Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the International Association of Women Police, and the National Association of Women Law Enforcement Executives. She has instructed for Northwestern's School of Police Staff and Command as well as Palm Beach Community College and Florida Atlantic University. Currently she is a professor of criminal justice at Shoreline Community College in Seattle, Washington.

Ms. Forst is the mother of two daughters.

About the Contributor

STEVEN B. CARTER is a retired police sergeant from the Modesto (California) Police Department. He joined the department in 1985 as a Police Reserve and served as a police officer, detective, patrol sergeant, training sergeant, administrative services sergeant, and acting watch commander. While a patrol officer, he hosted a weekly live television show (*CrimeLine*) on the local cable station and was the recipient of a "Telly Award" for a segment on domestic violence. As a detective, he was assigned to economic crimes and burglary, and was a member of the homicide crime scene team, acting as crime scene manager. He has presented before the California State Assembly Central Valley Legislative Law Summit on computer crimes and law enforcement response. As administrative sergeant he supervised background investigations, and as training sergeant he proposed and implemented a departmental five-year training plan and started the "Leadership in Police Organizations" program. He is a graduate of the Los Angeles Police Department's West Point Leadership Program and is a California POST Master Instructor. He retired in 2007.

Mr. Carter earned a B.A. from Simpson College and is a consultant and subject matter expert with Steven Carter & Associates in Modesto, California. He is a member of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences and an associate member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. He has served as a Peer Review Panel member for the Edward Byrne Grant Funding Program through the Department of Justice and is currently on the City of Modesto Planning Commission. He has authored several Cengage textbook supplements and is the author of *Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Bank* for *Introduction to Private Security* by John S. Dempsey.

Mr. Carter is married and has three daughters and six grandchildren.

An Introduction to Policing, Eighth Edition, is an introductory text for college students who are interested in learning who the police are, what they do, and how they do it. The policing profession is a noble one, and we sincerely hope this text teaches those preparing to enter law enforcement how to continue in this great tradition.

This book provides a general overview of policing in our society so that students can understand why and how policing is performed. It is, above all, a text for students. It will show you the jobs available in policing, how you can go about getting them, what skills you will need, and what you will do when you get those jobs. In addition, we try to give you an idea, a sense, and a flavor of policing. We want you to get a clear look at policing, not only for your academic interest but, more importantly, to help you determine if policing is what you want to do with the rest of your life.

An Introduction to Policing explores the subject matter from the perspective of two individuals who have devoted their lives to active police work and education. We wrote this new edition, in part, out of a desire to combine the practical experience gained from a collective 44 years on the job in the field of policing with the equally valuable insights gained from our years of formal education and teaching.

Changes to the Eighth Edition

In response to student and reviewer feedback, this edition provides the latest in academic and practitioner research as well as the latest applications, statistics, court cases, information on careers, and criminalistic and technological advances. As always, coauthor Linda Forst continues to lend additional geographic and gender perspective to the text.

The Eighth Edition continues to reflect the increasing emphasis on policing and homeland security, and we have added or strengthened topics such as community policing; self-defense and "stand your ground" laws; the new IACP Women's Leadership Institute; social media campaigns; cybercrime; the law enforcement partnership with the Special Olympics; police response to the mentally ill; budget issues and police academy funding; female, homosexual, and minority officers in the profession; drug investigations in light of emerging medical and recreational marijuana legislation; recognizing and responding to elder abuse; and more. This edition has seven new Guest Lectures by experts in the field on topics such as the Sandy Hook Elementary School shootings, the Wisconsin State Capitol protests, human trafficking, technology in child pornography investigations, and emerging new philosophies in the police academy. In addition to fully updated statistics, cases, and studies, the following updates have been made within chapters:

Chapter 2

- NEW Guest Lecture: "A Sound Base and Broad Mind Lead to Endless Successes and Countless Opportunities"
- NEW discussion of cooperation between law enforcement agencies in security efforts
- NEW On the Job: "Working Together Toward a Common Goal"
- Updated information on Operation Fast and Furious

Chapter 3

- NEW Table: Taylor's Four Scientific Management Principles
- NEW section: Lateral Transfers
- NEW topic: Fraternal Order of Police
- Updated explanation of team leadership principles

Chapter 4

- NEW Guest Lecture: "From Warriors to Guardians"
- Updated information about eligibility and education requirements for police applicants
- NEW information about recruiting through school-based programs

Chapter 5

- NEW Guest Lecture: "Trafficking Investigations Can Involve Expanding Police Roles"
- NEW topic: broken windows theory
- NEW coverage of workforce approaches for small departments
- NEW and updated discussion of race-based police discretion
- NEW and expanded topics: stop-and-frisk, drug and alcohol impairment, and domestic violence
- Updated discussion of use-of-force standards

Chapter 6

- NEW section: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
- NEW Table: Signs and Symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
- Expanded coverage of police suicide

Chapter 7

- NEW Guest Lecture: "No Prince Charming"
- Updated information on affirmative action Supreme Court rulings
- NEW and updated information on department statistics, recruiting efforts, leadership opportunities and examples, and other resources for minorities in policing

Chapter 8

- NEW information on sexual misconduct research and recommended policies from the IACP and racial profiling
- NEW topic: mediation meetings
- NEW topic: "uniform cams"
- Updated coverage of lawsuits against police departments

Chapter 9

- NEW section: Predictive Policing
- NEW section: Smart Policing
- NEW section: Smart911
- NEW section: Specialized Policing Responses to Individuals with Mental Illness
- NEW section: The Challenge of Distracted Drivers
- NEW topic: states' legalization of recreational marijuana
- NEW topic: motorcycle swarms
- NEW topic: swatting
- NEW You Are There!: "RADAR at the King County Sheriff's Office"

Chapter 10

- NEW Guest Lecture: "The Sandy Hook Elementary School Shooting Investigation and Response"
- NEW section: Surveillance Cameras
- NEW section: Cybercrime Investigations
- NEW topic: social media use in investigations, specifically the 2013 Boston Marathon bombing
- NEW topic: National Institute of Justice grant program "Solving Cold Cases with DNA"
- NEW topic: prescription drug fraud
- NEW discussion of multiagency investigative task forces in human trafficking

Chapter 11

- NEW You Are There!: "Law Enforcement and Special Olympics"
- NEW and updated information on domestic violence, including smartphone and social media use
- NEW coverage of mass media campaigns, specifically the 2013 Boston Marathon bombing

Chapter 12

- NEW topic: Detroit Mini-Station Program
- Updated coverage of the Elgin, Illinois, police department community outreach programs
- Updated information on the IACP Community Policing Awards

Chapter 13

- NEW Guest Lecture: "A View from the Interior: Policing the Protests at the Wisconsin State Capitol"

- NEW You Are There!: "The Castle Doctrine in 'Stand Your Ground' Laws"
- NEW You Are There!: "*Texas v. Cobb* (2001)"
- NEW You Are There!: "*Missouri v. Seibert* (2004)"
- NEW topic: canine sniff case law in *Florida v. Harris* (2013)
- NEW topic: NYPD stop-and-frisk encounters
- NEW topic: search consent in *Fernandez v. California* (2014)
- NEW topic: Americans with Disability Act in *Seremeth v. Frederick County et al.* (2012)
- NEW topic: medical procedures in *Missouri v. McNeely* (2013)

Chapter 14

- NEW Guest Lecture: "The Evolution of Technology and Child Pornography Investigations"
- NEW section: Cell Phone Monitoring
- NEW section: Drones
- NEW section: Identity Theft
- NEW coverage of cybercrime, including new key terms *phishing*, *Trojan horse*, and *spyware*
- Updated discussion of DNA collection

Chapter 15

- NEW topic and key term: terrorist watchlist
- Updated coverage of sovereign citizens
- Updated information on the National Security Council staff
- Updated coverage of the DHS
- Updated coverage of Secure Communities
- Updated information on agency training in homeland security, specifically small and mid-sized local agencies

Pedagogical Features

Within each chapter, we have included the following pedagogical elements:

- NEW *Learning Objectives* serve as chapter road maps to orient students to the primary knowledge goals of each chapter.
- *Chapter Introductions* preview the material to be covered in the chapter.
- *Chapter Summaries* reinforce the major topics discussed in the chapter and help students check their learning.
- *Review Exercises* are projects that require students to apply their knowledge to hypothetical situations much like those they might encounter in actual police work. These exercises can be assigned as final written or oral exercises or serve as the basis for lively class debates.
- *Web Exercises* ask students to research police topics on the Internet.
- *Definitions of Key Terms* appear on the same page on which each key term is first used, and in the full glossary at the end of the book.

Boxed Features

To further heighten the book's relevancy for students, we have included the following boxed features in all chapters:

- *You Are There!* These boxes take students back to the past to review the fact pattern in a particular court case or to learn the details about a significant event or series of events in history. They are intended to give the students a sense of actually being at the scene of a police event.
- *On the Job* These features recount personal experiences from our own police careers. They are intended to provide a reality-based perspective on policing, including the human side of policing.
- *Guest Lectures* These essays from well-respected veterans of law enforcement and higher education offer practitioner-based insights into crucial law enforcement issues and challenges.

Ancillaries

A number of supplements are provided by Cengage Learning to help instructors use *An Introduction to Policing* in their courses and to aid students in preparing for exams. Supplements are available to qualified adopters. Please consult your local sales representative for details.

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- **Online Instructor's Resource Manual** Revised to reflect new content in the eighth edition, the manual includes learning objectives, key terms, a detailed chapter outline, a chapter summary, lesson plans, discussion topics, student activities, "What If" scenarios, media tools, and a sample syllabus. The learning objectives are correlated with the discussion topics, student activities, and media tools.
- **Online Test Bank** The expanded test bank includes 30 percent more questions than the prior edition. Each chapter of the test bank contains questions in multiple-choice, true/false, completion, essay, and new critical thinking formats, with a full answer key. The test bank is coded to the learning objectives that appear in the main text, and includes the section in the main text where the answers can be found. Finally, each question in the test bank has been carefully reviewed by experienced criminal justice instructors for quality, accuracy, and content coverage so instructors can be sure they are working with an assessment and grading resource of the highest caliber.
- **Cengage Learning Testing Powered by Cognero** This assessment software is a flexible, online system that allows you to import, edit, and manipulate test bank content from the *An Introduction to Policing* test bank or elsewhere, including your own favorite test questions; create multiple test versions in an instant; and deliver tests from your LMS, your classroom, or wherever you want.
- **PowerPoint® Lectures** Helping you make your lectures more engaging while effectively reaching your visually oriented students, these handy Microsoft PowerPoint® slides outline the chapters of the main text in a classroom-ready presentation. The PowerPoint® slides are updated to reflect the content and organization of the new edition of the text, are tagged by chapter learning objective, and feature some additional examples and real-world cases for application and discussion.

For the Student

- **MindTap Criminal Justice** MindTap from Cengage Learning represents a new approach to a highly personalized, online learning platform. A fully online learning solution, MindTap combines all of a student's learning tools—readings, multimedia, activities, and assessments into a singular Learning Path that guides the student through the curriculum. Instructors personalize the experience by customizing the presentation of these learning tools for their students, allowing instructors to seamlessly introduce their own content into the Learning Path via "apps" that integrate into the MindTap platform. Additionally, MindTap provides interoperability with major Learning Management Systems (LMS) via support for open industry standards and fosters partnerships with third-party educational application providers to provide a highly collaborative, engaging, and personalized learning experience.

Acknowledgments

So many people have helped us make the successful transition from the world of being street cops to the world of academia and so many more helped in the publication of this book. It is impossible to mention them all, but there would be no *An Introduction to Policing*, Eighth Edition, without them.

Both authors would like to sincerely thank product manager Carolyn Henderson-Meier for her faith, patience, and constant assistance in this project, and associate content developer Margaux Cameron for her intelligent and insightful assistance in all stages of the development of this book. Also, we applaud the intelligent and excellent copyediting of Nina Taylor and the super production efforts of Alverne Bell of Integra, as well as photo researcher Hemalatha Dhanapal and text researcher Pinky Subi. To the many students who came to our offices or classes wanting to know about the material we have put into this text, you were the inspiration for this work. This book is for you. To the great men and women we worked with in our police departments, the heart of this book comes from you.

The authors would also like to thank all the professors across the country, particularly those former women and men in blue who have made that transition from the streets to the classrooms, for their adoptions of the first seven editions and their kind words and sage advice. They inspired us to prepare this eighth edition. We would especially like to thank the reviewers of this edition, who provided outstanding and detailed feedback: Chris McFarlin, Tri-County Technical College; and Stacey Hervey, Community College of Denver. Their names appear along with those of the reviewers of previous editions in the list that follows this preface, as a special tribute to all who have helped us refine the book over the years.

John Dempsey would like to offer special tribute to his former partners in the NYPD, the late Jimmy Fyfe and Pat Ryan, who continually served as his academic and intellectual stimulation. Through their careers and academic achievements, both served as an inspiration to generations of New York City cops, and they will surely be missed in academia and policing. Anything I have achieved in scholarship I owe to Jim and Pat. Also, I would like to mention Dave Owens and thank him for his friendship and leadership in our professional associations, as well as the members of the Great Uncaught, my speaking partners across the country: Lorenzo Boyd, Jim Burnett, Pat Faiella, Tom Lenahan, Jim Ruiz, Donna Stuccio, and Ed Thibault. It is always an honor and privilege to be in your gracious company. Also, to my partner, Linda Forst, for adding so much to this book.

