Written and extensively updated by an author team that includes former and current law enforcement officers, **Introduction to Policing** focuses on the thought-provoking, contemporary issues that underscore the challenging and rewarding world of policing. The authors skillfully balance research and practice to offer students an overview of both the foundations of policing and the expanded role of today's police officers. The accessible and engaging writing style, coupled with unique coverage of issues such as policing in multicultural communities, the impact of technology on policing, and policing strategies and procedures, make this bestselling book a must-have for policing courses.

New to the Fourth Edition

- **Updated chapter content includes several new and ongoing impactful events and social trends,** most notably recent high-profile police misconduct cases, the role of social media, the political shift in the U.S. marked by the 2016 presidential election, and police use of force on unarmed civilians.
- **Increased coverage of women and minorities** in law enforcement, with special consideration of recruitment and opportunities for promotion, gives students a broader perspective of modern police officers.
- **Research, statistics, and data have been updated where available,** providing the most up-to-date and accurate snapshot of modern policing.
- **New *Police Stories*** have been added to include a wider range of officer voices, providing students with inclusive, relevant police scenarios that humanize police officers' experiences.
- **New *Case in Point* boxes** bring concepts to life and highlight recent events, such as reform efforts in the Baltimore Police Department, an officer's response to the Orlando Pulse nightclub shooting, and a private security company's alleged harsh treatment of protesters at the Dakota Access Pipeline.
- **New *You Decide* boxes** present students with timely scenarios to analyze and critically reflect on, such as the First Amendment rights of demonstrators and privacy issues surrounding automated license plate readers. Several other *You Decide* boxes have been updated with current information and statistics.

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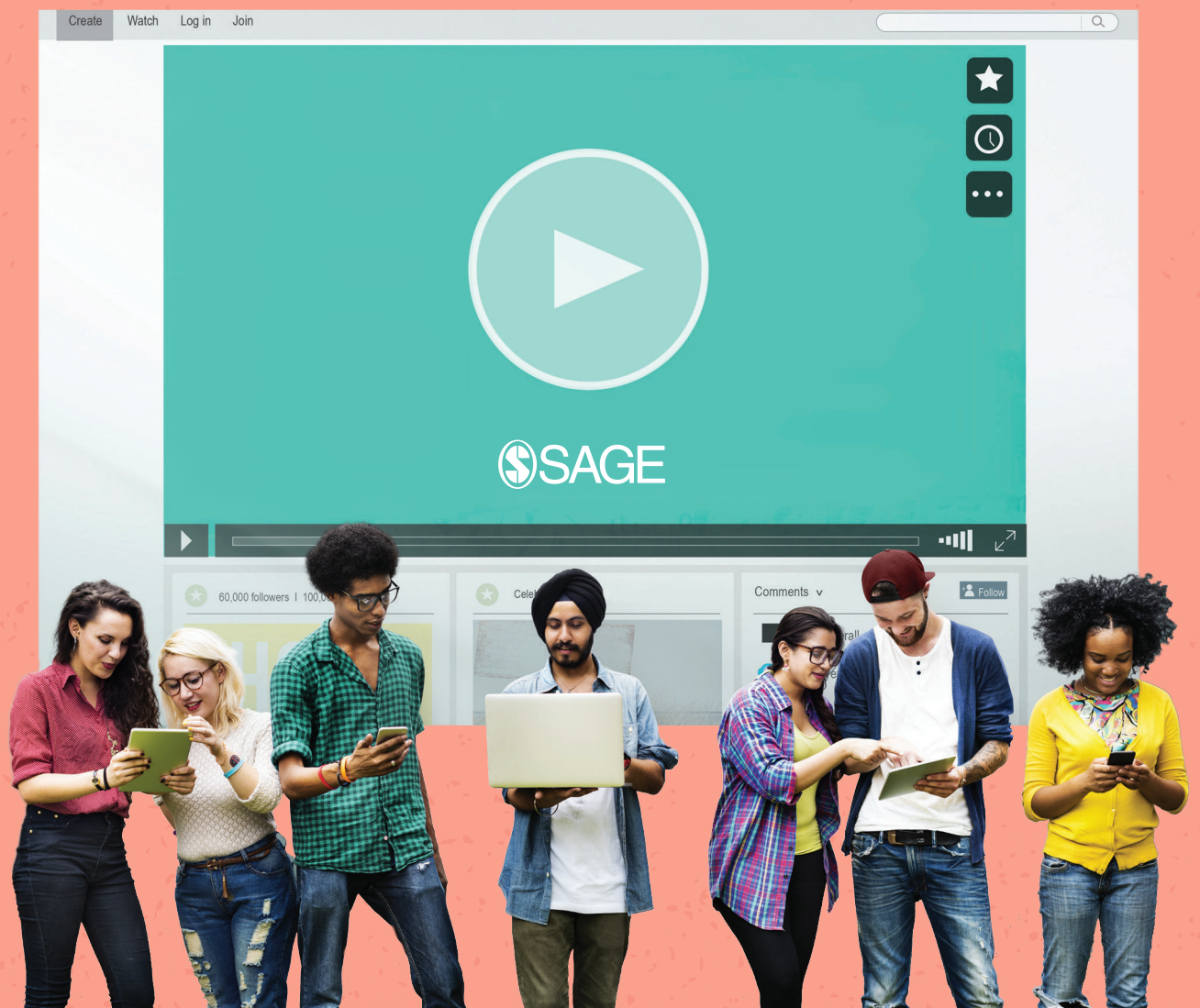

INTRODUCTION TO POLICING

I would like to dedicate this fourth edition to William P. McCamey and Gene L. Scaramella, co-authors of the first and second editions, who both lost their battles with cancer. Both Bill and Gene were close friends and colleagues. I miss them more than words can say. Memories made over many years remain fresh in my mind.

—Steve Cox

I would like to dedicate this fourth edition to my late mother, who as an immigrant from England came to this country after the Second World War. She left her family, her country, and all that she had known for the American soldier she married. She sacrificed for her two sons and continually promoted higher education to me. Without her guidance, I would never have achieved success.

—David Massey

I would like to dedicate this fourth edition to my family. To my parents: Thank you for instilling in me a true love of education; your unwavering support taught me that I could achieve anything as long as I believed in myself. And to my partner in this life: Your ability to always make me laugh through anything is the glue that holds me together and makes it all worth it!

—Connie M. Koski

INTRODUCTION TO POLICING

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/// BRIEF CONTENTS

/// DETAILED CONTENTS

/// PREFACE

Police in the United States must operate in the face of a climate that is constantly changing—politically, economically, socially, and legally.

As the 21st century unfolds, police officers must continue to perform traditional tasks related to law enforcement and order maintenance. At the same time, they must find innovative ways to be problem solvers and community organizers. The public expects them to perform all of these diverse tasks wisely and ethically.

The nation's police also have had to come to terms with the global nature of crime. The conditions that exist throughout the world increasingly complicate the organizational and functional dynamics of the police community. Police executives must think and plan globally in a spirit of interagency cooperation now more than at any point in history.

A series of controversial and high-profile events have given rise to a new wave of public attention on the police, especially in regard to the use of force and race.

Standing in relief among several other similar events, the deaths of Eric Garner in New York, Walter Scott in North Charleston, South Carolina, and—perhaps most symbolically—Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, have galvanized a wave of protests against police practices that much of the public perceives as unjust. Communities are scrutinizing police behavior and accountability, as has occurred in other eras. However, today, almost everyone is carrying a video camera around in his or her pocket or purse. Video footage of police interactions with the public appears instantly online.

Many consider the issues surrounding police use of force, especially in communities of color, to be the most important civil rights cause of our current day.

There is clearly a vast gulf in understanding between the police and the community that these events illuminate. In some communities, the public and the police have squared off and are maintaining polar positions. Men and women in uniform have become the targets of angry and violent retaliation, while police departments across the nation struggle to defend their policies and practices.

In many ways, Ferguson has become a lightning rod for these critical policing issues. The U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) reported in March 2015 that the Ferguson Police Department's law enforcement efforts were focused on generating revenue rather than ensuring public safety. The DOJ also reported that the department's practices violated the 1st, 4th, and 14th Amendments; caused significant harm to individual members of the community; and undermined the public trust. The report applauded the efforts of many of the department's and the city's employees who "perform their duties lawfully and with respect for all members of the Ferguson community."[1] Finally, the DOJ recommended a host of changes to police practices and court procedures. Primary among these recommendations is that Ferguson implement a robust program of community policing, which includes some of the following points—that it fundamentally change the way it conducts stops and searches, issues citations and summonses, and makes arrests; that it increase its data collection and analysis; that it change its use-of-force policies and practices to encourage de-escalation; and that it retrain its officers to improve interaction with vulnerable people. At the same time, the DOJ analyzed the shooting in detail, cleared Officer Darren Wilson of willfully violating Brown's civil rights, and stated that Wilson's use of force was defensible. Also, many of the media accounts contained erroneous information about Brown's actions immediately prior to the shooting, according to the report.[2]

To the extent that these issues resonate in other of the nation's police departments, the lessons of Ferguson will prove to have enormous value. Thus, the public and the police both are coming to realize, once again, that a basic requirement for effective and efficient civil policing is a meaningful community partnership. Only when such a partnership exists can the police perform all of their tasks as problem solvers, service providers, and law enforcers. Only then will the public provide the support and resources necessary for the successful performance of these tasks. This partnership must be based on open, two-way communication, trust, and mutual respect.

This text attempts to shed light on the complex world of policing and to help bridge the gulf of understanding. Although the chapters examine a variety of topics separately, all of the subject matter is interrelated and is best considered as a totality. Changes in any one area have repercussions in other areas. Examining the relationships among the issues facing the police helps bring some much-needed clarity to this dynamic and multifaceted world.

