Granger

2 A BRIEF HISTORY OF POLICE IN THE UNITED STATES

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CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

2.1   Identify the influence of English roots of policing on U.S. policing.

2.2   Discuss the two narratives of how U.S. policing developed.

2.3   Summarize the issues facing policing during the Political Era.

2.4   Explain the effect on policing of the changes implemented during the Reform Era.

2.5   Describe the relationship between the social upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s and the increased emphasis on research on police effectiveness.

2.6   Identify aspects of the community policing model and problem-oriented policing.

2.7   Evaluate at least three contemporary policing strategies in terms of their effectiveness.

2.8   Describe the challenges facing contemporary police departments.

2.9   Describe how policing has evolved and what it might look like in the future.

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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]

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]

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

Peel's principles of policing include the historical tradition of the police as part of the public, not separate from it.

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THE EVOLUTION OF EARLY U.S. POLICING

There are two narratives of how U.S. policing developed. Both are true. The more commonly known history—the one most college students will hear is that American policing can trace its roots back to English policing. While this narrative is correct, it only tells part of the story. Policing in southern slave-holding states followed a different trajectory—one that has roots in slave patrols of the 17th and 18th centuries, and police enforcement of Jim Crow laws.[8] The first slave patrols were authorized in South Carolina in 1704 as a result of many white male South Carolinians having been mobilized into a militia against a feared Spanish invasion. This left many white families defenseless. The South Carolinians determined, as written in the preamble to the 1704 law, that they needed two militias, one to defend against the external threat posed by the Spanish and a second to protect against the internal threat from enslaved people of "insurrections and mischiefs."[9]

Members of the slave patrols were free white men and although the requirements varied over time and from place to place, in South Carolina the slave patrols consisted of 10 people who would be exempt from the militia. Patrollers were assigned broad authority to act as police, judge, and jury, including the right to enter plantations without a warrant, search slave quarters and other plantation property, and arrest or summarily punish enslaved people at will.[10] Soon the slave patrols were created in all the other southern slave-holding states. Despite a reputation for brutality and powers that extended well beyond those given modern police, the slave patrols were well organized and paid to patrol specific areas to prevent crimes and insurrection by enslaved people against the white community.[11]

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.[12]

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.[13] 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.[14] 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.[15]

FEATURE 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.

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 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.[16] 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.[17]

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.[18] Police officers more often represented the local political party in power than the legal system.[19]

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.[20] 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.[21]

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."[22] The police became involved in party politics, which included granting immunity from arrest to those in power.[23] 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.[24]

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.[25]

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.[26] Police agencies hired men with no education, with criminal records, and with health problems.[27] 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.

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.[28] 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."[29]

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.[30]

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.[31] 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."[32]

FEATURE 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.[33]

Today, the sheriff is still typically an elected official and the chief law enforcement officer in the county in which they serve.

The tradition of political involvement in policing continues today, despite the attempts to remove certain elements of political action, and is, indeed, still deeply rooted in policing. In New Orleans, for example, the police department has long been criticized as "a cesspool of corruption and violence."[34] 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.[35]

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."[36] The conservative nature of law enforcement is typically resistant to change and reform has been slow to take hold. This resistance has been a factor in the defund the police movement, who believe the police will never change.

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."[37] 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.[38] In 2021, the Chicago city council approved a plan that, for the first time, gave civilians the direct oversight of the city's police department. It was part of a years-long push to make police officers more accountable to the residents whom they serve. It could make Chicago a model for what independent community-based police oversight looks like.[39]

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.* Oxford University Press; Connable, Alfred, & Silberfarb, Edward. (1967). *Tigers of Tammany: Nine Men Who Ran 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.[40] 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?[41]

Changing a police chief can be a powerful lever for reform. But changing them too often can be a hindrance. Historically, chiefs averaged 5 to 7 years at a department. Today, the average tenure is around 2 to 3 years. That intensified churn is a product of efforts to reimagine policing in the wake of the George Floyd murder, in 2020. Amid intense scrutiny from the public, and spikes in violent crime, 40 major cities have changed police chiefs since January 2020. The question is, How much churn is too much?[42]

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.

August Vollmer, the father of modern police management systems.

Wikimedia Creative Commons/Dainnaa

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.[43] 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 people experiencing homelessness, 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.[44] 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.[45] 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.[46] 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 enslaved people and Native Americans.

To understand the differences in perceptions of Blacks and whites toward a variety of crime-related issues, it is necessary to understand the historical experience of Blacks and how they were treated by the criminal justice system. Black "protectionism" toward Blacks accused of crimes and skepticism toward the police, for example, might well be rooted in the Black experience with the role of police in enforcing Slave Codes. 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.[47]

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.[48] 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.[49]

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.

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" 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.[50]

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.

Bettmann/Getty Images

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. While the Black Lives Matter movement encouraged people to document police brutality on camera and demand accountability, police unions, which now have hundreds of thousands of members, have pushed back in almost every way imaginable by overturning firings, opposing the use of body cameras, and lobbying to keep their members disciplinary histories sealed.[51]

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.[52] 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. An examination of how best to measure police productivity is underway. Traditional police metrics may be too narrow because they fail to address important aspects of police work. For example, up to 70% of police calls are not crime related, with many being in response to mental health issues, or other non-criminal social problems, like addictions, poverty, and homelessness. These noncriminal social problems go unrecorded by traditional police metrics, but account for a large proportion of what the police actually do in the course of carrying out their normal duties. Traditional police metrics also place relatively little emphasis on crime prevention and other practices that can enhance community safety and improve police–stakeholder relationships. Ironically, excluding these activities from the metrics used to assess police organizational performance penalizes police organizations that are working proactively to prevent crime and enhance community safety.[53]

FEATURE 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 reaccreditation process, and numerous others are awaiting either accreditation or reaccreditation.