Again, as always to my family: Marianne, my love and best friend; my children, John, Donna, and Cathy; my daughter-in-law, Diane; and in memory of Anne Marie, my special hero—your love and patience has sustained me over the years. Finally, to Danny and Nikki Dempsey and Erin and John Gleeson, my grandchildren: Who loves you more than the Grand Dude?

Linda Forst would like to thank many people who led her down the path to a challenging and fulfilling career in law enforcement. My late father, Calvin, taught me to have a great respect for the police and regularly "backed up" officers in our small town of Ardsley, New York, where he owned a chicken take-out restaurant. My mother, Betty, gave me her unwavering support despite her concerns for my safety in my chosen career. I'm indebted to the late former Chief of the Boca Raton Police Department (and later Sheriff of Palm Beach County) Charles McCutcheon who had faith in my abilities and gave me my start in law enforcement when not many chiefs were supporting women in the profession. He was a leading police professional in the push for education and innovation in police work. I'd also like to thank Dr. Bill Bopp, my first criminal justice professor, who welcomed me in his class at Florida Atlantic University when I showed up on a whim. He opened up a whole new world to me and served as a role model and mentor for many years. I hope that I may have the impact on students that he had on me. I am eternally grateful to my late husband, Jim Duke, who supported and encouraged females in law enforcement long before it was politically correct and who was always there for me as I confronted various challenges while rising through the ranks. I also thank attorney Michael Salnick, the best criminal defense attorney in Palm Beach County, for his part in making me a better investigator, as well as for his friendship and support over the years. I continue to be indebted to former Washington State Patrol Captains Steve Seibert and Tom Robbins (Chief of Wenatchee PD) for their support and assistance since we first met at Northwestern University's School of Police Staff and Command in 1989.

I thank Jack Dempsey for his confidence in me and his unending support as well as his big heart. I am also blessed with loving and supportive daughters, Brynn and Juleigh, who were understanding of the demands placed on my time. My blessings recently expanded with the addition of a new son-in-law, Taylor, and I am comforted to know that both of my daughters have this great man in their lives. They are all an endless source of pride and joy.

I also want to thank the generous practitioners who agreed to share their "stories" throughout the

book in an effort to assist students' understanding of the police field: Lorenzo Boyd, Michelle Bennett, David Swim, Jeff Magers, Claudia Leyva, Adolfo Gonzales, Charles Johnson, John Lovick, and Jim Nielsen. For this latest edition, I am additionally grateful to Jeff Wickett, Susan Riseling, Sue Rahr, Brian Lewis, Ruth Roy, Michael Kehoe, Tim Luckie, Rex Caldwell, and Scott Strathy, who generously and openly shared their knowledge with our readers. A special thanks also to Sergeant Cesar Fazz and Officer Eric Cazares of the Yuma, Arizona, Police Department for their time and insights into law enforcement in the Southwest.

We both would like to offer a special tribute to all the heroes of September 11, 2001, who rushed in so that others could get out. You are truly symbols of the great public servants who work in emergency services in our nation.

Jack Dempsey
Linda Forst

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PART ONE

Police History and Organization

Mikael Karlsson/Alamy

CHAPTER 1

Police History

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Explain the primary means of ensuring personal safety prior to the establishment of formal, organized police departments.
- Discuss the influence of the English police experience on American policing.
- Characterize the regional differences in American policing prior to the 20th century.
- Describe how the turbulent times of the 1960s and 1970s influenced American policing.
- Identify at least four events or people instrumental in the development of 20th-century American policing, and describe their influence.

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OUTLINE

INTRODUCTION

The word *police* comes from the Latin word *politia*, which means "civil administration." *Politia* goes back to the Greek word *polis*, "city." Etymologically, therefore, the police can be seen as those involved in the administration of a city. *Politia* became the French word *police*. The English adopted it and at first continued to use it to mean "civil administration."[1] The specific application of *police* to the administration of public order emerged in France in the early 18th century. The English word took on this meaning as well with the formation of the Marine Police, a force established in 1798 to protect merchandise in the port of London.

The reference to the police as a "civil authority" is very important. The police represent the civil power of government, as opposed to the military power of government. We use the military in times of war. The members of the military, by necessity, are trained to kill and destroy, which is appropriate in war. But do we want to use military forces to govern or patrol our cities and towns? We, the authors of this textbook, do not think so. Imagine that you and some of your classmates are having a party. The party gets a bit loud, and your neighbors call 911. Instead of a police car, an armored personnel carrier and tanks arrive at the party, and twenty soldiers come out pointing M16 assault rifles at you. This may seem like a silly example, but think about it: Surely we need a civil police, not the military, in our neighborhoods.

This chapter will discuss early forms of policing and what some believe was the direct predecessor of the American police—the English police. Policing in the United States began with the colonies, including the watch and ward in the North and the slave patrols in the South, which some scholars believe could have been the first actual modern American police patrol organizations. A summary of the 18th- and 19th-century experience will focus on the urban, southern, and frontier experiences. The chapter will then turn to modern times—20th- and 21st-century policing—and discuss the American police from 1900 to 1960, the turbulent decades of the 1960s and 1970s, and more recent changes in the 1980s and 1990s. It will end with a discussion of policing since the onset of the new millennium, emphasizing the dramatic, unprecedented changes in police organization and operations brought about by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Early Police

Policing—maintaining order and dealing with lawbreakers—was always a private matter in early societies.[2] Citizens were responsible for protecting themselves and maintaining an orderly community. Uniformed, organized police departments as we think of them today were rare. Actually, as we will see in this chapter, modern-style police departments didn't appear until the 14th century in France and the 19th century in England.

The first people we would consider law enforcement professionals were unpaid magistrates (judges), who were appointed by the citizens of Athens starting around the sixth century BCE. The magistrates adjudicated cases, but private citizens arrested offenders and punished them. The Romans began electing magistrates around the third century BCE and also created the first specialized investigative unit, called *questors*, or "trackers of murder," around the fifth century BCE. In most societies, people in towns would group together and form a watch, particularly at night, at the town borders or gates to ensure that outsiders did not attack the town.

Around the first century BCE, the Roman emperor Augustus picked special, highly qualified members of the military to form the **Praetorian Guard**, which could be considered the first police officers. Their job was to protect the palace and the emperor. Augustus also established both the Praefectus Urbi (Urban Cohort), which used executive and judicial power to protect the city, and the Vigiles of Rome. The **Vigiles** began as firefighters and were eventually also given law enforcement responsibilities, patrolling Rome's streets day and night. The Vigiles could be considered the first civil police force designed

Praetorian Guard Select group of highly qualified members of the military established by the Roman emperor Augustus to protect him and his palace.

Vigiles Early Roman firefighters who also patrolled Rome's streets to protect citizens.

to protect citizens. They were quite brutal, and our words *vigilance* and *vigilante* come from them.[3]

Also in Rome in the first century CE, public officials called lictors were appointed to serve as bodyguards for the magistrates. The lictors would bring criminals before the magistrates upon their orders and carry out the magistrates' determined punishments, including the death penalty. The lictors' symbol of authority was the fasces, a bundle of rods tied by a red thong around an ax, which represented their absolute authority over life and limb.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, kings on the European continent began to assume responsibility for the administration of the law. They began to appoint officials for that purpose to replace the watch and other private forms of defense. In the 13th century in Paris, Louis IX appointed a provost, who was assigned to enforce the law and supervise the night watch. The provost was assisted by investigating commissioners and sergeants. In 1356, France created a mounted military patrol, the Maréchausée, to maintain peace on the highways. The Maréchausée evolved into the Gendarmerie Nationale, which today polices the areas outside France's major cities.

By the 18th century, both Paris and Munich had armed, professional police that were credited with keeping the cities safe and orderly.

English Policing: Our Heritage

The American system of law and criminal justice was borrowed from the English police experience, which is colorful and closely related to the development of English society.[4]

mutual pledge A form of community self-protection developed by King Alfred the Great in the latter part of the ninth century in England.

constable An official assigned to keep the peace in the mutual pledge system in England.

shire-reeve Early English official placed in charge of shires (counties) as part of the system of mutual pledge; evolved into the modern concept of the sheriff.

hue and cry A method developed in early England for citizens to summon assistance from fellow members of the community.

watch and ward A rudimentary form of policing, designed to protect against crime, disturbances, and fire. All men were required to serve on it.

Early History

Sir Robert Peel is generally credited with establishing the first English police department, the London Metropolitan Police, in 1829. However, the first references to an English criminal justice or law enforcement system appeared some 1,000 years earlier, in the latter part of the ninth century, when England's king, Alfred the Great, was preparing his kingdom for an impending Danish invasion. Part of King Alfred's strategy against the Danes was maintaining stability in his own country and providing a method for people in villages to protect one another. To achieve this stability, King Alfred established a system of **mutual pledge** (a form of societal control where citizens grouped together to protect each other), which organized the responsibility for the security of the country into several levels. At the lowest level were *tithings*, 10 families who grouped together to protect one another and to assume responsibility for the acts of the group's members. At the next level, 10 tithings (100 families) were grouped together into a *hundred*. The hundred was under the charge of a **constable**, who might be considered the first form of English police officer and was responsible for dealing with more serious breaches of the law. Groups of hundreds within a specific geographic area were combined to form *shires* (the equivalent of today's county). The shires were put under the control of the king and were governed by a **shire-reeve**, or sheriff. For the most part, though, people were supposed to police their own communities through the mutual pledge system. If trouble occurred, a citizen was expected to raise the **hue and cry** (yell for help), and other citizens were expected to come to assistance.

Over the centuries, as formal governments were established, a primitive formal criminal justice system evolved in England. In 1285 CE, the Statute of Winchester established a rudimentary criminal justice system in which most of the responsibility for law enforcement remained with the people themselves. The statute formally established (1) the watch and ward, (2) the hue and cry, (3) the parish constable, and (4) the requirement that all males keep weapons in their homes for use in maintaining the public peace.

The **watch and ward** required all men in a given town to serve on the night watch. The watch, therefore, can be seen as the most rudimentary form

of metropolitan policing. The watch was designed to protect against crime, disturbances, and fire. Watchmen had three major duties:

- Patrolling the streets from dusk until dawn to ensure that all local people were indoors and quiet and that no strangers were roaming about
- Performing duties such as lighting street lamps, clearing garbage from streets, and putting out fires
- Enforcing the criminal law

If it became necessary for a watchman to pronounce the hue and cry, all citizens would then be required to leave their homes and assist the watch; not to do so was a crime under the Statue of Winchester. The statute also established the office of parish constable, who was responsible for organizing and supervising the watch. The parish constable was, in effect, the primary urban law enforcement agent in England.

In the early 14th century, with the rise of powerful centralized governments and the decline of regional ones, we see the beginnings of a more formal system of criminal justice, with a separation of powers and a hierarchical system of authority.

Seventeenth-Century Policing: Thief-Takers

In 17th-century England, law enforcement was still seen as the duty of all the people in a community, even though more and more officials were being charged with enforcing the law and keeping the peace. We can now see the beginnings of a tremendously fragmented and inept criminal justice system. The next criminal justice positions to be created were magistrates and beadles. Magistrates assisted the justices of the peace by presiding in courts, ordering arrests, calling witnesses, and examining prisoners. Beadles were assistants to the constables and walked the streets removing vagrants. The impact of the magistrates, constables, and beadles was minimal, and the people in those positions were mostly corrupt.

The 17th-century English policing system also used a form of individual, private police. Called **thief-takers**, these private citizens had no official status and were paid by the king for every criminal they arrested—similar to the bounty hunter of the American West. The major role of the thief-takers was to combat highway robbery committed by highwaymen, whose heroes were the likes of such legendary outlaws as Robin Hood and Little John. By the 17th century, highwaymen had made traveling through the English countryside so dangerous that no coach or traveler was safe. In 1693, an act of Parliament established a monetary reward for the capture of any road agent, or armed robber. A thief-taker was paid upon the conviction of the highwayman and also received the highwayman's horse, arms, money, and property.

The thief-taker system was later extended to cover offenses other than highway robbery, and soon a sliding scale of rewards was established. Arresting a burglar or footpad (street robber), for example, was worth the same as catching a highwayman, but catching a sheep stealer or a deserter from the army brought a much smaller reward. In some areas, homeowners joined together and offered supplementary rewards for the apprehension of a highwayman or footpad in their area. In addition, whenever there was a serious crime wave, Parliament awarded special rewards for thief-takers to arrest particular felons.