THE ORGANIZATION

This text consists of five sections and 16 chapters, providing readers with thought-provoking and contemporary issues that underscore today's challenging world of policing. The text begins with a discussion of past and current policing strategies. Part I, Foundations of Policing, encompasses Chapters 1, 2, and 3 and provides context for subsequent chapter topics by introducing the general subject of the police, its history in the United States, and how the police are organized and administered.

Part II, Police Operations, includes Chapters 4 through 7, which focus on the human dynamics that affect policing: the recruitment, selection, and promotion of police officers; training and education; the operations and functions of police work; and contemporary strategies that take into account the public perceptions of police and strategies such as community-based policing and intelligence-led policing.

Part III, Police Conduct, includes Chapters 8 through 11, which examine the police subculture that often determines individual and group decision-making; the institutional and organizational structures and processes that pertain to the law; the social, political, and economic forces that affect the field; discretion and ethics; and police misconduct and accountability.

Part IV, Contemporary Issues in Policing, includes Chapters 12 through 15 and deals with complex factors that affect the field of policing, including issues such as social diversity, the use of rapidly advancing technology, the impact of global issues such as terrorism and transnational organized crime, and the increasingly significant role of the private security industry.

The book concludes with Part V (Chapter 16), Looking Ahead, which takes a view toward the future of policing in the United States.

KEY FEATURES OF THE TEXT

Each chapter contains a variety of thought-provoking exercises, highlights, and supplemental materials. These unique features include the following:

You Decide presents students with realistic dilemmas that might be encountered during a career in policing. Students are encouraged to consider possible solutions to these

dilemmas using information from the text, other sources, or personal experiences. This feature should help promote spirited classroom discussions.

Case in Point includes real-life examples from current and past events to emphasize one or more of the major issues associated with the chapter topic. This feature also includes thought-provoking discussion questions.

Police Stories bring in personal experiences from the field of policing. They are firsthand accounts that share with students actual incidents from the past that serve as meaningful learning experiences. Students can reflect on and discuss what they would do under similar circumstances.

Exhibits are brief supplemental pieces that relate to and enhance the text and provide additional insight and depth.

Beyond these features, each chapter also includes a set of learning objectives, key terms and phrases, discussion questions based on the learning objectives, and two to three Internet exercises.

We hope that these key features will make this text even more useful as students develop a deeper understanding of the complex and dynamic field of policing.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

Each chapter has been thoroughly updated, revised, and modified to ensure that the book has the most up-to-date data, case law, research findings, and examples possible. All statistical information that comes from government/organizational sources (e.g., Census Bureau, Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Institute of Justice, Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics [LEMAS], and Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]) has been thoroughly updated, where the data is available. These updates are one of the most exhausting components of the revision process yet are an integral component of the book, keeping it as timely and useful as possible. In addition to these overall changes, this fourth edition:

- Accounts for several major new and/or ongoing historical events or social trends, most notably recent, high-profile police misconduct cases, social media, the political shift in the country marked by the presidential election of 2016, and police use of force on unarmed civilians.
- Embraces the increased participation in law enforcement by women and minorities, highlighting the realities of a diverse workforce in both recruitment and promotion.

Plus:

- Research, statistics, and data have been updated, wherever possible, to provide an accurate snapshot of policing today.
- Eight new Police Stories have been added to include a wider range of officer voices.
- Ten new Case in Point boxes have been added to highlight recent events, such as reform efforts in the Baltimore Police Department, an officer's response to the Orlando Pulse nightclub shooting, and a private security company's alleged harsh treatment of protesters at the Dakota Access Pipeline.
- Four new You Decide boxes present students with timely scenarios of concern, such as the First Amendment rights of demonstrators and automated license plate readers and privacy. Several more You Decide boxes were updated with current information and statistics.

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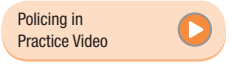
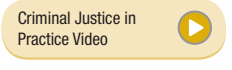


Policing in Practice Videos: Available only through the Interactive eBook, these videos feature interviews with professional law enforcement discussing their day-to-day work and current issues in policing.



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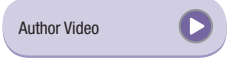
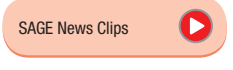


Author Videos: Available only through the Interactive eBook, these videos feature author Brian Fitch discussing his experience in the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department.



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- Supplemental **Around the World** materials highlight relevant topics in other nations to afford readers the opportunity to consider, from a worldwide perspective, what they might otherwise view as problems unique to U.S. police agencies.
- Suggested **answers to the You Decide** boxes are featured throughout the text.

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- **Video and audio links** enhance classroom-based exploration of key topics.
- **Learning objectives** reinforce the most important material.
- EXCLUSIVE! Full-text **SAGE journal articles** have been carefully selected to support and expand on the concepts presented in each chapter.

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As always, your comments and concerns are welcomed.

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Brian D. Fitch, PhD, is an adjunct professor of criminal justice at California State University, Fullerton. Dr. Fitch served for 34 years with the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department before retiring as a lieutenant. He has worked assignments in field operations, narcotics, forgery and fraud, advanced officer training, professional development, custody, and correctional services. Dr. Fitch has trained more than 10,000 law enforcement officers throughout the United States as well as internationally in Canada, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates in leadership, decision-making,

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FOUNDATIONS OF POLICING

PART I

CHAPTER 1

POLICING IN THE UNITED STATES

REUTERS/Carlo Allegri

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

1. Summarize the key issues facing law enforcement today
2. Discuss the concepts and mandate of the police in U.S. society
3. Describe the difficulty associated with attempting to make generalizations about law enforcement and the scope of the functions they perform
4. Identify the levels and types of policing in the United States
5. Discuss some of the current concerns of police in the United States
6. Summarize the additional types of police and the functions they perform

LAW ENFORCEMENT TODAY

Even in its most basic form, policing is a difficult and complex task. Any time one group of people is given power and authority to control the behavior of others, human nature will insert variety and intricacy into the equation. By definition, then, law enforcement is a complex and difficult profession. Unless one has been a police officer, it is difficult to grasp fully the challenges facing today's officers. One of the goals of this text is to shed light on the reality of policing.

Whereas the terms **police officer** and **law enforcement officer** are sometimes viewed as interchangeable, the term *law enforcement officer* describes very little of what police officers do. The police in the United States are primarily providers of services. Among the services they provide are law enforcement, order maintenance, and crime prevention.

Police activities in the area of law enforcement tend to be more visible in the media and interesting to the general public. We often evaluate the police in this area rather than on order maintenance and service, on which they spend much more of their time; police provide far more than law enforcement to the communities they serve and devote a relatively small portion of the day to law enforcement activities.

Public Scrutiny in our Modern Society

Today, police officers are under ever-increasing levels of public scrutiny. The actions that a police officer takes can save a life or produce a string of lasting, catastrophic effects. Although most police officers perform their duties honorably, ethically, and professionally, the actions of a single officer can tarnish the profession.

The mid-2010s have seen a series of incidents that the media have amplified, that have sparked sometimes fierce reactions from all sides, and that have challenged the serious among us with a quest for solutions. Although these incidents represent a small fraction of the tens of thousands of police interactions that occur every day, when things go wrong, the consequences can be momentous.

After a nationwide drop in crime that lasted two decades starting in the mid-1990s, cities across the United States have experienced a spike in homicides and shootings of 30%–60% over the year before.[1] This occurred in the wake of a series of racially charged incidents involving unarmed young Black men who died during confrontations with the police, rekindling smoldering social tensions over the disproportionate treatment of minorities by both law enforcement officers as well as the criminal justice system in general.

One pivotal event was the death of Freddie Gray, a 25-year-old Black man who was arrested on April 12, 2015, by the Baltimore Police Department for possession of what officers alleged was an illegal switchblade knife under Baltimore law. Gray fell into a coma while being transported in a police van and was taken to a trauma center. He died on April 19, 2015, due to spinal cord injuries that he sustained while in police custody.

Following Gray's death, Police Commissioner Anthony Bates reported that contrary to department policy, officers had failed to secure Gray inside the van while riding to the police station. The policy, which had been in effect only six days at the time of the incident, followed a review of other transportation-related injuries that had been sustained in police custody in the city and elsewhere in the county during the preceding years.

The medical examiner's office concluded that Gray had sustained his injuries during transport, and therefore, his death could not be ruled an accident.[2] Rather, the medical examiner's office ruled Gray's death a homicide, citing the officers' failures to follow safety procedures through "acts of omission." Following the medical examiner's report, the Baltimore City state's attorney, Marilyn Mosby, announced that her office had filed criminal charges against all six police officers involved. Three of the officers were charged with manslaughter, whereas a fourth officer faced an additional count

Police Officer: A specially designated citizen whose functions include order maintenance, provision of services, and law enforcement

Law Enforcement Officer: A specially designated citizen who focuses on enforcing laws through detection and apprehension

of second-degree depraved-heart murder. The remaining officers were charged with second-degree assault.[3]

Gray's hospitalization and death further strained long-standing racial tensions between community members and police, which resulted in a series of protests. On April 25, 2015, a major protest erupted in downtown Baltimore, resulting in the arrests of 34 people and injuries to 15 police officers. Following Gray's funeral on April 27, the civil unrest intensified with the looting and burning of more than 300 local businesses as protesters threw rocks and set fires, with damages estimated at $9 million. Governor Larry Hogan responded by declaring a state of emergency, deploying the Maryland National Guard and instituting a curfew to restore order.

Crime escalated quickly in the wake of Gray's death. In Baltimore, arrest numbers fell dramatically from more than 40,000 in 2014, the year before Gray's death, to about 18,000 (through October) in 2017. Homicides, however, soared to the highest numbers in more than 40 years, with Baltimore ending the year with 344 recorded homicides.[4] Homicides and other crimes rose in several other cities across the United States as well, including Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Chicago. Many residents blamed the spike in crime on the so-called Ferguson effect, which suggests that police were less willing to be proactive after several highly publicized cases such as the deaths of Michael Brown and Freddie Gray.[5] According to this explanation, murder and other crimes increased because of police disengagement, emboldening criminals to commit crimes unhindered by the threat of apprehension.