Often criminals would agree to become thief-takers and catch other criminals to receive a pardon from the king for their own crimes. Thus, many thief-takers were themselves criminals. Thief-taking was not always rewarding, because the thief-taker was not paid if the highwayman was not convicted. The job also could be dangerous because the thief-taker had to fear the revenge of the highwayman and his relatives and associates. Many thief-takers would seduce young people into committing crimes and then have other thief-takers arrest the youths during the offenses. The two thief-takers would then split the fee. Others framed innocent parties by planting stolen goods on their persons or in their homes. Although some real criminals were apprehended by thief-takers, the system generally created more crime than it suppressed.

thief-takers Private English citizens with no official status who were paid by the king for every criminal they arrested. They were similar to the bounty hunter of the American West.

YOU ARE THERE

England's Early Experience with a Civil Police Department

1763	Fielding creates civilian horse patrol in London.
1770	Foot patrol is established in London.
1798	River or marine police to patrol the Thames is established by Patrick Colquhoun. (Some consider this to be England's first civil police department.)
1804	Horse patrol is established in London (England's first uniformed patrol).
1829	Peel's police force, the Metropolitan Police, is established in London (England's first large-scale, organized, uniformed, paid, civil police department).

Henry Fielding and the Bow Street Runners

Henry Fielding, the 18th-century novelist best known for writing *Tom Jones*, may also be credited with laying the foundation for the first modern police force. In 1748, during the heyday of English highwaymen, Fielding was appointed magistrate in Westminster, a city near central London. He moved into a house on Bow Street, which also became his office. In an attempt to decrease the high number of burglaries, street and highway robberies, and other thefts, Fielding and his half-brother, Sir John Fielding, established relationships with local pawnbrokers. The Fieldings provided lists and descriptions of recently stolen property and asked the pawnbrokers to notify them should such property be brought into pawnshops. They then placed the following ad in the London and Westminster newspapers: "All persons who shall for the future suffer by robber, burglars, etc., are desired immediately to bring or send the best description they can of such robbers, etc., with the time and place and circumstances of the fact, to Henry Fielding Esq., at his house in Bow Street."[5]

The Fieldings' actions brought about what we can call the first official crime reports. They were able to gain the cooperation of the high constable of Holborn and several other public-spirited constables. Together they created a small investigative unit, which they called the Bow Street Runners. The runners were private citizens who were not paid by public funds but who were permitted to accept thief-taker rewards.

Eventually, the government rewarded the Fieldings' efforts, and their Bow Street Runners were publicly financed. In 1763, John Fielding was given public funds to establish a civilian horse patrol of eight men to combat robbers and footpads on the London streets. The patrol proved successful but was disbanded after only nine months because of a lack of government support.

Londoners debated whether to have a professional police department. Although certainly enough crime, vice, theft, and disorder occurred to justify forming a civil police force, most people did not want a formal, professional police department for two major reasons. Many felt that a police force would threaten their tradition of freedom. Additionally, the English had considerable faith in the merits of private enterprise, and they disliked spending public money.

Despite the widespread public fear of establishing a civil police force, a small, permanent foot patrol financed by public funds was established in London in 1770. In 1789, a London magistrate, Patrick Colquhoun, lobbied for the creation of a large, organized police force for greater London, but his ideas were rejected after much government and public debate. In 1798, Colquhoun was able to establish the small, publicly funded Marine Police, patterned after the Fieldings' Bow Street Runners, to patrol the Thames. Some consider Colquhoun's force the first civil police department in England.

In 1804, a new horse patrol was established for central London. It included two inspectors and 52 men who wore uniforms of red vests and blue jackets and trousers, making them England's first uniformed civil police department. As the problems of London in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries increased (due to the Industrial Revolution, massive migration to London, poverty, public disorder, vice, and crime), the people and Parliament finally agreed that London needed a large, organized, civil police department.

Peel's Police: The Metropolitan Police for London

In 1828, Sir Robert Peel, England's home secretary, basing his ideas on those of Colquhoun, drafted the first police bill, the Act for Improving the Police in

and near the Metropolis (the Metropolitan Police Act). Parliament passed the act in 1829. It established the first large-scale, uniformed, organized, paid, civil police force in London. More than one thousand men were hired. Although a civil rather than a military force, it was structured along military lines, with officers wearing distinctive uniforms. The first London Metropolitan Police wore three-quarter-length royal blue coats, white trousers, and top hats. They were armed with truncheons, the equivalent of today's police baton. The police were commanded by two magistrates, later called commissioners.

London's first police commissioners were Colonel Charles Rowan, a career military officer, and Richard Mayne, a lawyer. Peel, Rowan, and Mayne believed that mutual respect between the police and citizens would be crucial to the success of the new force. As a result, the early "bobbies" (called that in honor of their founder) were chosen for their ability to reflect and inspire the highest personal ideals among young men in early 19th-century England. The control of the new police was delegated to the home secretary, a member of the democratically elected government. Thus, the police as we know them today were, from their very beginning, ultimately responsible to the public.

Peel has become known as the founder of modern policing; however, it must be noted that he was never a member of a police department. His link to policing comes from his influence in getting the police bill passed. The early London police were guided by **Peel's Nine Principles**, as described by the New Westminster Police Service:

1. The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.
2. The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions.
3. Police must secure the willing cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public.
4. The degree of cooperation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force.
5. Police seek and preserve public favour not by catering to public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law.
6. Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice, and warning is found to be insufficient.
7. Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police, the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
8. Police should always direct their action strictly towards their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary.
9. The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it.[6]

Peel's principles were concerned with the preventive role of the police and positive relationships and cooperation between the police and the community it served. Consider the similarity between Peel's principles and the concepts of *community policing* that have influenced policing during the past few decades. See Chapter 12 for a complete discussion of community policing.

As a result of the formation of the new police force, the patchwork of private law enforcement systems in use at the time was abolished. Many believe that the English model of policing eventually became the model for the United States.

The Metropolitan Police was organized around the **beat system**, in which officers were assigned to relatively small permanent posts and were expected to become familiar with them and the people residing there, thereby making the officer a part of neighborhood life. This system differed from the patrols of the Paris police, which consisted of periodic roving surveillance of areas. Paris police patrols were never assigned to the same area on successive nights, thus not encouraging a close familiarity between the police and the public.

Peel's Nine Principles Basic guidelines created by Sir Robert Peel for the London Metropolitan Police in 1829.

beat system System of policing created by Sir Robert Peel for the London Metropolitan Police in 1829 in which officers were assigned to relatively small permanent posts.

The main job of the new police was suppressing mob disorder, winning support from the public, and developing a disciplined force. The development of a professional and disciplined force was difficult, as Thomas Reppetto tells us:

> On September 29, 1829, the force held a muster of its first 1,000 recruits. It was a rainy day, and some of the men broke out very un-military umbrellas, while others, carrying on the quite military habit of hard drinking, showed up intoxicated. The umbrella problem was eliminated by an order issued that day, but drinking was not so easily handled. In the first eight years, 5,000 members of the force had to be dismissed and 6,000 resigned. After four years only 15 percent of the 3,400 original recruits were left.[7]

Rowan, a former army colonel and a veteran of the Battle of Waterloo, was responsible for the efforts to instill military discipline on the new police department.

Unfortunately, the new police were not immediately well received. Some elements of the population saw the police as an occupying army, and open battles occurred between the police and citizens. The tide of sentiment turned in favor of the police, however, when an officer was viciously killed in the Cold Bath Fields riot of 1833. At the murder trial, the jury returned a not guilty verdict, inspiring a groundswell of public support for the much-maligned police. Eventually, Peel's system became so popular that all English cities adopted his idea of a civil police department.

In an interesting recent article in the *British Journal of Criminology*, Lucia Zedner explores the similarities between law enforcement in England before the creation of the London Metropolitan Police and policing today in our post-9/11 world. As evidence of similarities, she points to the generalized insecurity and mounting demands for protection common both then and now. She also writes that today's trend toward community participation in protective efforts reflects patterns of enlisting individuals and community organizations in voluntary activities of self-protection in the pre-Peel era, before Peel's government-sponsored police concept. Zedner points out that today we use private security companies to police neighborhoods, businesses, and commercial areas, a practice similar to that in the 18th century. She concludes, "Although the state can no longer claim a monopoly over policing [today], it must retain responsibility for protecting the public interest in policing measures and the maintenance of civil rights in the context of security measures being used."[8]

YOU ARE THERE

Sir Robert Peel: The Founder of Modern Policing

Sir Robert Peel is one of the most important persons in 19th-century British history. He dominated Parliament throughout the period of 1830 to 1850. He became a Member of Parliament (MP) in 1809 at the age of 21, after his father bought him a seat, and he became undersecretary of war and the colonies in 1810.

In 1812, Peel was appointed as Chief Secretary for Ireland. In that post, he attempted to end corruption in Irish government by trying to stop the practice of selling public offices and the dismissal of civil servants for their political views. Eventually, he became seen as one of the leading opponents to Catholic Emancipation. In 1814, he established a military-type "peace preservation" force in Ireland that eventually evolved into the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC). In 1818, he resigned his post in Dublin and returned to London.

Peel was Home Secretary from 1822 to 1827. Distressed over the problems of law and order in London, he persuaded the House of Commons to pass the Metropolitan Police Act in 1829. The first Metropolitan Police patrols went onto the streets on September 29, 1829.

Peel was prime minister twice, from 1834 to 1835 and from 1841 to 1846. He died in 1850 as the result of injuries he sustained in a fall from his horse while riding up Constitution Hill in London. Many have called him among the most important statesmen in the history of England. Because of Peel's connection with the creation of both the modern Irish and English police, the Irish police were known as "peelers" and the English police as "bobbies," thus magnifying Peel's role in the development of modern policing.

Source: Thomas A. Reppetto, *The Blue Parade* (New York: Free Press, 1978), pp. 16–22.

American Policing: The Colonial Experience

The North: The Watch

The American colonists did not have an easy life.[9] They were constantly at risk from foreign enemies, Native Americans, and their fellow colonists. Their only protection was self-defense and, sometimes, the military or militia. By the 17th century, the northern colonies started to institute a civil law enforcement system that closely replicated the English model. The county sheriff was the most important law enforcement official; in addition, he collected taxes, supervised elections, and had much to do with the legal process. Sheriffs were not paid a salary but, much like the English thief-taker, were paid fees for each arrest they made. Sheriffs did not patrol but stayed in their offices.

In cities, the town marshal was the chief law enforcement official, aided by constables (called *schouts* in the Dutch settlements) and night watchmen. Night watch was sometimes performed by the military. The city of Boston created the first colonial night watch in 1631 and created the position of constable three years later. In 1658, eight paid watchmen replaced a patrol of citizen volunteers in the Dutch city of Nieuw Amsterdam. The British inherited this police system in 1664 when they took over the city and renamed it New York. By the mid-1700s, the New York night watch was described as "a parcel of idle, drinking, vigilant snorers, who never quell'd any nocturnal tumult in their lives; but would perhaps, be as ready to joining in a burglary as any thief in Christendom."[10]

The South: Slave Patrols and Codes

Protection against crime and criminals in the southern American colonies was mainly the responsibility of the individual citizen, as it had been in early England.[11] There was little law and order as we understand it now. When immediate action was needed, people generally took matters into their own hands, which led to an American tradition of vigilantism and lynching.

Many police historians and scholars indicate that the **slave patrols** of the American South were the precursor to the modern American system of policing. These patrols were a formal system of social control, particularly in rural areas, to maintain the institution of slavery by enforcing restrictive laws against slaves. Slave patrols were prominent in many of the early colonies as a means of apprehending runaway slaves and protecting the white population from slave insurrections or crimes committed by slaves. Policing experts actually conclude that the patrol function and concept were first accepted as a police practice by slave patrols in the South.[12]

Police historian Sam Walker wrote, "In some respects, the slave patrols were the first modern forces in this country."[13] M. P. Roth, in his *Crime and Punishment: A History of the Criminal Justice System*, writes that "the evolution of the southern slave patrols in the early 1700s marked the first real advances in American policing."[14] As early as the 1660s, Maryland and Virginia developed slave codes, which defined the black slave and his or her family as pieces of property who were indentured to their masters for life and forbidden to engage in many activities that whites engaged in. Slave masters were given the legal authority to control their property—slaves—through physical discipline and punishment.[15]

The slave codes were enforced by developing southern police departments to directly support slavery and the existing economic system of the South. These codes were adopted by colonial and, later, state legislatures. Slave patrols became the police mechanism to support the southern economic system of slavery. Slave codes were designed to ensure the economic survival of southern society—the use of slave labor to produce goods. Slaves were valuable property, and the codes were meant to prevent them from running away or engaging in insurrection. Simply put, these early slave codes were intended to preserve the social order in which whites dominated and subjugated blacks.

The southern slave codes mandated that slaves had no rights as citizens because they were considered property. Even the U.S. Supreme Court, in its infamous ***Dred Scott* decision**, *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), held that Dred Scott, a black slave, could not sue in court for his freedom because he was not a citizen, but a piece of property.[16]

Researcher Sally E. Hadden, in her book *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the*

slave patrols Police-type organizations created in the American South during colonial times to control slaves and support the southern economic system of slavery.

***Dred Scott* decision** Infamous U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1857 ruling that slaves had no rights as citizens because they were considered to be property.