On July 8, 2015, Police Commissioner Anthony Bates was fired by the city mayor, who claimed the commissioner had become a "distraction" that hindered efforts to fight a resurgence in violent crime.[6] Later that same month, all criminal charges were dropped against the officers following a mistrial and series of not-guilty verdicts. That same month the Department of Justice also announced that it would not pursue federal charges against any of the six officers involved in Gray's arrest and death. Shortly thereafter, the city of Baltimore reached a $6.4 million settlement with Gray's family to avoid what Baltimore Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake referred to as "costly and protracted litigation" that would make it more difficult for the city to heal.[7]

Increased Danger for Police

Not surprisingly, many in the community felt that police had not been held accountable for their actions. Local politicians and police union representatives got caught up in the fray as well, with all parties demanding protection and justice. The emotionally charged atmosphere surrounding Gray's death, as well as other high-profile incidents involving minorities, also led to increased dangers for the police and, as some might argue, for the communities served by those police agencies.

In 2016, the number of U.S. police killed in the line of duty rose sharply to 135 officers, the highest number of fatalities on the job in five years. Nearly half of the officers who were killed were fatally shot, including 21 police officers who died in ambush-style attacks carried out across the country.[8] This includes five Dallas police officers who were killed and seven others wounded when a heavily armed sniper set out to kill as many White officers as he could.[9] In a separate incident, a killer strode up to a New York City Police mobile command post and shot an officer in the head, killing him. The suspect had ranted in a Facebook video several months earlier ranting about law officers killing and abusing people, vowing that if it continued, "We gonna do something."[10]

The increased risk of physical assault to police has caused some community activists to fear that police departments will abandon the progress they have made in their community policing efforts, resorting to a more military style of law enforcement.[11] And although the average national crime rate for violent crime is still well below the 1995 level, spikes in crime are alarming to the public and the police alike. Everyone wants answers, but the causes of crime are complex and dynamic. Factors such as gang

activity, domestic violence, drug use, a curtailment of stop-and-frisk strategies, and even changes in sentencing laws may influence crime. Others, however, believe that the rise in crime began before the Ferguson Effect and point out that a sudden increase does not necessarily indicate a reversal of the 20-year downward trend. It is simply too soon to say.

Police and the Public Trust

This situation points to several key issues current in the larger arena of policing today that are explored throughout this text—including the complex causes of fluctuations in crime rates. Another emerging concern is police legitimacy, which refers to the extent that members of the public trust and have confidence that officers will treat people with fairness, dignity and respect, and trustworthy motives.[12] When citizens accept the police as legitimate, they are more likely to defer to an officer's authority, comply with the law, and support law enforcement efforts to fight crime.[13] In contrast, distrust of police has serious negative consequences. It undermines police legitimacy, reduces voluntary cooperation, and lessens the public's willingness to supply information. Police success in fighting crime depends on public cooperation, which in turn, depends on perceptions of legitimacy.

The issue of public trust raises the question about the basis upon which the police claim to have legitimate authority over other citizens. Working cooperatively with the public requires that both police as well as the public must scrutinize police policy and strategy and the methods used to accomplish those strategies, especially given the limited resources that departments have at their disposal. The use of force in particular must be scrutinized, especially in light of the persistent issue of racial disproportion in law enforcement and the criminal justice system.

This, of course, is related to questions of how to best hold police accountable and how to best measure police performance. Meaningful measurement is reliant on the reporting of accurate and complete data, something which has become a constant concern and an area with much room for improvement. Indeed, without accurate statistics, it is nearly impossible to know the truth about how the police are doing, especially when high-profile cases and emotionally charged issues dominate the conversation. For example, the United States has no national database that tracks fatal shootings by police. The federal government does not currently require local law enforcement agencies to report such data.[14]

Law enforcement is only a portion of the duties of the police, who provide many additional services, such as order maintenance and crime prevention. Here an officer directs traffic at a crowded Manhattan intersection.

Investigative reporting by the *Washington Post* newspaper determined an unofficial accounting of fatal police shootings. Their estimate was that 987 individuals were shot and killed by police in 2017.[15] Black males accounted for 22% of all people shot and killed in 2017, White males accounted for 44%, and Hispanic males accounted for 18%. In the vast majority of cases, 88%, the deceased people had wielded firearms or other weapons, including a machete, a sledge axe, and a pitchfork.[16] Mental health again played an outsized role in the shootings; 236 people, or nearly one in four of those shot, were described as experiencing some form of mental distress at the time of the encounter with police.[17]

Changes in technology and the militarization of the police are also salient issues, as are the attempts to steer police culture to a model more focused on community linkages and partnerships, on the health and welfare of the police officer, and on recruiting and hiring the personnel best suited to fill the changing roles of police. Additionally, terrorism and globalization are tied to the notion of a broader police mandate, resulting in the need for increased cooperation across police jurisdictions.

THE CONCEPT AND MANDATE OF THE POLICE

Every society needs citizens who serve as mediators and arbitrators to settle disputes among its members. The term **police** is derived from the Greek words *polis* and *politeuein*, which refer to being a citizen who participates in the affairs of a city or state. The contemporary police officer is just that—a citizen actively involved in the affairs of the state in the broad sense of the word.

In all modern societies, specially designated citizens (police officers) are appointed to apprehend those who appear to have violated the rights of others and to bring them before other specially designated citizens (prosecutors, judges) who have the authority to sanction undesirable behavior.

Societies experience a tension between the needs of order and liberty, which often results in a paradox involving the need for police and the need for protection from the police. On one hand, police require the legal authority to detain persons suspected of criminal activity, to investigate crimes, and to seize property. On the other hand, police are required to respect (and even to protect) restrictions on police activities that might violate fundamental constitutional protection against unreasonable search and seizure.[18]

The police in civilian society are vested with the authority to impose or to force solutions on citizens when problems or emergencies arise—such as making arrests, on the one hand, and providing services for the physically or mentally ill, on the other. The police are responsible for both protecting individual rights as well as ensuring an orderly society. To help accomplish the latter, police officers frequently intervene in the daily affairs of private citizens, for example, when enforcing traffic laws or dealing with domestic violence. Individuals want the protection of the police when they are threatened or harmed but also—especially in the United States—do not want the police to interfere in their activities and lives. Many early settlers came to this country precisely because they did not want government intervention in, and regulation of, their daily activities.[19]

This often places individual police officers in difficult positions; both intervention and a lack of intervention may lead to public criticism. And. whereas some police problems are defined by a clear solution grounded in well-established law, other, less-traditional problems offer no clear legal solution. Furthermore, some types of police agents are more likely to intervene in the daily affairs of citizens than others. For example, local police officers (municipal and county) are far more likely than state or federal officers to investigate complaints of domestic abuse, simple burglaries, and disorderly conduct.

State troopers, on the other hand, are more likely to stop speeding motorists on highways, whereas local officers are more likely to perform traffic details within city or county limits. Federal officers generally avoid such incidents altogether but conduct investigations into federal crimes.

Police: Derived from the Greek words *polis* and *politeuein*, which refer to being a citizen who participates in the affairs of a city or state

Regardless of the type of agent, police officers are influenced by the expectations of department administrators, courts, community residents, other officers, and even their own perceptions, each of which affects an officer's expectations of moral and ethical behavior and accountability.

However, the job of a police officer is much more complex than most people realize. Societies expect police to achieve a variety of outcomes defined by the police mission and mandate.

- Reduce crime and maintain order.
- Reduce the fear of crime.
- Solve neighborhood problems and improve the quality of life.
- Develop greater community cohesion.

To achieve these outcomes, maintain order, and enforce the law, police are often required to intervene in the daily affairs of private citizens. Regulation of morals, enforcement of traffic laws, mediation of domestic disputes, investigation of crimes, and many other police activities require such interventions. Neither police training nor the law can address every possible conflict or intervention. As a result, police officers must exercise discretion by warning some individuals, arresting or ticketing others, or referring parties in a dispute to seek professional legal advice. Almost all police officers are required to practice some form of discretion with their actions. However, police must also follow department policies that in some cases, remove officer discretion and require enforcement—for example, that all persons not wearing a seat belt must be ticketed or that all persons suspected of involvement in domestic violence must be arrested.

The police officer's job involves inherently problematic positions. A brief overview of the history of American policing may help us understand the origins and consequences of some of the issues encountered by police officers in a democratic society.

The police are also expected to share in a number of social service functions that require intervention in cases such as domestic violence, mentally ill and emotionally disturbed individuals, and child and elder abuse.[20] This type of police responsibility is occurring at a time when some police have begun "severely limiting the types of calls that result in direct face-to-face responses by officers."[21] Some police agencies, for instance, have begun to experiment with self-reports of certain crimes (offenses that are generally considered to be "unworkable") in an attempt to focus their limited resources on other activities.

Police Stories 1.1

Commander Dan Koenig, LAPD Retired

It was a strange call: "See the man looking for information." But when the dispatcher sends you a call, you go. So my partner and I drove to the house and walked up to the door. There we were met by a middle-aged African American man and his wife. Standing with them was a neatly dressed young man who appeared to be about 16 or 17 years old. Just inside the house stood a young girl who looked to be about the same age as the young man. "Good afternoon, Sir, how can we help you?" we inquired of the man. He explained to us that the young man wanted to take their daughter to a movie, and he would appreciate it if we would "check him out." We could see clearly that this was a fine young man, but we went through the motions anyway. He walked with us over to our police car, and we chatted for a few minutes. His family had moved only recently to a house a few blocks away. He went to school with the young lady in question,

(Continued)

(Continued)

and he attended Sunday church with his family regularly. We all returned to the front porch where we assured the girl's parents that he came from a good family, and we believed it would be safe for their daughter to accompany him to the movies. After agreeing to a reasonable curfew, the young couple left. The parents thanked us for our service, and we left with waves to them and the small gathering of neighbors that had formed.