Carolinas, reported that the first slave patrols were authorized in South Carolina to protect white families from slaves. Members of the slave patrols (free white men and some women) could enter, without permission, any homes of blacks or whites suspected of harboring slaves who were violating the law. The colonial assembly in South Carolina developed specific rules, guidelines, and duties for the slave patrols, which were in effect until the Civil War.[17]

Slave patrols became commonplace by the early 18th century and were often combined with local militia and police duties. These patrols varied in size but generally were small. Each well-armed patrol, operating on horseback, was generally required to inspect each plantation within its district at least once a month and to seize any contraband possessed by slaves. North Carolina's slave patrol system was developed in the 1700s under the local justice of the peace, and the patrols were required to visit each plantation in their districts every two weeks. They were allowed to flog or whip any slave caught in a minor violation of the slave codes. Tennessee's slave patrol system began in 1753 and was administered through county courts, which required the patrollers to inspect all plantations within the county four times a year. Kentucky used its slave patrol system as a traditional police mechanism. It patrolled for runaway slaves, highwaymen (robbers), and other threats to the peace. In some Kentucky counties, the patrol worked 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

American Policing: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Historically, American policing attempted to control crime and disorder in urban and frontier environments. Although the urban and frontier experiences differed in many ways, both could be classified as brutal and corrupt.

The Urban Experience

During the 18th century, the most common form of American law enforcement was the system of constables in the daytime and the watch at night. Crime, street riots, and drunkenness were very common, and law enforcement personnel were incompetent in handling the situation. From 1790 to 1845, New York City's population rose from 33,000 to 370,000 people, most of which were new immigrants. With the increased population and poverty, crime dramatically increased. An 1840 New York newspaper reported,

> Destructive rascality stalks at large in our streets and public places, at all times of day and night, with none to make it afraid; mobs assemble deliberately. . . . In a word, lawless violence and fury have full dominion over us.[18]

In 1842, a special citizens' committee of New Yorkers wrote,

> The property of the citizen is pilfered, almost before his eyes. Dwellings and warehouses are entered with an ease and apparent coolness and carelessness of detention which shows that none are safe. Thronged as our city is, men are robbed in the street. Thousands that are arrested go unpunished, and the defenseless and the beautiful are ravished and murdered in the daytime, and no trace of the criminals is found.[19]

EARLY POLICE DEPARTMENTS The tremendous migration to large American cities and the poverty and discrimination these new residents encountered led to enormous social problems, including crime and disorder. In response, many large cities began to create formal police departments using the Peelian model.

The first organized American police department in the North was created in Boston in 1838. It consisted of only eight members and worked at first only in the daytime; in 1851, they also assumed the night watch. In 1853, the office of police chief was created, and, in 1854, police stations were constructed. The force was not fully uniformed until 1859, when members were required to wear blue jackets and white hats. In addition to police duties, they were charged with maintaining public health until 1853.

In 1844, the New York state legislature authorized communities to organize police forces and gave special funds to cities to provide 24-hour police protection. In New York City, under the leadership of Mayor William F. Havermeyer, a London-style police department was created on May 23, 1845. The first New York police officers were issued copper stars to wear on their hats and jackets but were not allowed to wear full uniforms until 1853. In fact, the first New York cops did not want to wear even their copper stars because doing so made them targets for

the city's ruffians. The New York City police were also in charge of street sweeping until 1881.

Philadelphia started its police department in 1854. By the outbreak of the Civil War, Chicago, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Newark, and a number of other large cities had their own police departments. The new police departments replaced the night watch system. As a result, constables and sheriffs were relieved of much of their patrol and investigative duties. However, they performed other duties in the fledgling criminal justice system, such as serving court orders and managing jails.

POLITICS IN AMERICAN POLICING Nineteenth-century American policing was dominated by local politicians and was notorious for brutality, corruption, and ineptness: "In addition to the pervasive brutality and corruption, the police did little to effectively prevent crime or provide public services. . . . Officers were primarily tools of local politicians; they were not impartial and professional public servants."[20] In his book *Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York,* Luc Sante writes, "The history of the New York police is not a particularly illustrious one, at least in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as throughout the period the law enforcement agents of the city continually and recurrently demonstrated corruption, complacency, confusion, sloth, and brutality."[21]

In 1857, political differences between the Democrats, who controlled New York City, and the Republicans, who controlled New York State, caused a full-scale police war. The corrupt New York City police force, the Municipal Police, under the control of New York's mayor Fernando Wood, was replaced by the Metropolitan Police, created and controlled by Governor John A. King. Wood, however, refused to disband the Municipals. Thus, the city had two separate police departments, each under the control of one of the two enemy factions.

On June 16, 1857, the two police departments clashed at New York's City Hall. Fifty Metropolitan police arrived at City Hall with a warrant to arrest Wood. Almost 900 members of the Municipal Police attacked the Metropolitans, causing them to retreat. As the Metropolitans were retreating, the state called in the Seventh Regiment of the National Guard under the command of General Sandford. The members of the National Guard marched on City Hall and raised their weapons as if to fire at the Municipals. Eventually Wood surrendered to arrest, and no

YOU ARE THERE

First Urban U.S. Police Departments

Boston

1838	Boston Police Department is created, with eight officers who only work in the daytime.
1851	Boston Police Department assumes the night watch.
1853	First Boston police chief is appointed.
1854	First Boston police stations are built.
1859	Boston police officers receive first uniforms.

New York

1845	New York City Police Department is created, with officers on the job 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.
1853	New York City police are required to wear uniforms.
1857	Police "civil war" erupts at New York City Hall.

Philadelphia

1854	Philadelphia Police Department is created.

YOU ARE THERE

You Decide: Where Does the Term "Cops" Come From?

When the first members of the NYPD began to patrol in the summer of 1845, they only wore badges on their civilian clothing. The badges were eight-pointed stars (representing the first eight paid members of the old watch during Dutch times) with the seal of the city at the center and were made of stamped copper. The newspapers of the time referred to the new force as the "Star Police," but people seeing the shiny copper shields began to call them "coppers," which was later shortened to "cops." The term "constable on patrol" is also used in Britain, which may account for the use of the term "cops" in England as well.

GUEST LECTURE

Photo courtesy of M.S. Lakeyva

LORENZO BOYD

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COUNTY SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENTS: WORKING IN RELATIVE ANONYMITY

Although Sir Robert Peel is credited with establishing the precursor to the modern municipal police department, the office of the sheriff has origins that date back to the ninth century and England's King Alfred the Great. The office of sheriff is the oldest law enforcement office known within the common law system, and it has always been accorded great dignity and high trust.

The role of the sheriff has changed and evolved over time. Today, as in the past, the sheriff is the lead law enforcer in the county, entrusted with the maintenance of law and order and the preservation of "domestic tranquility."

Sheriffs are also responsible for a host of other criminal justice functions and related activities, including law enforcement, jail administration, inmate transportation, court services, and civil process. The responsibilities of the sheriff cover a wide range of public safety functions that vary based on jurisdiction. Sheriffs are the only elected law enforcement officials in most states. Today, for instance, sheriffs in Massachusetts are elected in each of the 14 counties, and sheriffs in Virginia are elected in each of the 95 counties and 28 major cities. The sheriff in the county that contains the state capital is called the "high sheriff" and is the ranking sheriff in the state.

In Massachusetts, the primary function of the sheriff's department is administration of the county jail and house of correction (in Massachusetts, jail is pretrial only, and the house of correction is short-term postconviction). The law enforcement function, though important, is secondary to the jail function. Because "care, custody, and control" of inmates are paramount, many sheriff's deputies function more as corrections officers than as police officers. In spite of the rich, long law enforcement history of the sheriff's department, often deputies acquiesce to a support role in dealing with municipal police departments. Long before sheriff's deputies can hone their skills on the streets of Boston, they must first serve a significant amount of time working in the county jail.

In most cities, the city police handle day-to-day police work, and the sheriff's department patrols county and rural areas that do not have a municipal police force. Sheriff's deputies handle many prisoner transport functions to and from court and jails, police raids, and "sting" operations. Sheriff's departments also employ a tactical emergency response team, similar to that of police SWAT teams. These tactical teams in the sheriff's department are referred to as Sheriff's Emergency Response Teams (SERT). Inside the jail and house of correction, the SERT team is responsible for quelling cellblock riots, hostage situations, gang rivalries, and forced cell moves.

When I was first deputized in 1988, I was under the impression that I was poised to help save the world. "Fighting crime and saving lives" was the motto that I thought I would adopt. Little did I know that I had a lot to learn about the criminal justice system in general and the sheriff's department in particular. I quickly learned to be proficient at the behind-the-scenes, less-glorious duties that make the sheriff's department so important.

shots were fired. In court, the mayor was released and the judge decided that the Metropolitan Police would be the official New York City police.

The primary job of 19th-century police was to serve as the enforcement arm of the political party in power, protect private property, and control the rapidly arriving foreign immigrants. In the late 1800s, police work was highly desirable because it paid more than most other blue-collar jobs: The average factory worker earned $450 a year, whereas a police officer was paid on average $900.

Politics dominated police departments, and politicians determined who would be appointed a police officer and who would be promoted to higher ranks. Job security for police officers was nonexistent because when a new political party gained control

Training for sheriff's deputies includes both tactical police training and training for correctional settings. Deputies have to be able to react to situations both in the jail and on the streets at a moment's notice. In the academy, I endured 80 hours of firearms training, 60 hours of criminal law, 40 hours of constitutional law, 20 hours of patrol procedures, 10 hours of self-defense, and a host of other seemingly peripheral topics. My time in the training academy, although critical, did little to prepare me mentally for my first assignment.

Once the academy was over, I donned a pressed uniform and a freshly polished pair of military-style boots and was ready to assume my position in the criminal justice system. I then reported for duty at the Suffolk County Jail in downtown Boston and awaited my new assignment. One thing that I will never forget happened on my first day of work. When I walked into the jail for the first time, the large steel door slammed behind me with a sound that was unnerving. That sound separated freedom from incarceration.

When I reported for duty on that first day, I was given handcuffs, a set of keys, and a radio, and I was assigned to run an inmate housing unit in the county jail. The jail is divided into different inmate housing units, which are treated as separate self-contained jails. I was assigned, on my first day, to what is often called the worst unit in the jail: the homicide unit. In this unit, more than forty men were housed, each facing a trial for murder. It is in situations like these that you find out what you are really made of, mentally. It was a bit intimidating standing face-to-face with the people I had read about in the newspapers or seen on the evening news accused of having committed the most heinous of crimes. These are the people I had to interact with for eight hours a day, every day, in the jail. This is where I was sent to hone my skills, in relative anonymity. If I were good at my job, no one would ever talk about it. Only when things get out of control do the media shine a spotlight on the sheriff's department.

Every problem that occurs in municipal police departments also is present in the sheriff's department. There are power struggles, codes of silence, corruption, and intradepartmental strife. These problems are exacerbated due to the close quarters of the jail. Most of the deputies are struggling to get out of jail duty and move on to patrol, transportation, warrant-management teams, SERT teams, or other glorious assignments. Getting out of the jail onto the streets is something that both deputies and inmates strive for, sometimes with equal fervor.

Often it is the city or state police who make the big arrests in sting operations or on the streets, usually with backup from, or transportation provided by, the sheriff's department. Sheriff's deputies still tend to do the dirty work of transportation, classification, and custody when the city or state police are conducting press conferences. The sheriff's deputies have to deal with the housing, classification, control, and transportation of offenders long after the city or state police have closed their cases. Much of the work of the sheriff's department goes on behind the scenes, with little or no public accolades; nevertheless, the work of the sheriff's department continues in its professional manner, often unnoticed by the public.

In retrospect, I have asked myself again and again if my time in the sheriff's department was a positive one. Overall, I am happy with my experiences, both good and bad, because those experiences helped to mold a view of the criminal justice system. The sheriff's department operates in the best (or worst) of both worlds. Deputies get to patrol the streets as well as learn the inner workings of corrections. I think the sheriff's department is the backbone of criminal justice, even though the deputies tend to work in relative anonymity.

Source: Reprinted by permission of Dr. Lorenzo M. Boyd.

of city government, it would generally fire all police officers and hire new ones.

Regarding the influence of politics on the hiring of police officers, Walker wrote,

> Ignorance, poor health, or old age was no barrier to employment. An individual with the right connections could be hired despite the most obvious lack of qualifications. Recruits received no formal training. A new officer would be handed a copy of the police manual (if one could be found) containing the local ordinances and state laws, and sent out on patrol. There he could receive on-the-job training from experienced officers who, of course, also taught the ways of graft and evasion of duty.[22]

Robert M. Fogelson wrote about the political impact of politicians on the police:

> Most patrolmen who survived for any length of time quickly . . . learned that a patrolman placed his career in jeopardy more by alienating his captain than by disobeying his chief and more by defying his wardman, who regulated vice in the precinct, than by ignoring [his sergeant].[23]

According to one researcher, "They [the police] knew who put them in office and whose support they needed to stay there. Their job was to manage their beat; often they became completely enmeshed in the crime they were expected to suppress. Corruption, brutality, and racial discrimination, although not universal, were characteristic of most big city departments."[24]

THE EARLY POLICE OFFICER'S JOB The role of the American urban police in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was varied and often not limited to law enforcement. The early police performed many duties they do not have today, including cleaning streets, inspecting boilers, caring for the poor and homeless, operating emergency ambulances, and performing other social services.