As police officers, we have a pretty good idea of what our job is or at least what it should be. But the community that pays our salaries and that we are meant to serve often has a much different idea. Law enforcement has a history of being asked to look the other way on more minor crimes such as gambling, prostitution, and "soft" drugs. But we're part of the executive branch, so we don't get to decide which laws to enforce. We certainly can prioritize, but we can't legalize through inaction. Although we can't violate our ethics or the principles that guide us, we are in the business of "protecting and serving," and that can take many forms throughout a career.

SCOPE OF THE LAW ENFORCEMENT SECTOR

Every day, thousands of law enforcement professionals throughout the country provide police services, maintain order, and enforce laws in large, metropolitan, suburban, and rural areas as well as on college campuses, on the borders between the United States and other countries, in airports and harbors, and in dozens of other settings. Simultaneously, thousands of others go to work in police agencies of all types and sizes as non-sworn technicians, as communications personnel, as administrative assistants, and in dozens of other capacities.

Levels of Policing

American police personnel are employed at the international, federal, state, county, and municipal levels. The federal Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) conducts comprehensive and detailed surveys of police agencies in the United States. There is one census for state and local agencies and another for federal agencies. As of January 1, 2013, the BJS reported that more than 15,000 local police and sheriff's departments and primary state agencies in the United Stated employed an estimated 1 million persons on a full-time basis. Of those employees, approximately 725,000 were sworn full-time officers, whereas an additional 320,000 were identified as non-sworn full-time employees. Another 83,000 were described as part-time, both sworn and non-sworn employees.[22]

A total of 5% of police departments (645 agencies) employed 100 or more officers in 2013. These agencies employed 63% of all full-time police officers in the United States, or around 300,000 officers. The New York City Police Department (NYPD) remained the largest police agency in 2013, with 34,454 full-time officers. The NYPD was one of

Table 1.1 /// General Purpose State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 2013 (Latest Data Available)

Type of Agency	Number of Agencies	Number of Full-Time Sworn Officers
All state and local	15,388	724,690
Local police*	12,326	477,317
Sheriff*	3,012	188,952
Primary state*	50	58,421

Source: Reaves, Brian A. 2015; Reaves, Brian A., 2011.

43 local police departments that employed 1,000 or more full-time officers. By way of comparison, about 48% (5,900 agencies) employed fewer than 10 full-time police officers. Other agencies employed no full-time sworn personnel but rather hired a number of part-time officers or contracted with outside agencies to provide their police services. See Table 1.1 for statistics on police personnel.

State Police

All states have some type of state police agency. In addition to their basic tasks, many of these agencies provide statewide communications or computer systems, assist in crime-scene analysis and multijurisdictional investigations, provide training for other police agencies, and collect, analyze, and disseminate information on crime patterns in the state. Also, many state police agencies have expanded their services to include aircraft support, underwater search and rescue, and canine assistance. State police agencies may also be responsible for state park security (park police or rangers), security of state property and state officials, and regulation of liquor- and gambling-related activities.

State police agencies have the responsibility for traffic enforcement on highways, particularly in areas outside the city or township limits. Some agencies focus almost exclusively on traffic control (highway patrol departments), and others maintain more general enforcement powers (state police investigation departments).[23] Typically, the state police are empowered to provide law enforcement service anywhere in the state, while the highway patrol officers have limited authority based on their specific duty assignment, type of offense, or jurisdiction.

Local Police

Local police departments employed 477,317 full-time sworn personnel in 2013, accounting for about two-thirds (66%) of all state and local police officers working for general purpose agencies.[24] The officers working for these agencies represent what most people think of when referring to the "police." Local police departments are tasked with providing a breadth of services that include crime prevention, order maintenance, traffic enforcement, criminal investigations, and community outreach programs. Local police are composed of the cities, municipalities, and political subdivisions that have decided to create a police force to serve their own specific needs.

AP Photo/Darron Cummings

This photo shows a nontraditional view of police officers. Here, rural county sheriff's department officers travel by all-terrain vehicles in search of meth labs that have sprouted in hard-to-reach locales.

Sheriffs and Deputy Sheriffs

Sheriffs remain one of the only elected law enforcement officials still in existence today. Depending on the size and complexity of the agency, sheriff's deputies perform duties similar to municipal police officers such as routine patrol, criminal investigations, and traffic enforcement. Many sheriff's deputies perform a number of additional duties as well, which involve maintaining the safety and security of courthouses, including ensuring the security of jurors when they are outside the courtroom, serving court papers, extraditing prisoners, and performing other court functions.[25] Likewise, in most counties, the sheriff is responsible for maintaining the jail, the supervision of inmates, and the transportation of inmates to court.

Federal Law Enforcement

The U.S. marshals were established in 1789 as the first police agency for the purpose of enforcing directives of the federal courts. The U.S. Secret Service was founded in 1865 as a branch of the U.S. Treasury Department. It was originally created to combat the counterfeiting of U.S. currency—a serious problem at the time. Later, in 1901, following the assassination of President William McKinley, the Secret Service was tasked with its second mission: the protection of the president. Today, the Secret Service's mission is twofold: (1) protect the president, vice president, and others; and (2) investigate crimes against the financial infrastructure of the United States.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), formerly known as the Bureau of Investigation (BOI), and perhaps the best-known federal law enforcement agency, was created in 1908. As of 2008 (the latest statistics available), the FBI employed nearly 17,000 full-time agents.[26] Other federal agencies that employ law enforcement officers include the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), the U.S. Marshals Service, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF), the U.S. Supreme Court, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Amtrak, and the Library of Congress.

The largest federal agency reported at the time was the U.S. Customs and Border Protection agency, with nearly 37,000 full-time officers with arrest and firearms authority. It is responsible for regulating and facilitating international trade, collecting import duties, and enforcement of U.S. regulations that include trade, custody, and immigration.

The U.S. Customs and Border Protection Agency is also the largest federal law enforcement agency of the **Department of Homeland Security**. The responsibilities of the Department of Homeland Security include the following:

- Prevention of terrorism and enhancement of security, management of national borders, and administration of immigration laws, and security of cyberspace and ensuring disaster resilience.
- Security of the nation's air, land, and sea borders to prevent illegal activity and facilitation of lawful travel and trade.
- Coordination of police activities among agencies at a variety of levels and provision of training, grants, and resources.

For the most part, federal law enforcement agencies do not engage in the activities of local and county police. Indeed, relatively few federal officers (usually referred to as *agents*) are uniformed. Their primary duties generally involve investigations and control of federal crimes, such as bank robbery, illegal immigration, and interstate crimes. They are also responsible for protecting federal property and federal officials. Additionally, federal agencies provide training and logistical support for state and local police. Although each agency has a set of specific duties, there is still some overlap and duplication among them. See Table 1.2 for a description of the five largest federal agencies with authority for firearms and arrest.

Department of Homeland Security (DHS): Federal agency responsible for a unified national effort to secure the country and preserve freedom

Table 1.2 /// The Five Largest Federal Agencies With Authority for Firearms and Arrest, 2008 (Latest Data Available)

Agency	Number of Full-Time Officers	Agency Responsibility
Customs and Border Protection	36,863	Enforcement of controlled substance laws.
Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP)	16,835	Custody and care of federal inmates.
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)	12,760	Investigation of violations of federal criminal law in a variety of areas (e.g., civil rights, terrorism, espionage, cyber-based attacks, public corruption, white-collar crime, and violent crime).
Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)	12,446	Promotion of homeland security and public safety through the criminal and civil enforcement of federal laws governing border control, customs, trade, and immigration.
Secret Service	5,213	Investigation of violent crimes, criminal organizations, illegal use and storage of explosives, acts of arson and bombings, acts of terrorism, and the illegal diversion of alcohol and tobacco products.

Source: Reaves, Brian A. 2012.

A CHANGING LANDSCAPE

Police agencies vary in many ways beyond mere numbers. Many agencies use modern technological equipment, whereas others lack advanced equipment. Some officers are well trained; others receive very little training. Some routinely intervene in the daily lives of their fellow citizens; others do not. Some departments are keen to adopt new or promising strategies or technologies; others are slower to change. Some are held in high regard by their fellow citizens and other police agencies; others are not. The chapters of this text will discuss these and many other variations among police departments.

Regardless of their status as public or private, full-time or part-time, sworn or non-sworn, police personnel currently find themselves operating in a rapidly changing environment. For example, the use of unmanned aerial vehicles for crime-scene mapping, traffic control, and border monitoring is slowly increasing, as is the use of global positioning systems (GPS) and sophisticated video surveillance.[27] At the same time, the USA PATRIOT (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism) Act extended government authority to tap phones and computers, which requires the police to process huge amounts of information.

All of these changes have been happening at a time when many municipalities are facing declining tax revenues and increasing tax burdens for middle-class citizens, leaving city officials struggling to balance public safety needs with other infrastructure needs.

You Decide 1.1

According to the International Association of Chiefs of Police, police are expected to achieve the following outcomes:

- Reduce crime and disorder
- Reduce the fear of crime
- Solve neighborhood problems and improve the quality of life
- Develop greater community cohesion

To achieve these outcomes, police intervene in the daily affairs of private citizens. This includes asking or telling citizens not to move, where to stand, what to do, how to behave, and when they are free to leave. When citizens refuse to cooperate, police have the authority to force citizens to comply if necessary.

Police are most often called upon to stop some act of violence, unwanted behavior, or threats to public safety. In these situations, the use of unnecessary force by police can lead to negative consequences, including avoidable injuries or death, community complaints, distrust of the police, civil liability, civil unrest, and federal injunctive orders. On the other hand, insufficient use of force exposes officers to their own harm or death, negatively affects an officer's ability to enforce the law, and may increase the danger to public safety. Fyfe concludes that unnecessary force "could be avoided by measures such as better training, officer selection, and other use-of-force options."

1. Should police officers be permitted to use force when unarmed citizens refuse to comply?
2. What do you think would be a viable alternative to use of force in situations where citizens will not comply?
3. Which poses a greater risk to the community, unnecessary use of force, or insufficient use of force?

Suggestions for addressing these questions can be found on the Student Study Site: **edge.sagepub.com/coxpolicing4e**

Source: Fyfe, J. J. (1988). *The Metro-Dade Police-Citizen Violence Reduction Project, final report, executive summary.* Washington, DC: Police Foundation.

A CHANGING WORKFORCE

The domination of policing by White males in the United States has long been considered a threat to the legitimacy of the profession as police agencies have struggled with attracting, retaining, and promoting minorities within their agencies for decades.[28] Reformers have encouraged law enforcement to recognize and value the emotional labor aspects of the profession and have advocated for police leaders to expand the definition of appropriate emotional work to include activities and feelings associated with the service aspects of the profession. Reformers have emphasized the discrepancy between the values and cultures created by the image of the police as crime fighters and the reality of most police work, which is overwhelmingly composed of tedious and mundane service and order-maintenance tasks. Community policing is the most salient example of this type of reform.[29]

The inclusion of female and minority police officers in the workforce has been seen as an attempt to integrate unique skill sets that promote community policing. Generally, women are believed to be more people focused, socially skilled, and emotionally

sensitive than men and more likely to engage in caring behavior.[30] Going by recommendations of the Kerner Commission (1968), the President's Task Force on 21st-Century Policing, and findings from studies which examine policing in immigrant communities, it can be argued that increasing minority officer representatives (African American or Hispanic) in these communities may be beneficial because having more officers who share background characteristics (e.g., race/ethnicity, language, minority status) with immigrant citizens might help alleviate some problems that immigrants can present to policing. These include lack of trust in the police due to negative experiences with police officers from their home countries.[31]

In 2013, racial or ethnic minorities comprised 27% of local police officers, according to the most recent United States Bureau of Justice Statistics Report.[32] That is up from the first published study in 1987, which showed 15% minority officers, and 25% minority officers in 2007. In this same study, 12% of local police personnel were identified as female.[33] Although future chapters in this text will further examine the changes in our police workforce, one recent illustration of these changes can be seen in the 2018 graduation class of the John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York. Of the more than 3,700 students graduating, 58% of the graduates are women.[34]

One set of projections suggests that approximately "12,000 police officers and sheriffs' deputies [were] laid off in 2011; approximately 30,000 law enforcement positions [went] unfilled; and approximately 28,000 sworn personnel faced work furloughs of at least one week.[35] Many communities are asking themselves how much protection can they afford or afford to be without.

AP Photo/Mark Wilson

Federal agencies exercise police powers regarding a specific set of duties. For example, the Drug Enforcement Administration is tasked with enforcing controlled substance laws.

Case in Point 1.1

Racketeering, Drug Conspiracy Charges for 27 in Schenectady, New York

[In April 2012] United States Attorney Richard S. Hartunian announced the unsealing of two indictments returned by a federal grand jury for the Northern District of New York in Albany, New York[,] which, in total, charged 27 with a federal racketeering conspiracy and/or federal drug felonies. . . .

Hartunian praised the outstanding cooperative efforts of the federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies that participated in this investigation and emphasized that his office will continue to work closely with authorities at all levels to prosecute gang members and narcotics traffickers. . . .

[Police agencies involved in the investigation included the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the New York State Police, the Schenectady Police Department, and the Schenectady County Sheriff's Office.]

New York State Police Superintendent Joseph A. D'Amico said, "This multi-agency investigation and subsequent arrests extinguished an organized criminal network responsible for infusing illegal narcotics into the Schenectady community. This is a solid example of how collaborative law enforcement efforts work to make our communities safer."

1. Despite the considerable resources directed at the "war on drugs," narcotics continue to flow into this country. What kinds of improvements should justify a continuation of the war on drugs?
2. If you were a local police chief, how would you address the growing problems of gangs and narcotics in your city?
3. What would be the advantages and disadvantages of legalizing drugs in the United States?

Source: "Racketeering, Drug Conspiracy Charges for 27 in Schenectady, New York." Targeted News Service (USA) Friday, April 6, 2012.

ADDITIONAL TYPES OF POLICE/SECURITY

Private Security

Estimates of private security and contract personnel indicated that between 11,000 and 15,000 companies employed at least 1.2 million private security personnel in a number of different occupations ranging from private security or contract guards to executive protection, to private investigators, to industrial security, and to contract employees for the military.[36] (See Chapter 15.)

Special Jurisdiction Police

Special jurisdictions include college and university police, public and private school police, and agencies that serve transportation systems and facilities.[37] In many cases, special jurisdiction police are both sworn and non-sworn police officers assigned to a specific geographic jurisdiction.

University police officers respond to requests for service that cannot be fulfilled by local police. As an example, the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign provides specific class training in the following areas: active threat training, safe walk programs, crime prevention classes, rape aggression defense classes, and courses related to intolerance/hate crime prevention.[38]

Auxiliary, Reserve, and Special Police

Auxiliary, reserve, and special police assist regular police officers. They usually work part time; they can be armed or unarmed and either paid for their services or volunteer.

A county sheriff bailiff separates women after a confrontation broke out in the court. Court security is one of the key areas of responsibility for sheriff's deputies.

The extent of training varies in many cases based on the duties assigned, but the training is usually similar to that completed by full-time sworn police officers. This type of officer may be assigned to vehicle, foot, or bicycle patrol. Table 1.3 includes a list of some of these special tasks and the percentage of departments that designate personnel to perform each task.

Conservation Police Officers and Game Wardens

These types of police officers usually have full police authority and statewide or federal jurisdiction. The enforcement duties of Illinois officers, for example, include enforcement in state parks of criminal laws, vehicle laws, drug laws, fish and wildlife laws, timber transportation laws, endangered species laws, and snowmobile operation as well as patrolling Illinois lakes and rivers to check boating safety equipment and watercraft registration.[39]

Table 1.3 /// Personnel Designated to Perform Special Operational Tasks in Local Police Departments, by Size of Department, 2013 (Latest Data Available)

	Departments Employing 100 Officers or More	Departments Employing 99 Officers or Fewer
Problem or Task	Total	Total
Bomb/explosive disposal	41%	6%
Fugitives/warrants	68	24
Re-entry surveillance	21	8
Tactical operations (e.g., SWAT)	95	31
Terrorism homeland security	71	16

Source: Reaves, B. (2015). *Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices.* Bureau of Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) Survey. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.

Tribal Police Officers

As of 2008, American Indian tribes operated 178 law enforcement agencies. A majority of these police departments are general-purpose police agencies, and the others are special jurisdiction agencies that enforce natural resource laws.[40]

These agencies provided a broad range of police services on tribal lands, including "responding to calls for service, investigating crimes, enforcing traffic laws, executing search warrants, serving process, providing court security, and conducting search and rescue operations."[41]

Given the diversity and breadth of police services in the United States, there is a great deal of jurisdictional overlap. Thus, for example, a college student may be subject to the jurisdiction of the campus police, the city police, the county police, the state police, and a variety of federal police agencies all at the same time. In point of fact, which of these agencies is likely to become involved depends on the type and location of the offense in question and the existence of formal and informal agreements among the agencies. Although each agency has its unique qualities, all agencies face many of the same issues. The extent to which American police are prepared to perform their jobs varies from agency to agency.

/// CHAPTER SUMMARY

The term *police* is derived from the Greek words *polis* and *politeuein* and refers to a citizen who participates in the affairs of a city or state. This is an excellent way of describing the role of the contemporary police officer—he or she is a citizen who is actively involved in the affairs of a city or state. Thus, a police officer is a specially designated citizen appointed to apprehend those who appear to have violated the rights of others and to bring them before other specially designated citizens such as prosecutors and judges who determine whether further action is justified.

To maintain order and enforce the law, the police are granted the right to intervene in the daily affairs of private citizens. Yet some kinds of police intervention generate suspicion and hostility toward the police. Citizens want the police to address their concerns and to solve the problems they bring to the attention of the police but would otherwise prefer to be left alone. Therefore, police officers occupy inherently problematic positions in our society.

American police agencies operate at the local, state, and federal levels and come in a variety of sizes in both the public and private sectors. Especially when considering private security and their relationships with public police, the disparities in size and jurisdiction often make it difficult to comprehensively define the nature of the police, the relationships between officers and agencies, and the policies and practices of departments. Nonetheless, there are commonalities and shared challenges among these agencies.

In a democratic nation, we expect the police to operate within the framework of our defining principles—equal treatment, respect for individual liberty, and accountability. When police reflect these principles, they play an important role in social control and the overall well-being of society, which results in a more willing and cooperative public.

Ongoing social tensions point to the complex issues that departments are grappling with on a daily basis—appropriate policy and procedure, officer recruitment and training, policing strategies and operations, police performance, officer safety, optimal use of technology, and many others. The questions of police accountability and the heightened scrutiny of police actions, often captured on social media, have placed police administrators squarely on the firing line.

/// KEY TERMS

Police officer 3

Law enforcement officer 3

Police 6

Department of Homeland Security (DHS) 10

/// DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Why is it so difficult to discuss and generalize about the police in the United States?
2. Describe and discuss the levels of public police in the United States.
3. What are some of the contradictions and tensions inherent in policing?
4. What are some of the issues currently confronting police in the United States?