In the English tradition, American police in the North were not issued firearms. However, this changed quickly in 1858, when a New York City police officer shot a fleeing felon with a personal weapon. The case was presented to a grand jury, which did not indict the officer. Police officers in New York then began to arm themselves. A similar incident in Boston led to the arming of that police force. By the early 1900s, cities commonly issued revolvers to their police officers. Officers patrolled on foot with no radios, backup, or supervision. They relied on brute force to avoid being beaten up or challenged by local toughs.

Citizens had a tremendous hatred for 19th-century police officers and saw them as political hacks. Street gangs subjected the police to frequent abuse, and suspects often had to be physically subdued before arrest. Commenting on this lack of respect by citizens, Walker notes, "A tradition of police brutality developed out of this reciprocal disrespect. Officers sought to gain with their billy clubs the deference to their authority that was not freely given."[25] Regarding this brutality, the social reformer Lincoln Steffens wrote, "He saw the police bring in and kick out their bandaged, bloody prisoners, not only strikers and foreigners, but thieves too, and others of the miserable, friendless, troublesome poor."[26]

Corruption and mismanagement were rampant in 19th-century police departments. Consequently, between 1860 and 1866, the police forces of Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Kansas City, and St. Louis were placed under state control. Boston was the first city to form a detective division to investigate past crimes. However, early detectives were as corrupt as their uniformed counterparts, private thief-takers, and bounty hunters.

In the latter part of the 19th century, we begin to see some practical and technological advances

YOU ARE THERE

New York City Police Museum

The New York City Police Department (NYPD) has protected the city for more than 150 years. Its period of development to its modern-day structure dates back to the 17th century. The New York City Police Museum is located at 100 Old Slip in Manhattan's financial district, within view of the Brooklyn Bridge and the Fulton Fish Market. The building was built in 1909 as the new home for the First Precinct. It was considered a model police facility when built, and chiefs of police throughout the country visited the new station house, looking to copy some of its features in their own buildings. The museum both captures the history of the NYPD and provides a present-day look at the world of law enforcement through the eyes of its officers. Its exhibits include an array of weapons, police shields, fingerprinting and forensic art stations, and the "Policing a Changed City" exhibit about the new, modern NYPD. The museum collects, preserves, and interprets objects related to the history of the NYPD and provides information about this history through exhibitions, lectures, the Internet, publications, school events, and other educational programs. It houses one of the largest collections of police memorabilia in the United States, as well as an extensive photo collection and some police records dating back to the inception of the NYPD in 1845.

Source: "New York City Police Museum," from www.nycpm.org.

in policing. The public health and social welfare responsibilities that formerly were the province of the police, including sweeping sidewalks and housing the homeless, were transferred to newly created municipal agencies. In the 1850s, precincts began to be linked to central headquarters by telegraph machines. In the 1860s, telegraph signal stations were installed, first in Chicago and then in Cincinnati. These enabled officers to check with their precincts for instructions or to call for assistance using Morse code. In 1881, the Morse code signal system was replaced by telephone call boxes in Cincinnati. A police officer could now call from his beat for a patrol wagon to transport prisoners. A red light on the top of a call box could summon officers for messages from their precinct headquarters.

The Southern Experience

As discussed earlier, slave patrols were an early form of American southern policing and perhaps the first organized police operations in the United States. Casting their doubt that Peel's London police were the major influence in creating American police departments, Wadman and Allison point out that before the widespread creation of police departments in the North, the largest law enforcement organization in the United States was Charleston's slave patrol with about 100 members in 1837. Also, the Savannah Police Department was organized in 1852, had 86 officers, and operated day and night watches. In 1850, the Mobile (Alabama) Police Department had 30 officers. During the Civil War, the Richmond (Virginia) Police Department had 11 daytime patrolmen and 72 nighttime patrolmen. However, crime increased so much in Richmond that Confederate President Jefferson Davis declared martial law in 1862.[27]

Atlanta, Georgia, was a major railroad hub and supply center for Confederate forces during the Civil War, with troops and refugees flooding into and out of the city from late 1861 through the end of the war in 1865. The Atlanta Police Department doubled in size during the war, from 14 to 28; the officers faced challenges brought by the war, as well as by maintaining the traditional social order through the slave code. The most serious crime problems in Atlanta were white rowdyism, vandalism, and theft. The Fulton County court dealt with more cases involving whites than those involving bonded slaves and black refugees. Larceny and burglary were the most popular crimes in Atlanta and often involved Confederate soldiers on post in Atlanta.

The largest obstacle facing Atlanta police leaders was finding qualified, trustworthy men to serve. Because of the lack of available recruits, the force was "made up of the poor, elderly, and the not-so-honest element."[28] Although the department never exceeded 30 men at any one time during the war, 48 policemen were found guilty of misconduct and 22 were dismissed. Charges ranged from drunkenness while on duty to extortion and illegal arrest. In 1864, the city hired a city marshal to organize patrols and assist the police, but the attempt failed.[29]

After the Civil War, from 1867 to 1877, law enforcement duties were provided by the military in the districts created from the Confederacy. In Northern-occupied southern states, U.S. marshals often called on federal troops to form a posse to enforce local laws. The army also guarded polling places and curbed the actions of the Ku Klux Klan. Once southern states regained representation in Congress, they tried to prevent such practices.

Many police departments across the South reorganized during this time to meet Reconstruction standards. However, in many cases, police officials under the prewar system simply returned to their posts, and the militia-like nature of slave patrols and volunteer companies survived the war in the newly reorganized police departments. In addition to maintaining public order, police continued to be the upholders of white supremacy in their communities.

Some police departments reluctantly hired blacks on their forces to satisfy demands brought on by Reconstruction. Montgomery, Alabama, and Vicksburg, Mississippi, hired large numbers of blacks on their police departments for a brief time, but most places, like Norfolk, Virginia, had only a token few. These black officers were taunted by whites, who often paid them no heed.[30]

The Frontier Experience[31]

Life on the American frontier was not easy. Early settlers faced tremendous problems from the weather, the terrain, Native Americans, and the criminals within their own ranks. Formal law enforcement on the frontier was rare. What little there was consisted mainly of the locally elected county sheriff and the appointed town marshal, sometimes alongside the U.S. marshal, the U.S. Army, or the state militia.

SHERIFFS AND TOWN MARSHALS The locally elected county sheriffs and the town marshals (appointed by the mayor or city council) were usually the only law enforcement officers available on the frontier. Most of the sheriff's time was spent collecting taxes and performing duties for the courts.

If a crime spree occurred or a dangerous criminal was nearby, the sheriff would call upon the ***posse comitatus***, a common law descendent of the old hue and cry. (The Latin term *posse comitatus* means "the power of the county.") No man above the age of 15 could refuse to serve as a member of a legally constituted posse. The posse was often little more than a legalized form of vigilantism. Vigilantism and lynch mobs were common in the Old West because of the lack of professional law enforcement. Many famous town marshals, such as James Butler (Wild Bill) Hickok of Hays City, Kansas, and later Abilene, Kansas, and Wyatt Earp of Dodge City, Kansas, were really semi-reformed outlaws. There was little to distinguish the good guys from the bad guys in the American frontier's criminal justice system.

FEDERAL MARSHALS The Federal Judiciary Act of 1789, which created the office of the U.S. Marshal, also gave the marshals the power to call upon the militia for assistance, a power formalized under federal *posse comitatus* legislation in 1792. The members of the militia were technically members of the federal marshal's posse and aided him in performing his civil duties. In 1861, Congress passed a law empowering the president to call upon the militia or regular army to enforce the law when ordinary means were insufficient.

THE MILITARY Civilian authorities used the military in both the North and the South. Excesses by the military in enforcing the law resulted in Congress passing the Posse Comitatus Act of 1879, forbidding the use of the military to enforce civilian law except where expressly authorized by law. Some of these exceptions applied in the frontier to prevent trespassing on Native American reservations or to enforce unpopular federal decisions regarding territories such as Arizona and New Mexico. The use of the military in the Old West ended in the last quarter of the 19th century.

posse comitatus Common law descendent of the old hue and cry. If a crime spree occurred or a dangerous criminal was in the area, the U.S. frontier sheriff would call upon the *posse comitatus*, a Latin term meaning "the power of the county."

STATE POLICE AGENCIES Some states and territories created their own police organizations. In 1823, Stephen Austin hired a dozen bodyguards to protect fellow "Texicans" from Native Americans and bandits. Austin's hired guns were officially named the Texas Rangers upon Texas's independence in 1835. The Rangers served as a border patrol for the Republic of Texas, guarding against marauding Native Americans and Mexicans. When Texas was admitted to the Union in 1845, the Texas Rangers became the first U.S. state police agency.

Unlike present-day state police, the Texas Rangers and their counterparts, the Arizona Rangers (1901) and the New Mexico Mounted Patrol (1905), were primarily border patrols designed to combat cattle thievery and control outlaw activities on the Rio Grande. With Pennsylvania leading the way in 1905, other states outside the Southwest began to create their own state police agencies.

PRIVATE POLICE Private police were much more effective than public law enforcement agencies on the frontier. Allan Pinkerton, a native of Scotland, was a former police detective who established a detective agency in Chicago in 1850. The Pinkerton Agency first gained notoriety just before the Civil War, when it thwarted the alleged "Baltimore Plot" to assassinate president-elect Abraham Lincoln. By the 1880s, Pinkerton's National Detective Agency had offices in nearly two dozen cities. In the West, Pinkerton's customers included the U.S. Department of Justice, various railroad companies, and major land speculators. The agents arrested train robbers and notorious gangsters, including the James Gang in the 1880s and Robert Leroy Parker (Butch Cassidy) and Harry Longbaugh (the Sundance Kid) in the early 1900s. The agents also arrested John and Simeon Reno, who organized the nation's first band of professional bank robbers. Pinkerton's agents were hired in the East by mining and manufacturing companies to suppress labor organizations, such as the Molly Maguires in 1874 and 1875, as well as to suppress the Homestead Riots in Pittsburgh in 1892. The Pinkertons employed informants throughout the United States and its territories and offered cash rewards for information. They mainly protected the interests of the railroads, wealthy eastern bankers, and land speculators.

In competition with the Pinkerton Agency during the latter part of the 19th century was the Rocky Mountain Detective Association, which pursued and apprehended bank and train robbers, cattle thieves, murderers, and the road agents who plundered highways and mining communities throughout the Southwest and Rocky Mountain area.

Also in competition with the Pinkertons was Wells Fargo and Company, started in 1852 by Henry Wells and William G. Fargo as a banking and stock association designed to capitalize on the emerging shipping and banking opportunities in California. Wells Fargo operated as a mail-carrying service and stagecoach line out of more than a hundred offices in the western mining districts. Because the company carried millions of dollars in gold and other valuable cargo, it created a guard company to protect its shipments. The Wells Fargo private security employees were effective in preventing robberies and thefts; moreover, specially trained and equipped agents relentlessly hunted down the criminals who held up its banks and carriers.

American Policing: Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries

The first half of the 20th century saw such dramatic negative events as the Boston police strike, National Prohibition, and the issuance of the *Wickersham Commission Report*. However, innovation and an increase in professionalism grew to characterize the American police, partly through the efforts of such early police professionals as August Vollmer, O. W. Wilson, and J. Edgar Hoover.

Policing from 1900 to 1960[32]

As we have seen, American policing historically was characterized by ineptness, corruption, and brutality. At the start of the 20th century, serious attempts were made to reform the police.

Even earlier, Theodore Roosevelt had attempted reform as part of the New York City Board of Police Commissioners between 1895 and 1897. Roosevelt raised police recruitment standards and disciplined corrupt and brutal officers. He was a colorful and proactive leader who traveled through the streets watching the actions of his police. However, despite much publicity and some superficial changes, Roosevelt's efforts failed when the corrupt Tammany Hall political machine was returned to power in 1897. Reppetto tells us, "Roosevelt was a man of dash and vigor, but his influence on the police, like his military career, was more form than substance, and things soon returned to normal."[33]

During the progressive era of American government from 1900 to 1914, attempts at reforming the police originated outside police departments from middle-class, civic-minded reformers. For the most part, however, these attempts failed.

PROFESSIONALISM An early attempt at police reform was the creation in 1893 of a professional society, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP). Its first president was the Washington, D.C., chief of police, Richard Sylvester. The IACP became the leading voice of police reform during the first two decades of the 20th century by consistently calling for the creation of a civil service police and for the removal of political influence and control over the police. The IACP remains a significant force in policing today.

Eventually a federal law, the Pendleton Act, was passed in 1883 to establish a civil service system that tested, appointed, and promoted officers on a merit

A suffragette is arrested by police in 1908.

system. Local governments later adopted the civil service system, and political influence slowly evaporated from police departments. Even today, however, not all U.S. police agencies are governed by civil service rules. Furthermore, despite civil service systems, politics continued to play some part in American law enforcement.

TECHNOLOGY In the 20th century, the use of technology grew phenomenally in American police departments. By 1913, the police motorcycle was being used by departments in the Northeast. The first police car was used in Akron, Ohio, in 1910, and the police wagon was first used in Cincinnati in 1912. By the 1920s, the patrol car was in widespread use. The patrol car began to change police work by allowing the police to respond quickly to crimes and enabling each officer to cover much more territory.

The widespread use of the one-way radio in the 1930s and the two-way radio in the 1940s, combined with the growing use of the patrol car, revolutionized police work. Once a call came in to police headquarters or a precinct, a police car could be dispatched almost immediately, providing rapid response to calls for service and emergencies. Although police administrators joyfully greeted this innovation, motorized patrol eventually distanced the police from the community and played a part in the serious problems in policing that arose in the 1960s.

THE BOSTON POLICE STRIKE The Boston police strike of 1919 was one of the most significant events in the history of policing, and it increased interest in police reform. While other professions were unionizing and improving their standards of living, police salaries lagged behind, and the police were becoming upset with their diminished status in society. The fraternal association of Boston police officers, the Boston Social Club, voted to become a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (AFL). On September 9, 1919, 70 percent of Boston's police officers—1,117 men—went on strike. Rioting and looting immediately broke out, and Governor Calvin Coolidge mobilized the state militia. Public support went against the police, and the strike was broken. All the striking officers were fired and replaced by new recruits. The strike ended police unionism for decades. Coolidge became a national hero and went on to become president of the United States. Many say that his action in firing the Boston police propelled him to the presidency.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION Another significant event in 20th-century policing, and one that stirred up another police reform movement, was the prohibition of alcohol. The **Volstead Act** (National Prohibition) was passed in 1919 and became law in 1920 as the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It forbade the sale and manufacture of alcohol, attempting to make America a dry nation. Traditional organized crime families received their impetus during this period as gangsters banded together to meet the tremendous demand of ordinary Americans for alcohol. When the Eighteenth Amendment was repealed in 1933 by the Twenty-First Amendment, the organized crime families funneled the vast amount of capital that they had received in the alcohol trade into other vice crimes, such as illegal gambling, prostitution, loan sharking, labor racketeering, and, later, drug dealing.

Local law enforcement was unable to stop the alcohol and vice operations of organized crime and became even more corrupt as many law enforcement officers cooperated with organized crime. As a result, between 1919 and 1930, 24 states formed commissions to study the crime problem and the ability of the police to deal with crime.

THE WICKERSHAM COMMISSION In 1929, President Herbert Hoover created the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement with George W. Wickersham as its chair. The commission was popularly known as the **Wickersham Commission** and conducted the first national study of the U.S. criminal justice system. The *Wickersham Commission Report*, issued in 1931, criticized the Volstead Act, saying it was not enforced because it was unenforceable. National Prohibition was repealed in 1933.

The commission report found that the average police commander's term of office was too short to be effective and that responsibility to politicians made the position insecure. The report indicated that there was a lack of effective, efficient, and honest patrol officers, and no efforts had been made to educate, train, or discipline officers or to fire

Volstead Act (National Prohibition, Eighteenth Amendment) Became law in 1920 and forbade the sale and manufacture of alcohol.

Wickersham Commission Published the first national study of the U.S. criminal justice system, in 1931.

incompetent ones. Further findings showed that police forces, even in the biggest cities, did not have adequate communication systems or equipment.

Two volumes of the *Wickersham Commission Report, Lawlessness in Law Enforcement* (volume 2) and *The Police* (volume 14), concerned themselves solely with the police. *Lawlessness in Law Enforcement* portrayed the police as inept, inefficient, racist, and brutal, and accused them of committing illegal acts. The volume concluded, "The third degree—the inflicting of pain, physical or mental, to extract confessions or statements—is extensively practiced."[34]

The *Wickersham Commission Report* blamed the shortcomings of the police on a lack of police professionalism. *The Police*, written primarily by August Vollmer, discussed methods that could be used to create a professional police force in the United States. The methods the commission advocated included increased selectivity in the recruitment of officers, better pay and benefits, and more education for police officers.

The *Wickersham Commission Report* angered citizens and started another groundswell for police reform. With the onset of the Great Depression, however, police reform became less important than economic revival, and another attempt at police reform failed.

AUGUST VOLLMER From 1905 to 1932, August Vollmer was the chief of police in Berkeley, California. Vollmer instituted many practices that started to professionalize policing in the United States. Among those practices was incorporating university training as a part of police training. Vollmer also introduced the use of intelligence, psychiatric, and neurological tests to aid in the selection of police recruits and initiated scientific crime detection and crime-solving techniques. In addition, Vollmer helped develop the School of Criminology at the University of California at Berkeley, which became the model for programs related to law and criminal justice throughout the United States. In addition to authoring the *Wickersham Commission Report*'s volume *The Police*, Vollmer trained numerous students who went on to become reform-oriented and progressive police chiefs. Vollmer can certainly be considered the father of modern American policing.

O. W. WILSON A disciple of Vollmer's, O. W. Wilson pioneered the use of advanced training for police officers when he took over and reformed the Wichita, Kansas, police department in 1928. While there, Wilson conducted the first systematic study of the effectiveness of one-officer squad cars. Despite officers' complaints about risks to their safety, his study showed that one-officer cars were more efficient, effective, and economical than two-person cars. Wilson believed that police departments should maximize patrol coverage by replacing foot patrols with one-person auto patrols. He advocated rapid response to calls for service as a key criterion by which to judge the effectiveness of police departments.

As dean of the School of Criminology at the University of California at Berkeley from 1950 to 1960 and superintendent of the Chicago police from 1960 to 1967, Wilson developed modern management and administrative techniques for policing. The core of Wilson's approach to police administration was managerial efficiency. He was the author of the first two textbooks on police management: the International City Management Association's *Municipal Police Administration* and his own text, *Police Administration*, which became the bible of policing for decades.

Almost every U.S. police department since the 1950s has been organized around the principles espoused in Wilson's books. He developed workload formulas, some of which remained unchanged for decades, based on reported crimes and calls for service on each beat.

RAYMOND BLAINE FOSDICK AND BRUCE SMITH Other early pioneers in the movement toward police professionalism were Raymond Blaine Fosdick and Bruce Smith, even though neither was a police officer. Fosdick is noted for the first scholarly research regarding the police. In 1915, he published *European Police Systems*, which examined the police structures and practices of Europe. In 1920, he published *American Police Systems* after studying the police of 72 U.S. cities.

Smith, a researcher and later manager of the Institute of Public Administration, also contributed to our early knowledge of the police. His efforts in surveying and researching police departments in approximately 50 leading American cities in 18 states led to his noteworthy 1940 book *Police Systems in the United States*; a second edition was published in 1949.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER One cannot discuss law enforcement in the 20th-century United States without mentioning J. Edgar Hoover. In 1921, President

Warren G. Harding appointed Hoover, an attorney working for the U.S. Department of Justice, as assistant director of the Bureau of Investigation, the forerunner of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Upon the retirement of the bureau's director in 1924, President Calvin Coolidge appointed Hoover as the director. Over the next 48 years, Hoover was reappointed as director of the FBI by each succeeding U.S. president and remained director until his death in 1972.

Under Hoover's leadership, the FBI changed from an inefficient organization into what many consider to be the world's primary law enforcement agency. Among his major contributions were the hiring of accountants and lawyers as special agents; the introduction of the FBI *Uniform Crime Reports*, which have been the leading source of crime and arrest statistics in the United States since 1930; the development of the National Crime Information Center (NCIC); the development of the FBI's Ten Most Wanted Criminals Program, otherwise known as Public Enemies; the development of the FBI Academy at Quantico, Virginia; and the popularizing of the FBI through the media as incorruptible, crime-fighting G-men.

During the past few decades, Hoover's reputation has diminished. Revelations have surfaced about his use of the media to build a myth about the FBI, his single-mindedness about Communism, and his domestic surveillance operations over prominent Americans.

KEFAUVER COMMITTEE In 1950, in response to fear about crime and the corruption of law enforcement officers, the U.S. Senate's Crime Committee, chaired by Senator Estes Kefauver, was created. The Kefauver Committee held televised public hearings that led to the discovery of a nationwide network of organized crime, a syndicate that has commonly been called the Mafia or Cosa Nostra. The hearings also revealed that many law enforcement officers nationwide were on the syndicate's payroll. The public was shocked at these tales of corruption, and another attempt at police reform began. David R. Johnson wrote about this decade:

> The 1950s marked a turning point in the history of professionalism. Following major scandals, reformers came to power across the nation. Politicians had real choices between the traditional and new models of policing because a number of professional police reformers were available for the first time. With an enraged middle class threatening their livelihoods, the politicians opted for reform.[35]

Policing in the 1960s and 1970s

The 1960s and 1970s were times of great tension and change and probably formed the most turbulent era for policing in U.S. history. Numerous social problems permeated these decades, and the police were at the center of each one. The struggle for racial equality reached its peak, accompanied by marches, demonstrations, and riots that burned down whole neighborhoods in U.S. urban centers. The Vietnam War was reaching its height, soldiers were dying, and students across the United States were protesting the war and governmental policies. The Supreme Court decided in case after case to protect arrested persons from oppressive police practices. The police seemed to be more the targets of radical groups than the respected protectors of the people. In short, during this time of dramatic social changes in the United States, the police were not only right in the middle, but often the focus of it all.

Because of their role, the police were caught between those fighting for their civil rights and the government officials (the employers of the police) who wanted to maintain the status quo, between demonstrating students and college and city administrators. The police received much criticism during these years. Some of it was deserved, but much of it was for circumstances beyond their control.

James Q. Wilson perhaps best described the decade of the 1960s when he wrote, "It all began about 1963; that was the year, to over-dramatize a bit, that a decade began to fall apart."[36]

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS The 1960s saw the Warren Court at its peak—a U.S. Supreme Court that focused dramatically on individual rights. Police actions ranging from arrests to search and seizure to custodial interrogation were being declared unconstitutional. Chapter 13, "Police and the Law," will focus on these decisions. The Court made dramatic use of the exclusionary rule, a 1914 Supreme Court ruling that declared that evidence seized by the police in violation of the Constitution could not be used against a defendant in federal court, thus leading to the possibility that a guilty

defendant could go free because of procedural errors by the police.

Many important police-related cases were decided in this era. *Mapp v. Ohio* (1961) finally, after much warning, applied the exclusionary rule to all states in the nation.[37] *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964) defined the constitutional right to counsel at police interrogations.[38] *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966) required the police to notify a person who is in police custody and who is going to be interrogated of his or her constitutional rights.[39]

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT Legal segregation of the races finally ended with the landmark Supreme Court case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), which desegregated schools all over the nation.[40] However, equal treatment of the races did not occur overnight. Numerous marches and demonstrations occurred before the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed. Because the police are the enforcement arm of government, they were used to enforce existing laws, which in many cases meant arresting and inhibiting the freedom of those marching for equality.

In 1960, the Freedom Riders left Washington, D.C., by bus to confront segregation throughout the South. The buses and protesters were harassed, temporarily halted, and attacked by violent white mobs in Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama. The police were used to inhibit these marches for equality.

In 1962, there were mass arrests of civil rights demonstrators in Albany, Georgia. Also in 1962, James Meredith became the first African American to enroll at the University of Mississippi. President John F. Kennedy was forced to send U.S. marshals and the armed forces into Mississippi to protect Meredith against attacks by segregationists, because the local police were unable or unwilling to protect him.

The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was at the forefront of the civil rights marches. In 1963, King led 25,000 demonstrators on a historic march on Washington that culminated in his "I have a dream" speech. During this speech, a defining moment of the movement, a white uniformed police officer stood behind King in a highly visible position, perhaps as a symbolic representation of the new role of the police in America's social history. Officers were to act as defenders rather than oppressors.

Also in 1963, in Birmingham, Alabama, four African American girls were killed when a bomb exploded during a church service at the 16th Street Baptist Church. King led a peaceful march against segregation in Birmingham, Alabama, while Birmingham's sheriff Bull Connor unleashed hoses and police dogs against the demonstrators. The actions of police personnel like Connor caused the police much negative press and have affected police–minority group relationships ever since.

In 1965, African Americans and other civil rights demonstrators attempted a peaceful march to Selma, Alabama. During the march, Alabama state police, under directions from state officials, stopped the marchers at the Edmund Petus Bridge in Selma, where a Boston minister was murdered and white toughs beat many others. A massive civil rights march then proceeded from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, under the protection of the National Guard.

AP Images

Police were charged with keeping the peace during the Civil Rights marches of the 1960s, like this one led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. This role continues to be important today as citizens gather to make their message known.

The civil rights movement continued and succeeded partly by enrolling more minorities as voters, outlawing forms of government-sanctioned segregation, and ensuring that more minorities participated in government. Today, many of the mayors and politicians in our large cities are members of minority groups. The civil rights movement led to efforts to increase the recruitment and hiring of blacks and other minorities in our nation's police departments and other agencies of the criminal justice system.