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/// INTERNET EXERCISES

1. Using your browser, locate information on public police agencies in your state. What is the size and jurisdiction of the largest agency? What information can you locate about your local or county agency?
2. Search for information online concerning private police in your home state.
3. Using your browser, see what you can discover about order maintenance and law enforcement as police functions.

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CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF HISTORY OF POLICE IN THE UNITED STATES

Akron Police Museum/Wikimedia Creative Commons

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Identify the influence of English roots of policing on U.S. policing
2. Describe the influence of technology on the evolution of early U.S. policing
3. Summarize the issues facing policing during the Political Era
4. Explain the effect on policing of the changes implemented during the Reform Era
5. Describe the relationship between the social upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s and the increased emphasis on research on police effectiveness
6. Identify aspects of the community policing model and problem-oriented policing
7. Evaluate at least three contemporary policing strategies in terms of their effectiveness
8. Describe the challenges facing contemporary police departments

Police in the United States provide an extremely wide range of services, many of which may have little to do with crime or law enforcement. There is a great deal of variation among police agencies with respect to size, degree of specialization, and officer discretion, for example. This variation creates a striking complexity. Still, police agencies share many common issues and challenges. Historical analysis reveals the roots of many current issues in policing—such as **professionalism**, discretion, inefficiency, and corruption—and helps clarify the complexities and variations of police operations in the United States today.

ENGLISH ROOTS OF POLICING

The origins of policing date back to ancient empires around the world such as the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Spartans, Israelis, and Chinese. Throughout medieval times to the present, Europeans had forms of policing to enforce laws and maintain order. Although policing has an international history, the roots of policing in the United States can be traced back to England.

> Our English police system . . . rests on foundations designed with the full approval of the people . . . and has been slowly molded by the careful hand of experience, developing as a rule along the line of least resistance, now in advance of the general intelligence of the country, now lagging far behind, but always in the long run adjusting itself to the popular temper, always consistent with local self government.[1]

Professionalism: An end state that is largely based on ethical practice and other related characteristics such as good personal character, personal and organizational accountability, a commitment to higher education and continuous training, and intolerance for misconduct

Night Watch System: Early policing system that required able-bodied males to donate their time to help protect cities

In the United States, and to a lesser extent, England, citizens have traditionally believed that the existence of a national police force would concentrate too much power in the hands of its directors. They believed that local communities could not hold a national police force accountable for abuses of power, and they feared that the national government could use such a force to keep itself in power illegitimately. Until the 19th century, except for a brief period during the rule of Oliver Cromwell (1653–1658), public order in England remained mainly the responsibility of local justices of the peace, constables, and the watch and ward. Constables and watchmen were supported by citizens, posses, and when riots occurred, the military or the yeomanry (a cavalry force largely composed of landowners).[2]

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The origins of U.S. policing can be traced back to England, where a night watch system was employed to help protect cities.

Early settlers to America from England brought with them a **night watch system** that required able-bodied males to donate their time to help protect the cities. As was the case in England, those who could afford to do so often hired others to serve their shifts, and those who served were not particularly effective. During the 1700s, citizens often resolved disputes among themselves. Such resolutions involved intergenerational blood feuds, eye-gouging, gunfights, and duels.[3] As the nation's cities grew larger and more diverse, voluntary citizen participation in law enforcement and order maintenance became increasingly less effective, and some other system was needed to replace it. In 1749, residents of Philadelphia convinced legislators to pass a law creating the position of warden. The warden was authorized to hire as many watchmen as needed,

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Harris & Ewing, LC-DIG-hec-42115

In 1922, a police officer holds two small children. Peel's principles of policing include the historical tradition of the police as part of the public, not separate from it.

the powers of the watchmen expanded, and the city paid selected individuals from taxes. Other cities soon adopted similar plans.[4] The wardens and their watchmen served warrants, acted as detectives, and patrolled the streets.[5] But these wardens were not widely respected and were considered inefficient, corrupt, and susceptible to political interference.[6]

By the 1800s, with the rapid growth of cities, crime and mob violence had become problems in British and U.S. cities alike. In response, **Sir Robert Peel**, who was then home secretary in London, developed municipal policing. Peel believed that the police should be organized along military lines and under government control. He also thought police officers should be men of quiet demeanor and good appearance and should be familiar with the neighborhoods where they were to police. In addition, he supported a territorial strategy of policing in which officers would walk prescribed beats to prevent and deal with crime. Peel and **Patrick Colquhoun** (superintending magistrate of the Thames River Police, a forerunner of the Metropolitan Police, and author of works on metropolitan policing) put many of these principles into practice in establishing the London Metropolitan Police. By 1870, Peel's territorial strategy, at least, had spread to every major city in the United States.[7]

THE EVOLUTION OF EARLY U.S. POLICING

In the United States in the early to middle 1800s, day watch systems were established in U.S. cities (Philadelphia, 1833; Boston, 1838; New York, 1844; San Francisco, 1850; and Los Angeles, 1851). By the 1850s, day and night watch systems were consolidated to provide 24-hour protection to city dwellers.[8]

Also by this time, the main structural elements of U.S. municipal policing had emerged. Watch and ward systems had been replaced—in the cities at least—by centralized, government-supported police agencies whose tasks included crime prevention, provision of a wide variety of services to the public, enforcement of "morality," and the apprehension of criminals. A large force of uniformed police walked regular beats, had the power to arrest without a warrant, and began to carry revolvers in the late 1850s.[9] The concept of preventive policing included maintenance of order functions such as searching for missing children, mediating quarrels, and helping at fire scenes. Both municipal police and county sheriffs performed these tasks. State and federal agencies arose to supplement the work of the police.[10] One such agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), was established in 1908, when a number of Department of Justice (DOJ) investigators were taken on as special agents. The new agency was formally named in 1909. The FBI has since developed into a worldwide investigative agency with international offices located in 60 U.S. embassies.[11]

Sir Robert Peel: The founder of modern territorial policing (London Metropolitan Police) in 1829 in London

Patrick Colquhoun: Superintending magistrate of the Thames River Police, a forerunner of the Metropolitan Police and author of works on metropolitan policing

Meanwhile, police in the United States began to take advantage of technology; the use of call boxes, telegraphs, teletypes, two-way radios, and patrol cars grew rapidly. For example, in 1871, the central headquarters of the Boston Police Department was connected to all other station houses by telegraph. Prior to this, the only communication among these locations was by messenger. In 1878, the first telephones were installed in the department. And, in 1903, the nation's first motor patrol was established in Boston, with a Stanley Steamer automobile. A civilian chauffeur drove the vehicle, allowing police

Exhibit 2.1

Peel's Principles of Policing

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 favor not by catering to the 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 are only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties that are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
8. Police should always direct their action strictly toward 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.

officers to sit on a high seat in the rear so they could look over high backyard fences. By 1906, the Boston Police Department owned five automobiles.[12] Another example of technological progress occurred in the 1920s in St. Louis, Missouri, when the department deployed a system to enable the police chief to alert a local public radio station about a major crime, and news of the crime was broadcast over the airwaves both to the public and to the police in squad cars. In 1929, Chicago announced that all squad cars of the Chicago Police Department Detective Division were equipped with radio receiving sets. Chicago's early one-way radio system was supported by the *Chicago Tribune*, which operated station WGN. The following year, St. Louis had installed its own transmitting station, which could send messages to squad cars and police stations equipped with receivers using a dedicated frequency.[13]

THE POLITICAL ERA

While technological progress in policing was occurring around the country, political considerations continued to play an important role in policing. Although they adopted a good many practices from their British counterparts, U.S. police lacked the central authority of the Crown to establish a legitimate mandate for their actions. Small departments acted independently within their jurisdictions. Large departments were divided into precincts that often operated more as small, individual departments than as branches of the same organization.[14] Police officers more often represented the local political party in power than the legal system.[15]

Patrol officers were often required to enforce unpopular laws in immigrant neighborhoods whose norms they did not understand. In their own neighborhoods, their personal relationships made them vulnerable to bribes for lax enforcement or nonenforcement.[16] In addition, the police found themselves in frequent conflict with rioters, union workers and their management counterparts, and looters. As a result of such

conflicts, the public questioned whether the police could remain impartial in administering the law.

> Expectations that the police would be disinterested public servants ran afoul of the realities of urban social and political life. Heterogeneity made it more difficult to determine what behavior was acceptable and what was unacceptable. Moreover, urban diversity encouraged a political life based upon racial and ethnic cleavages as well as clashes of economic interests. Democratic control of police assured that heterogeneous cities would have constant conflicts over police organization and shifts of emphasis depending upon which groups controlled the political machinery at any one time.[17]

Consequently, in some cities such as New York, political corruption and manipulation were built into policing. New York police officers in the 1830s were hired and fired by elected officials who expected those they hired to support them politically and fired those who did not. "The late nineteenth century policeman had a difficult job. He had to maintain order, cope with vice and crime, provide service to people in trouble, and keep his nose clean politically."[18] The police became involved in party politics, which included granting immunity from arrest to those in power.[19] Corruption and extortion became traditions in some departments, and discipline and professional pride were largely absent from many departments. Police spent most of their time providing services to local supporters, maintaining a reasonable level of social order necessary for the city and local businesses to operate smoothly, and seeking out every opportunity available to them to make money.[20]

The U.S. brand of local self-government gave professional politicians considerable influence in policing.

> The need to respond to the diverse, often conflicting demands of various constituencies has given American policing a unique character which affects its efficiency as well as its reputation. However one views the police today, it is essential to understand how the theory and practice of politics influenced the nature, successes, and problems of law enforcement.[21]

Some attempts to address corruption and related issues began in the late 1800s such as the **Pendleton Act**, which required that government jobs be awarded on the basis of merit rather than on the basis of friendship or political favor. But old traditions and perceptions died hard—and, in some cases, not at all. One such example of old traditions is the **sheriff**, who remains a political figure charged with police duties.