Although the civil rights movement was necessary in the evolution of our nation, the use of the police by government officials to thwart the movement left a wound in police-community relations that still has not healed. The 1991 beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles and the 1992 jury verdict acquitting the four Los Angeles police officers who were charged in King's beating (described later) angered people across the United States. The resulting riots in Los Angeles and other cities seemed to bring the United States back to the same strained racial conditions that existed in the 1960s.

POLICE RESPONSE TO CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The United States has a rich history of civil disobedience. As the Declaration of Independence states: "That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness." The founding fathers of our republic laid out the reasons for civil disobedience, resulting in the Revolution and eventual founding of a new nation. The civil disobedience of our recent history has loosely followed these same principles, even though they may have been manifested in entirely different ways that are unacceptable to the majority of Americans.

In early Roman society, military cohorts formed a defensive square to ward off assaults. These squares were able to move in any direction, protecting their flanks and rear, and allowing the "front" to change as needed. During the last several decades, U.S. law enforcement has used a modified version of this defensive square when addressing violent civil disobedience.

The media have played a large role in publicizing confrontations between demonstrators and the police. This publicity has brought the events of the day into the living rooms of families and has changed how the police are viewed. Because of media slant, the public sometimes views these incidents as "assaults" by the police on "innocent" demonstrators.

Furthermore, with the advent of the 24-hour news media and the availability of social media to almost everyone, news and video about police activity are now distributed on an almost minute-by-minute basis. It is not hard to find information about police activity on the Internet, often posted by citizens rather than news media. Law enforcement is incorporating the new technology into their departments; most departments now have an assigned media relations officer who is familiar with the technology. These topics will be covered in more depth in Chapter 14, "Computers, Technology, and Criminalistics in Policing."

Today, most police departments, when called to respond to some incident of civil disobedience or activity in which the public may have an interest, assign someone to make a video recording of the event from the time police become involved to when they depart. This step can provide a safeguard to departments and officers for liability purposes, and it can help answer questions from the media when departments are presented with video recordings of civil disobedience.

ANTI–VIETNAM WAR DEMONSTRATIONS

The Vietnam War was another turbulent, heart-rending experience in American history, and again the police were used in a manner that tarnished their image. There were numerous and violent confrontations between opponents of the Vietnam War and the government's representatives—the police—on college campuses and city streets.

In 1967, hundreds of thousands of people using civil disobedience tactics marched in antiwar demonstrations in New York City, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and numerous other cities around the nation, often clashing with the police, whose job it was to enforce the law and maintain order.

At the Democratic Party presidential convention in Chicago in 1968, police–citizen violence occurred that shocked the nation and the world. With information that 10,000 protesters organized by antiwar groups, including the Youth International Party (Yippies), were coming to Chicago for the 1968 National Democratic Convention, Chicago mayor

YOU ARE THERE

Unrest at the University of California at Davis

In November 2011, on the campus of the University of California at Davis, police and demonstrators confronted each other. Although confrontations between the police and demonstrators at the UC Davis campus are not uncommon, what was different about this event was the absolute outrage of the media and community over what has been a fairly common police practice, the use of pepper spray.

The demonstrators in this incident, who were illegally encamped on UC Davis property, were protesting the rise in state tuition costs in California. The campus community authorities asked the police to remove the demonstrators. What was not widely reported in the media was that police had arrested several "campers" who refused to leave the premises and, after those arrests, were surrounded by demonstrators demanding the release of those arrested. In California, this kind of action is called delaying or obstructing officers in the performance of their duties. It is also a very hazardous situation for officers.

Demonstrators told the police they could leave if they released the arrested protestors. The police response was to form a defensive square within the circle of demonstrators and give orders declaring the demonstration an illegal assembly. The police then warned the demonstrators that they would be pepper-sprayed if they did not move. The demonstrators did not move, and they were pepper-sprayed. However, the news that night, as well as a video of the incident that went viral on the Internet, showed only the pepper spraying and did not discuss the officers' reasons for using the pepper spray.

In the aftermath of this incident, some officers were placed on administrative leave, and the public called for the resignation of the Chancellor of UC Davis and the firing of the UC Davis Chief of Police.

In January 2013, UC Davis agreed to pay $1 million to 36 plaintiffs in a lawsuit against the university. The officer who was the focus of the lawsuit also received $38,056 from the State of California Workers' Compensation Board for continuing internal and external stress from the incident.

As a result of the investigation, the police department at UC Davis has undergone significant reforms aimed at preventing similar incidents in the future.

Richard J. Daley mobilized the National Guard and the Chicago police. On August 28, the protesters attempted to force their way into the convention. Police and the National Guard chased the crowd through downtown Chicago.

There are many different viewpoints of this chaotic disturbance in the streets of Chicago. Many report that the police command structure broke down and that the police became a mob that ran through the streets and assaulted protesters, reporters, and bystanders. A study subsequent to the convention, the *Walker Report,* called the incident a police riot, but others perceived it as the police doing their job. Many stress that the Yippies and other protesters were attempting to break up a lawfully gathered assembly by illegal means.

Eight members of the Yippies were charged with conspiracy for starting the disturbances in Chicago and were dubbed the "Chicago Eight." In 1969, the Chicago Eight trial began (it was later called the Chicago Seven trial due to the severance from the trial of Bobby Seales, the cofounder of the Black Panther Party). A Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) splinter group, the Weathermen, organized the Days of Rage in Chicago, which resulted in violent rampaging in the streets and more confrontation with the police. In 1970, all of the Chicago Eight were acquitted of conspiracy charges; convictions on lesser charges were later overturned as well.

CAMPUS DISORDERS In addition to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, demonstrations, marches, and civil disobedience also took place on college campuses across the nation. These events protested a perceived lack of academic freedom, the Vietnam War, the presence of Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) units on campuses, and many other issues. Again, the police were used to enforce the law.

In 1960, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was organized to coordinate student civil rights protests, and, in 1961, the SDS held its first national convention in Port Huron, Michigan. These two groups had a tremendous impact on the 1960s. Teach-ins, rallies, student strikes, takeovers of campus buildings, and the burning of draft cards were some of the tactics used on the campuses. The campus protests caused college administrators to call in local police departments to maintain order. That, in turn, caused students to complain about the actions of the police, again making the police the focus of anger and attention.

In 1968, a state of civil disorder was declared in Berkeley, California, following recurring police–student confrontations. Protests, riots, and violent clashes between students and the police replaced education on many college campuses in the United States.

Probably the most widely publicized campus protest of the 1960s was the student takeover at Columbia University, in New York City, in the spring of 1968. Students employed every tactic that had been used in earlier campus protests, including teach-ins, rallies, picketing, sit-ins, a student strike, and the takeover of university buildings. As negotiations between the college administration and the student rebels broke down, the administration decided to call in the police.

In the early morning of April 30, 1968, after students had taken over many college buildings, 2,000 police officers moved onto the campus and methodically cleared five occupied buildings. The effort to clear the remaining buildings became violent. Finally, the police were able to secure all buildings by arresting 692 students. In late May, the students again took over two buildings on Columbia's campus. The administration again called the police. The Cox Commission, formed to investigate the violence that ensued at Columbia University, reported on the police action that followed:

> Hell broke loose. One hundred students locked arms behind the barricades at Amsterdam Avenue. Hundreds more crowded close to the gate. The police swiftly dismantled the obstruction. The hundred broke and ran. But 2,000 students live in dormitories facing South Field. Many of them and hundreds of other people were crowded on the campus. For most, the character of the police action was a profound shock; neither they nor others in the Columbia community appreciated the extent of the violence which is the probable concomitant of massive police action against hundreds, if not thousands, of angry students. As police advanced, most students fled. . . . Some police first warned the students; others chased and clubbed them indiscriminately. But not all students went to their dormitories and some who fled came back out to attack the police. Bottles and bricks were hurled by students. A number of police were injured. The action grew fierce. . . . By 5:30 A.M. the campus was secured.[41]

The campus antiwar riots reached their peak in 1970. The firebombing of a University of Wisconsin ROTC building began a wave of some 500 bombings or arsons on college campuses. Students rampaged through Cambridge's Harvard Yard, two students were killed and nine wounded by police gunfire at Jackson State College in Mississippi, and four students were killed by the National Guard at a protest at Kent State University, causing many U.S. colleges and universities to close for the year. Again, clashes between the police and students caused wounds that were hard to heal.

URBAN RIOTS Major riots erupted in the ghettos of many U.S. cities during the 1960s. Most started directly following a police action. This is not to say that the police caused the riots; rather, a police action brought to the surface numerous underlying problems, which many say were the actual causes of the riots.

In the summer of 1964, an off-duty white New York City police lieutenant shot an African American youth who was threatening a building superintendent with a knife. This shooting precipitated the 1964 Harlem riot. Riots also occurred that summer in Rochester, New York; Jersey City, New Jersey; and Philadelphia. In 1965, riots occurred in Los Angeles (the Watts district), San Diego, and Chicago. In 1966, riots again occurred in Watts, as well as in Cleveland, Brooklyn, and Chicago. In 1967, major riots occurred in Boston's Roxbury section, in Newark, and in Detroit.

The riot in Detroit was responsible for 43 deaths, 2,000 injuries, and property damage estimated at more than $200 million; 7,000 people were arrested. The Watts riot was responsible

for 34 deaths, more than 1,000 injuries, and the arrests of nearly 4,000 people. The Newark riot was responsible for 26 deaths and 1,500 injuries.

In 1968, riots occurred in cities all over the United States—including Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City, Newark, New York City, and scores of other cities—following the murder of Dr. King. The worst riot occurred in Washington, D.C., with 12 people killed, 1,200 people injured, 7,600 people arrested, and nearly $25 million in property damage. Nationwide, 55,000 federal troops and National Guard members were called out. Forty-six deaths resulted from the riots, and 21,270 people were arrested.

Again, the efforts of the police to maintain order during these massive shows of civil disobedience and violence caused wounds in police–community relations that have yet to heal. Problems between the minority communities and the police continued, as did the riots. Several radical groups, including the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army, waged urban warfare against the police, resulting in many deaths among their members and the police.

CREATION OF NATIONAL COMMISSIONS In the wake of the problems of the 1960s, particularly the problems between the police and citizens, three national commissions were created. The first was the **President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice**, which issued a report in 1967 entitled *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* and a collection of task force reports covering all aspects of the criminal justice system.

The second national commission was the **National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission)**, which released a report in 1968 that decried white racism and a rapidly polarizing society. The report stated, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal." The commission concluded, "Abrasive relationships between police and Negroes and other minority groups have been a major source of grievance, tension, and, ultimately, disorder."[42]

The third was the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. Its report, issued in 1970, called the gap between youth culture and mainstream society a threat to U.S. stability. All three commissions are mentioned often in this text.

CORRUPTION AND THE KNAPP COMMISSION The corruption that historically permeated American policing in the past has continued into the present. Approximately every 20 years, the nation's largest and most visible police department, the New York City Police Department (NYPD), has been the subject of a major scandal involving police corruption and governmental hearings: the Seabury Hearings in the 1930s, the Gross Hearings in the 1950s, and the Knapp Commission in 1970.

The Knapp Commission resulted from allegations made by New York City plainclothes police officer Frank Serpico and New York City police sergeant David Durk. Serpico was a Bronx officer (assigned to enforce antigambling laws) who was aware of widespread graft and bribes received in his unit. He took his tales of corruption to major police department officials, including the second-highest ranking officer in the department; to the city's Department of Investigation; and eventually to the mayor's office. When Serpico finally realized that no one was taking his claims seriously, he and Durk went to a *New York Times* reporter, who wrote a series of stories about corruption in the department that shocked the public. The *Times* articles forced the mayor, John Lindsey, to appoint a commission to investigate police corruption, which popularly became known as the Knapp Commission. Chapter 8, "Police Ethics and Police Deviance," will focus on the Knapp Commission and police corruption and misconduct. The revelations of the Knapp Commission regarding widespread, systemic, organized corruption in the NYPD led to sweeping changes in the department's organization, philosophy, operations, and procedures.

POLICE RESEARCH The decades of the 1960s and 1970s saw tremendous research into policing, which brought about sweeping changes in thinking about how police work is done in the United States. One of the most significant developments in modernizing and professionalizing the police was the creation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) within the U.S. Department of Justice

President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice Commission that issued a report in 1967 entitled *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*. The commission was created in the wake of the problems of the 1960s, particularly the problems between police and citizens.

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) Commission created in 1968 to address the reasons for the riots of the 1960s.

through Title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. The LEAA spent more than $60 million in its first year alone, and, between 1969 and 1980, it spent more than $8 billion to support criminal justice research, education, and training.

The LEAA required each state to create its own criminal justice planning agency, which in turn was required to establish an annual, comprehensive, statewide criminal justice plan to distribute LEAA funds throughout the state. One of LEAA's primary benefits to police officers was its Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP), which provided funds for the college education of police officers.

An independent organization, the Police Foundation, joined LEAA as a funding source for research on innovative police projects. The most significant of these projects were the Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment, the Rand Corporation's study of the criminal investigation process, the Police Foundation's study of team policing, and the Newark Foot Patrol Experiment. These innovative studies began to change the way we thought about policing in the United States.