Throughout most of the 19th century and into the 20th, the basic qualification for becoming a police officer was a political connection rather than a demonstrated ability to perform the job.[22] Police agencies hired men with no education, with criminal records, and with health problems.[23] Training was practically nonexistent, with most new officers being handed equipment and an assignment area and told to "hit the streets." Officers were expected to handle whatever problems they encountered while patrolling their beats, not simply to enforce the law. They provided a range of services, including basic medical care, babysitting at the police station, helping people find employment, and feeding the homeless.

Pendleton Act: Required that government jobs be awarded on the basis of merit rather than on the basis of friendship or political favor

Sheriff: Typically, an elected official responsible for county law enforcement and, in many instances, the county jail

The police were a part of the political machinery, and politicians were seldom interested in impartial justice. The police became a mechanism that permitted politicians to solidify their power by controlling political adversaries and assisting friends and allies.[24] Arrests were of little importance; the primary mission of the police was to provide services to citizens and garner votes for politicians. "For the patrolman, unless he was exceptionally stubborn or a notoriously slow learner, the moral was clear: if you want to get along, go along."[25]

Early law enforcement organizations were simple. Command officers and supervisors had complete authority over subordinates, and there was little opportunity for departmental appeal except through courts. Communication flowed downward, little to no specialization existed, and training was nonexistent or minimal.[26]

The lack of a strong central administration, the influence of politicians, and the neighborhood ties between the police and the people ensured a partisan style of policing and led to fragmented police services, inconsistency, confusion, and eventually a call for reform.[27] With no accountability for either the politicians or the police, corruption, graft, and bribery reached a new level. Not infrequently, police promotions and assignments were auctioned to the highest bidder, and illegal operations, including gambling halls and brothels, made monthly contributions to police officers. Although some improvements resulted from reform efforts, political motivations continued to plague the selection of both officers and chiefs. "Too many chiefs were simply fifty-five-year-old patrolmen."[28]

Exhibit 2.2

Origin of the Term *Sheriff*

The term *sheriff* stems from 12th-century England and is a contraction of the term *shire reeve*, which referred to an official appointed by the king with the responsibility for keeping the peace and collecting taxes throughout a shire or county. The first American counties were established in Virginia in 1634, and records show that one of these counties elected a sheriff in 1651. Most other colonial sheriffs were appointed. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, colonial and state legislatures assigned a broad range of responsibilities to the sheriff, which included the familiar role of law enforcement and tax collection. Other duties were new, such as overseeing jails, houses of corrections, and work houses.[29]

Today, the sheriff is still typically an elected official and the chief law enforcement officer in the county in which he or she serves.

The tradition of political involvement in policing continues today, despite the attempts to remove certain elements of political action, and is, indeed, still deep-rooted in policing. In New Orleans, for example, the police department has long been criticized as "a cesspool of corruption and violence."[30] In 2014, ex-mayor Ray Nagin was convicted on 20 criminal counts, including bribery and money laundering during his terms as mayor, for which he was sentenced to 10 years in prison. The police department entered into one of the most far-reaching consent decrees to date with the DOJ because of long-standing police abuses, racist policing tactics, and widespread violations of the Constitution.[31]

These and other efforts have been mounted to reform the New Orleans Police Department. Yet, it is a slow process that many fear is superficial at best.

Reform is "a core element in improving police–community relations for a department that has become notorious for political interference, corruption, racial insensitivity and civil-service rigidities."[32]

Chicago is also plagued by continuing problems with political corruption and has been called "the most corrupt city in the country . . . The crimes include ghost payrolls, bogus contracts, city official thefts, bribes, and the likely most publicized of bad behaviors in recent times—police brutality."[33] A 2017 Department of Justice Report found that the Chicago Police Department engaged in a pattern of unreasonable force, which included shooting at fleeing suspects who presented no immediate threat.[34]

Case in Point 2.1

For nearly two centuries, Tammany Hall in New York City was a social organization that exerted a powerful political influence over elections, the courts, and the police. The eventual vice president under Thomas Jefferson, Aaron Burr, recognized and developed Tammany Hall as a political tool. One of its most notorious leaders was William "Boss" Tweed, an infamously corrupt figure who held the reins during the mid-1800s, who later spent time in prison for graft and corruption. The power of the political machinery of Tammany grew in part due to its help for poor immigrants such as getting them jobs, supporting widows with children, and helping immigrants make their way through the naturalization process. This base was then beholden to cast its votes in support of Tammany Hall. The Hall played a major role in fostering economic growth and benefits for its constituents, even while it exploited its influence with police administrators and judges.

In all that time, Tammany Hall's leadership and power went through many changes and challenges from reformers, but at its strongest, the established machinery ensured that its candidates were elected, that its members were protected in the courts, and that its loyal members enjoyed leniency from the police.

1. Do you believe the good done by the Hall justifies the ways it exploited its members for political gains?
2. Does society have sufficient protections in place for new immigrants and other underprivileged members of society? Why or why not?

Sources: Burrows, Edwin G. & Wallace, Mike (1999). Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898. New York: Oxford University Press; Connable, Alfred, and Silberfarb, Edward. (1967). Tigers of Tammany: Nine Men Who Ran New York. New York. Holt, Rinehart and Winston; NPR, "The Case for Tammany Hall Being on the Right Side of History." March 5, 2014.

Police Accountability

With accompanying changes in the political leadership, the hiring and firing of police chiefs in different communities continues, as do attempts on behalf of politicians to influence the daily activity of police officers, chiefs, and sheriffs.[35] Such attempts to control the police raise the issues of how to control the police in a democratic society, how to hold them accountable in ways that are not politically motivated, and how to ensure that they are responsive to the concerns of the citizens they are meant to serve and not beholden to the interests of politicians. (These issues are explored in more depth in Chapters 10 and 11.)

> The suggestion that police agencies be directly supervised by elected municipal executives conjures up the image of police administrators beholden to various interests—including criminal elements—on whose continued support the elected mayor, their boss, may depend . . . is this not one of the costs of operating under our system of government?[36]

Reform Era (Reform Movement): Involved radical reorganization of police agencies, including strong centralized administrative bureaucracy, hiring and promotion based on merit, highly specialized units, and application of science to crime through improved record keeping, fingerprinting, serology, and criminal investigation

THE REFORM ERA

Serious attempts to reform and professionalize the police began to materialize in the late 1800s and early 1900s, ushering in the **Reform Era**, or **Reform Movement**. The Reform Era involved radical reorganization, including strong centralized administrative bureaucracy, highly specialized units, and substantial increases in the number of officers. Police professionalization was recognized as an important issue at least as early as 1909 by the father of modern police management systems, August Vollmer, who served as chief of police in Berkeley, California, from 1905 to 1932. In part because

of the Depression, policing as a profession became more attractive to young men who in better times might have sought other employment, thus making it possible to recruit and select qualified police officers. Positive results began to show due to the efforts of Vollmer, Arthur Niederhoffer, William Parker, and O. W. Wilson, among others, to promote professionalism and higher education for police officers.

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August Vollmer, the father of modern police management systems.

Various reform movements were underway also, the goal of which was to centralize police administration, improve the quality of police personnel, and destroy the power of the political bosses.[37] As reformers attempted to define policing as a profession, the service role of the police changed into more of a crime-fighting role. The passage of the 18th Amendment in 1920 and the onset of the Great Depression in 1929 placed the police under a new public mandate for crime control and public safety. As a result, police stopped providing a wide range of services, including assisting the homeless, babysitting, and helping people locate employment.

Concern about the police reached a national level with the appointment by President Hoover of the Wickersham Commission in 1931. The commission was formed to investigate rising crime rates, and it directed police away from the service role, challenging them to become law enforcers and to reduce the crime rate.

Reformers adopted military customs and created specialized units, including vice, juvenile, and traffic divisions.[38] The historical development of large, bureaucratically organized police departments can be attributed in part to a larger movement by government to obtain legitimacy for their agencies by adopting the rational–legal formal structure that placed more emphasis on impersonal rules, laws, and discipline.[39] Reformers rapidly infused more technological advances into policing through improved record keeping, fingerprinting, serology, and criminal investigation. Training academies to teach these and other subjects became more common, and agencies emphasized promotion and selection based on merit (often through the use of civil service testing).

The onset of World War II and the Korean War made recruitment of well-qualified officers more difficult during the 1940s and 1950s. During this period, observers of the police, and sometimes the police themselves, seemed to equate technological advances and improved administration with professionalism.

THE ERA OF SOCIAL UPHEAVAL (1960s AND 1970s)

The 1960s proved to be one of the most challenging eras in U.S. policing. The crime rate per 100,000 persons doubled, the civil rights movement began, and antiwar sentiment and urban riots brought police to the center of the maelstrom.[40] The historical role of police and the minority communities they had traditionally policed came into question. One of the earliest responsibilities of the police was the responsibility

of controlling slaves and Native Americans. Even after the American Civil War, when emancipation occurred, police and sheriffs were a tool for elected officials to control and, in some instances, subjugate minority communities.[41]

At the same time, the social disorder of this period produced fear among the public because it appeared that family, church, and the police were losing their grip on society.[42] One result of this fear was that legislators began to pass laws that provided substantial resources to police agencies. In the 1960s and into the 1970s, there was a rapid development of two- and four-year college degree programs in law enforcement and an increased emphasis on training. These changes were in large part due to the 1967 report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, which was partially responsible for Congress passing the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. This act established the **Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA)** and provided a billion dollars each year to improve and strengthen criminal justice agencies. With funding available, social scientists began to test the traditional methods of police deployment, employee selection, and education and training and to question the appearance of racial discrimination in arrests and the use of deadly force.[43]

Federal and state funding was available to police officers who sought to further their educations, and potential police officers began to see some advantage in taking at least some college-level courses. Although there were vast differences in the quality of college programs, they did create a pool of relatively well-qualified applicants for both supervisory and entry-level positions. These developments—coupled with improvements in police training, salaries and benefits, and equipment—helped create a more professional image of the police. At the same time, police came under increasing scrutiny as a result of their roles in the urban disorders of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Challenges to both authority and procedure were common, and public criticism continued into the 1980s.

Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA): During the 1960s and 1970s, provided a billion dollars each year to improve and strengthen criminal justice agencies

It is becoming ever clearer that underlying social and economic conditions are spawning crime and that society's unwillingness to do anything meaningful about them has really sealed the fate of the police effort to cope with the symptoms. Society wants to fight crime with more cops, tougher judges, and bigger jails, not through scorned "liberal"

Bettmann/Getty Images

Officers should show restraint even when their personal beliefs differ from those of the citizens they serve. Of course, as illustrated here, not all officers act in accordance with that philosophy.

schemes such as social welfare programs. . . . Police executives believe that today's unattended problems, concentrated in our urban centers, will only get worse, eventually resulting in riots and heightened violence.[44]

There is clearly a discrepancy between what the public assumes the police can accomplish and what the police can *actually* accomplish. Although the expectation may be that *more* police will solve the problems referred to in the previous quote, the reality is that merely increasing the numbers of police officers will not produce the desired result. The discrepancy has been highly problematic and impacted not only police administrators' decisions concerning operations but also the types of personnel who applied for police positions and the type of preparations for the jobs they received. At the same time, collective bargaining and unionization in police departments considerably changed the complexion of relationships between police administrators and rank-and-file officers. Although police unions have undoubtedly helped improve police salaries and working conditions, they remain controversial because of their emphasis on seniority and their opposition to reform.

Research on Police Effectiveness

This period saw a wave of bureaucratic responses fueled in part by research on the police, the amount and quality of which improved drastically beginning in the 1960s. The 1967 **President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice**, the **National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders** in the same year, and the 1973 **National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals** represented major efforts to better understand styles of policing, police–community relations, and police selection and training.[45] Many other private and government-funded research projects contributed to the field. However, police still carry the burden of more than 180 years of conflict and attempts at reform. Most chiefs continue to be selected against a political backdrop, which may be good or bad for the agency, as we have seen. There has been some consolidation and standardization of services but not a great deal. In general, the U.S. police appear to have become more concerned about social responsibility, but they still have difficulties interacting with some segments of society. Diversity remains the key characteristic of municipal police and local control the key to such diversity. Progress in policing has been made on many fronts. Progressive police chiefs, concerned academics, and other involved citizens have helped push the boundaries of traditional policing and shared their thoughts and findings at both national and international levels by publishing, teaching or training, and promoting exchange programs. Research on and by the police has increased dramatically in the past several years.

President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967): Represented a major effort to better understand styles of policing, police–community relations, and police selection and training

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1967): Another major effort to better understand styles of policing, police–community relations, and police selection and training

National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973): Another attempt to better understand styles of policing, police–community relations, and police selection and training

Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA): Established in 1979 (operational in 1983), the commission conducts evaluations based on specific standards for law enforcement agencies and accredits agencies meeting the criteria

Exhibit 2.3

Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies

A noteworthy development in policing occurred in 1979. In response to repeated calls for police professionalism, the **Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA)** was established through the efforts of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, the National Sheriffs' Association, and the Police Executive Research Forum. CALEA became operational in 1983 and accepted applications for accreditation, conducted evaluations based on specific standards for law enforcement agencies, and granted accreditation. By 2012, one-quarter of law enforcement officers in the United States worked for agencies that have CALEA accreditation. Most states have their own agencies to oversee law enforcement standards. California has among the most professional and formalized of such agencies. Many police departments have now been through a re-accreditation process, and numerous others are awaiting either accreditation or re-accreditation.

> [P]olice leaders have been under considerable pressure to manage personnel and operations as efficiently as possible. This pressure may help explain why police administrators have apparently been even more willing than leadership in other criminal justice areas to question traditional assumptions and methods, to entertain the conclusions of research, and to test research recommendations.[46]

"Essentially, what the [police] literature describes about the policing role in the United States is that it is unsettled, subject to ongoing societal change, and continually evolving."[47] A panel of experts found that "the boundaries of the police are shifting on a number of dimensions."[48] Those shifts were perceived to be in terms of intelligence and privacy, jurisdiction, engagement with other criminal justice agencies, cultural and normative dimensions, and reach of social control. In all of these areas, the shift was perceived in terms of an expansion of the police function. One of the major challenges confronting the police in the 21st century involves dealing with these changes.

THE COMMUNITY-POLICING ERA (1980–2000)

The 1980s ushered in numerous technological advances in policing. Increased use of computers enabled departments to institute crime analysis programs to track crime incidents, analyze their common factors, make predictions concerning crime trends, and develop strategies to apprehend offenders.[49] Also during this time, departments began to use newly developed record management systems to store and retrieve information in addition to computer-aided dispatch and 911 systems. Together, these advances enabled communications personnel to receive calls for service, determine and dispatch the closest police officer, and inform the officer who was answering the call. As the use of computers and wireless communications grew, mobile data terminals allowed officers to immediately access information that the communication center had received and relayed.[50]

Police administrators in the second half of the 1900s attempted to maximize the use of this technology, increase specialization, provide better training, and expand educational opportunities in an attempt to enhance the image of the police and create a more effective police force. However, in doing so, they created some unanticipated problems, including increasing the proverbial gap between officers and the other citizens they served. One obvious example of this was the use of patrol officers who policed the streets in vehicles that served as offices on wheels. Patrol cars effectively isolated the officers from the public, and community members often did not know the officers patrolling their neighborhoods. Although understanding the need for speed and mobility, many citizens preferred to have recognizable officers walking the beat. Research on foot patrol suggested that it contributed to city life, reduced fear among citizens, increased citizen satisfaction with the police, improved police attitudes toward citizens, and increased the morale and job satisfaction of police officers.[51]

Community Relations Programs: Programs sponsored by police agencies that attempt to improve police–community relations

Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE): Educational programs presented by police officers in cooperation with school authorities in an attempt to prevent abuse of drugs by youth

Community relations programs, developed in the 1960s, were initially an experiment in bridging the gap between the police and the community. Such programs were later to become a revolution in policing.

> Speaking at community centers and in schools was one of the first attempts to improve community relations. These programs eventually expanded to include neighborhood storefront offices, ride-along programs, fear-reduction programs, police academies for citizens, cultural diversity training, police–community athletic programs, and **Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE)**.[52]

Police Stories 2.1

Greg Seidel, Captain (Retired), Petersburg, Virginia

A Hard Lesson in Perspective

My first assignment was in the highest crime district in a city that led Virginia in crime throughout my career. My solo midnight patrol was in an environment that was culturally, racially, and economically different from any I had experienced. I had to learn, and with the volume and types of service calls I was fielding, I needed to do it in a hurry.

While leaving an off-duty court appearance, I responded to a request for assistance to search for a suspect wanted for multiple armed robberies. During the search, I was mortally shot under my left eye and through the right pulmonary artery and lung. I survived because three valiant officers evacuated me to a trauma hospital just down the street. For 30 days, I was hospitalized just three blocks from the incident, a short walk for most of the neighborhood. Not long after the shooting, I started to get visitors from my beat. They would introduce themselves, express regret over my injuries, or thank me for my efforts in their neighborhood. Several of the visitors I had "met" at calls for service. I did not recognize any of them, but I did remember the case facts and the suspects involved.

I soon came to realize how my patrol experience had narrowed my perspective, confirming a growing wholesale negative view of the individuals in the neighborhood and blinding me to the good in people. I had become exclusively a man hunter, blind to anyone or anything else. People were merely aids to catch the villains I sought. Fortunately, three months of rehab gave me time and distance to consider a new, more positive perspective.

I returned to work as a new narcotics detective and spent significant time in my old beat conducting investigations. I was just as active and motivated as before, but those hospital visitors from the neighborhood stuck with me. I soon discovered that the vast majority of people were not villains but rather kind and honest. I watched as they walked their school children to the bus stop, went to work, took care of their homes, and were good citizens and neighbors in a very difficult place.

The crime caused by a small number of people had skewed my perception and allowed me to rationalize how "more or less these folks are all alike." I had gotten jaded, and my confirmation bias affected how I saw the community as a whole. I had not taken the time or effort to distinguish the then "invisible-to-me," hardworking, community-minded residents with the true villains among them. The shootout and recovery helped me improve, and continues to improve, my performance in every law enforcement role I have held.

By the early 1980s, there was a gradual movement away from the crime-fighting model and toward a **community-policing** model. By the mid-1980s, it was clear that the police by themselves were unable to deal with increasing crime and violence. Recognizing that performance in the areas of crime control and order maintenance could only improve with public cooperation, progressive police administrators turned to community-oriented or community-based policing as a possible solution to their problems. Community policing was intended to counter enhanced technology, specialization, and paramilitary organization and restore relationships that the police had lost with the citizenry they were sworn to serve and protect.[53] This move represented a return to the principles of policing originally specified by Sir Robert Peel. However, embedded in the more modern version of Peel's principles was enhanced professionalism and better communication with neighborhood residents.

Community Policing: A model of policing based on establishing partnerships among police and other citizens in an attempt to improve quality of life through crime prevention, information sharing, and mutual understanding

At the same time, **problem-oriented policing** began to attract increased attention. This approach to policing emphasized the interrelationships among what might otherwise appear to be disparate events. For example, police officers often report that the same families continue to account for many crimes over the years and across generations. Rather than dealing with all of these calls as separate incidents to be handled before clearing the calls and going on to other calls,

Problem-Oriented Policing: Encourages officers to take a holistic approach, working with other citizens and other agency representatives to find long-term solutions to a variety of recurrent problems