As we will see later in Chapter 9, "Patrol Operations," traditional policing involved three major strategies: (1) routine random patrol, (2) rapid response to 911 calls by citizens, and (3) retroactive investigation of past crimes by detectives. Academic research, starting in the 1960s and continuing through today, has indicated that these three strategies have not worked. This research has led police administrators to implement the innovative approaches to policing that will be discussed in Chapter 10, "Investigations."

DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEOLOGY OF A DIVERSE DEPARTMENT Until the late 1960s, women constituted only a very small percentage of police officers in the United States, and they generally were restricted to performing only certain duties, including guarding female prisoners, juvenile work, routine clerical work, issuing parking tickets, and sometimes vice work. It was presumed that women, because of their gender and typical smaller size, were not capable of performing the same type of patrol duty as men. Black and other minority group officers also faced tremendous discrimination in policing. The national commissions discussed earlier, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 began to address the inequities of race and gender in employment. Also, the concept of affirmative action and individual and class action lawsuits began to influence police departments to address traditional employment inequities and led to more women and minority group officers being granted true representation in law enforcement. As Chapter 2, "Organizing Public Security in the United States," shows, women, blacks, and other minorities are indeed equally and fairly represented today in our police and sheriff's departments. Chapter 7, "Minorities in Policing," will address at length the history of the struggle for equality in policing.

Policing in the 1980s and 1990s

The tremendous turmoil that permeated society and policing during the decades of the 1960s and 1970s gave way to somewhat more peaceful times in the 1980s and 1990s. The police, as always, were confronted by a myriad of issues and events that severely tested their professionalism and ability. Prominent among those events were the first terrorist bombing of New York City's World Trade Center in 1993 and the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in 1995. In these cases, police agencies from all over the nation performed numerous heroic and successful actions that saved lives and resulted in the eventual criminal prosecution of the offenders.

Some of the many positive developments of the 1980s and 1990s included the development of a computer revolution in policing involving communications, record keeping, fingerprinting, and criminal investigations; a drastic reduction in violent crime; and the birth of two major new concepts of police work, community policing and problem-solving policing. Community policing and problem-solving policing can be seen either as new approaches to policing or as a return to the policing of the past—the cop on the beat. Chapter 12, "Community Policing: The Debate Continues," covers these concepts. The computer and technology revolution in policing is covered in Chapter 14, "Computers, Technology, and Criminalistics in Policing."

Some believe that the highlight of recent developments in policing is the significant crime reductions that occurred throughout the nation in the

History Is All Relative

ON THE JOB

I remember when I started at the police department in 1977. I finished the police academy and went on to eight weeks of field training with a more senior officer. The department didn't have a formalized program at the time; they simply put rookie officers with more experienced officers who they felt could teach them how our department did things.

Besides my training officer, I met lots of other officers eager to share their knowledge with me on how to "really do the job." I had some "old timers" tell me about how different it was when they started with the department. "They handed me a badge and a gun and told me to go out and enforce the laws… we didn't have any of this training stuff," one told me. This was hard for me to imagine as I thought of all the information I had learned in the academy and was learning during training—not to mention the liability involved. "We never had air-conditioned cars," another told me as I cringed at the thought of driving around in the south Florida heat and humidity without the benefit of air conditioning. "There was no such thing as backup," another said. "We just broke up the fights in the projects and threw 'em in the drunk tank to sober up for a few hours." Again, the thought of detaining people for drunkenness with no real reason to deprive them of their liberty made me nervous. I chalked it up to "the old days" and smiled smugly at how far we'd come and how advanced we were now.

Now, as I teach my classes, and we talk about the "history" of law enforcement and how police officers actually relied on car radios and worked without the luxury of portable radios, and how we used .38 revolvers and were ecstatic when speed-loaders became part of our equipment, students are shocked to realize I worked that way. They are shocked to learn we used payphones as a means of communication when we didn't want to use the radio. They can't imagine life without everyone having cellphones. Their jaws really hit the desks when I talk about our early use of "cellphones." I was a lieutenant in charge of the midnight shift when we got our first portable phone. The shift commanders carried the phone in their cars for use in emergency situations where we did not want the press or others to hear our radio transmissions or we had to call "the brass" at home to brief them on situations. This "portable" phone (and I use the term loosely) was mounted in a briefcase and weighed more than 15 pounds. If a situation occurred where we were setting up at a scene, I would take the briefcase out of the car, lay it on the trunk, and screw antennas into the phone assembly. Then I hoped the bad guys couldn't hear me pushing the numbers (it sounded loud at 3:00 a.m. in the quiet streets) or see all the lights associated with the phone, and, most of all, I hoped it worked. Sometimes, I just felt it wasn't worth all the trouble to use it. If nothing else, these stories make students appreciate the ease of communications that law enforcement enjoys today.

—Linda Forst

late 20th century. In 1997, the FBI reported that serious crime had declined 3 percent, the fifth annual decrease in a row since 1992. Violent crime, including homicide, robbery, rape, and aggravated assault, dropped 7 percent from the previous year. This decrease in violent crime was the largest in 36 years. The homicide rate nationwide was the lowest it had been since 1969.[43] These crime decreases continued throughout the decade and into the 21st century.

Some criminologists attributed this decline to a number of factors, including community policing, problem-solving policing, and aggressive zero-tolerance policing. Other factors considered were increased jail and prison populations, demographic changes in the numbers of crime-prone young people, and community efforts against crime.

The explanation, however, that has gained the most popularity among law enforcement officials, politicians, and criminologists is that the reduced crime rates are the result of aggressive police tactics like those introduced in New York City by its former commissioner, William J. Bratton. Bratton completely reengineered the NYPD to make reducing crime its primary objective. The keynote behind Bratton's reengineering was a process known as CompStat.

CompStat was originally a document, referred to as the "CompStat book," which included current year-to-date statistics for criminal complaints and arrests developed from a computer file called Comparative Statistics—hence, CompStat. Central to CompStat are the semiweekly crime-strategy sessions conducted at police headquarters. At each CompStat meeting, sophisticated computer-generated maps addressing a seemingly unlimited variety of the latest crime details confront and challenge the precinct commanders. The commanders are held responsible for any increases in crime and must present innovative solutions to address their precincts' crime problems. In these sessions, crime-fighting techniques are developed for implementation. The essence of CompStat is a four-step process:

1. Timely and accurate intelligence
2. Use of effective tactics in response to that intelligence
3. Rapid deployment of personnel and resources
4. Relentless follow-up and assessment

One writer summed up the essence of NYPD's policing strategy as follows:

> The multifaceted CompStat process is perhaps best known to law enforcement insiders for its high-stress, semiweekly debriefing and brainstorming sessions at police headquarters, but it is far more. . . . CompStat is enabling the NYPD to pinpoint and analyze crime patterns almost instantly, respond in the most appropriate manner, quickly shift personnel and other resources as needed, assess the impact and viability of anti-crime strategies, identify bright, up-and-coming individuals from deep within the ranks, and transform the organization more fluidly and more effectively than one would ever expect of such a huge police agency.[44]

Another police innovation of the 1980s and 1990s was the emergence of the police paramilitary unit (PPU), which is similar, in a way, to police SWAT units. The goal of these units is to address extremely serious violent criminal events such as hostage situations, terrorist acts, and sniper shootings. Peter B. Kraska and Victor E. Kappeler report that PPUs are equipped with an array of militaristic equipment and technology and are focused on the possibility of applying force. Kraska and Kappeler conducted a survey of 690 U.S. law enforcement agencies and found that fewer than 10 percent had PPUs in the early 1970s, but by 1995 more than 89 percent had them.[45] PPUs and SWAT teams will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

Despite all the successes of the police in the 1980s and 1990s, many of the problems of earlier decades carried over into this time. Some of the negative issues and problems confronting the police in the late 20th century were the continuing debate over misconduct by the police and the reoccurrence of riots in our communities.

The endemic corruption that has always characterized U.S. policing subsided somewhat during the 1980s and 1990s, although there were sporadic corruption scandals. The most noticeable of these included the Miami River Cops scandal of the 1980s, involving murders, extortions, and drug violations; and New York City's 77th and 32nd Precincts and "Cocaine Cops" scandals, involving drug corruption. Many other police departments throughout the nation also suffered embarrassing corruption and misconduct scandals. Chapter 8 covers this topic in detail.

In 1991, the **Rodney King incident** in Los Angeles shocked the public and may have set the police back 30 years in the progress they had made in improving relationships with the community. A citizen captured on video the police beating of Rodney King, an African American. King had taken the police on a 115-mile-per-hour chase throughout Los Angeles and, when finally stopped by the police, allegedly lunged at one of the officers. The videotape shows four Los Angeles police officers beating King, who seems to be in a prone and defenseless position on the ground, with 56 blows from nightsticks while a dozen other officers stand by and watch. Four of the officers were arrested and charged with the assault of King. They were originally acquitted in a criminal trial but were subsequently convicted in a federal trial.

With a different perspective on the Rodney King case, some have argued that the officers involved used many different types of nonlethal

CompStat Weekly crime strategy meetings, featuring the latest computerized crime statistics and high-stress brainstorming; developed by the New York City Police Department in the mid-1990s.

Rodney King incident The 1991 videotaped beating of an African American citizen by members of the Los Angeles Police Department.

force against King, who refused commands to stop his aggressive and threatening behavior toward the officers, instead of using deadly force. They struck him with two 50,000-volt stun-gun discharges, which did not seem to stop his erratic behavior, and used baton procedures taught at the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) academy. The supervising officer at the scene, Sergeant Stacey C. Koon, wrote a book about the case, *Presumed Guilty: The Tragedy of the Rodney King Affair.*[46]

The Rodney King incident was followed in 1997 with allegations that at least two police officers from New York City's 70th Precinct assaulted a Haitian American prisoner, Abner Louima, by placing a wooden stick into his rectum and then shoving the blood- and feces-covered stick into his mouth. Like the King case, this incident shocked the world. One officer was eventually convicted and imprisoned for the assault on Louima.

In 1994, a criminal trial also brought negative attention to the police. Former football star Orenthal James (O. J.) Simpson was charged by the Los Angeles police with the brutal murder of his former wife, Nicole Brown, and her friend Ronald Goldman. The trial was covered on national television and captured the attention of the world. Two hundred and fifty days and 126 witnesses later, the jury, despite overwhelming scientific evidence to the contrary, voted to acquit Simpson of all charges.

Many said the verdict was **jury nullification**; others said it was an indictment of the Los Angeles Police Department. The LAPD was accused of gross incompetence in its handling of the crime scene and forensic evidence, and one of its main witnesses, Detective Mark Fuhrman, later pled guilty to charges that he had lied while testifying in the trial.

During the 1980s and 1990s, riots again scarred our sense of domestic tranquility. The city of Miami experienced two major riots in its Overtown district in the 1980s. New York City experienced riots in the 1990s in Crown Heights and Washington Heights. Many other cities witnessed racial and civil unrest and skirmishes between the police and citizens.

Perhaps the worst riot in our nation's history occurred in 1992 following the not-guilty verdicts against the officers in the Rodney King case. The riot began in Los Angeles and spread to other parts of the country. By the second day of the riot, at least 23 people had been killed, 900 injured, and 500 arrested. Hundreds of buildings burned as the violence spread from south-central Los Angeles to other areas. Entire inner-city blocks lay in ruin. The riot quickly spread to Atlanta, San Francisco, Madison (Wisconsin), and other cities. Fighting between African Americans and whites was reported at high schools in Maryland, Tennessee, Texas, and New York. By the end of the second day, more than 4,000 National Guard troops and 500 U.S. Marines had entered Los Angeles. Nearly a week after the riot started, calm began to appear. The final toll of the Los Angeles riot revealed that 54 people were killed; 2,383 people were injured; 5,200 buildings, mostly businesses, were destroyed by arson; and over $1 billion in property damage occurred. The riot resulted in the loss of approximately 40,000 jobs. Almost 17,000 arrests were made.

The following is a vivid newspaper description of the events during the first days of the riot:

> A gunfight broke out this afternoon between Korean merchants and a group of black men in the Korea-town section, a sharp escalation in the tensions that have divided the groups in recent months. Tall plumes of smoke rose from burning shops in the neighborhood, just north of South-Central.
>
> As fires, police sirens, and pockets of violence spread, most of the city shut down, with offices and shops closing and public transport scaling back its operations early. As the guard members were taking up positions in the badly battered South-Central area, convoys of cars carrying young men headed out into affluent West Los Angeles and Beverly Hills, shouting, brandishing hatchets, crowbars, and bottles, beating passersby, and looting shops.[47]

A special commission under the direction of William H. Webster (the former director of both the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency) was created to study the causes of the Los Angeles riots and issued a report that was highly critical of the LAPD.

Policing in the 2000s

As the world welcomed a new millennium, some of the same issues that influenced policing since the creation of the first organized police forces in

jury nullification A vote by jurors to either ignore the evidence in a trial or disregard the instructions of a judge to reach a verdict based on their own consciences.