Police 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.[54]

"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."[55] A panel of experts found that "the boundaries of the police are shifting on a number of dimensions."[56] 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.[57] 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.[58]

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.[59]

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)**.[60]

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.[61] 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.

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 focuses attention on the underlying difficulties that create patterns of incidents.[62] It allows officers to take a holistic approach, working with other citizens and other agency representatives to find more permanent solutions to a variety of police and neighborhood problems. Both community-oriented and problem-oriented policing emphasize the importance of the police–community relationship and the fact that police work consists in large measure of order maintenance through the use of negotiations among the police and other citizens. Police education programs should emphasize the consideration of value choices and ethical dilemmas in policing and should "include comprehensive treatment of the most commonly performed police work, which falls outside of the criminal justice system."[63]

> Policing organized around perspectives that not only emphasize crime control and order-maintenance, but also emphasize more diverse approaches such as crime prevention, proactive policing, community problem-solving, improvement of police–community relations by reducing the social distance between the police and the public through increased police accountability and improved service to the public, empowerment of front-line officers, and a flatter organizational power structure that promotes teamwork and a collectivist spirit among all.[64]

A further refinement of problem-oriented policing, developed late in the 20th century, is computerized statistics or CompStat policing. Police utilize computerized statistics to plot specific incidents of crime by time, day, and location. CompStat enabled police departments to allocate their resources more effectively and was credited with significant decreases in crime rates in several cities in which it was used.[65] Despite the extensive diffusion of CompStat across police agencies in the United States and other countries, the crime control benefits of CompStat remain unclear. In fact, extensive research evidence suggests that CompStat is more likely to generate reactive crime control responses, such as flooding a problem area with patrol officers, rather than more creative problem-solving responses designed address the conditions that cause crime problems to recur. Indeed, there is a growing body of rigorous research that suggests problem-oriented policing programs generate stronger crime control gains when compared to traditional police crime control strategies.[66]

Even though some argue that community policing has taken a backseat to other policing strategies, it continues to play an important role. It has been held that through engagement and developing

collaborative relationships with citizens based upon fairness and respect, community policing will increase the legitimacy of police organizations.[67] This is particularly relevant with recent events, such as the murder of George Floyd by police in 2020, and the questioning of police legitimacy by such groups as Black Lives Matter.

YOU DECIDE 2.1

Accreditation is briefly introduced here in Chapter 2 and is discussed again in Chapter 3. An accredited law enforcement agency is officially recognized as meeting essential requirements set forth by the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement (CALEA). Without knowing what these essential requirements are, one might not be impressed by the credentials.

According to the CALEA Standards Manual (1999), the goals of law enforcement accreditation are to "(a) improve crime prevention and control capabilities, (b) formalize management procedures, (c) establish fair and non-discriminatory personnel practices, (d) improve service delivery, (e) improve inter-agency cooperation and coordination, and (f) increase confidence in the law enforcement agency" (p. xiii).

1. If you could implement one standard or rule that police agencies had to follow, what would that be?
2. In general, do you trust officers from an accredited agency more than those working for one that is not accredited? Why or why not?

THE HOMELAND SECURITY ERA (2001–PRESENT)

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, set in motion a new era of policing in the United States called "the era of homeland security."[68] The nation responded to 9/11 by launching a "war on terrorism" and enacting the USA PATRIOT Act (discussed in Chapters 9 and 14). Many other countries also strengthened their antiterrorism legislation and expanded law enforcement powers.

Police in the era of homeland security have to be more familiar with information technology and the gathering, processing, and disseminating of information. The police also need enhanced skills that pertain to weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons), events involving mass casualties, and methods of preventing terrorism.[69]

Although all law enforcement agencies have a more heightened awareness of homeland security in this new era, it is mostly federal law enforcement agencies and police in larger metropolitan areas that have concentrated their investigative efforts and resources on homeland security. It is debatable whether such investigations—and the interrogations and detention that sometimes result—are the most effective means of protecting the country from further terrorist attacks. It is certain, however, that infringing inappropriately on the civil rights of certain target groups can lead to hostility among those groups, whose assistance with developing intelligence concerning possible terrorists is essential. Collecting intelligence was a standard aspect of local policing that disappeared in most respects during the 1960s and 1970s, largely as a result of the fear of abuse of powers by the police. Bringing back this intelligence-gathering component meant that safeguards needed to be put in place to protect against the abuse of authority. It was for this very reason that intelligence gathering was eliminated. Undoubtedly, the risk to civil liberties still exists, and safeguards are necessary to protect against such abuse.

It is therefore critical that police officers treat targeted groups with respect, help ensure that their liberties are not unduly trampled on, and help them maintain their sense of dignity.[70] Community-oriented policing efforts that develop partnerships with diverse groups in the community represent perhaps the best way of accomplishing these goals. Communication among police administrators and line officers, lateral communication between the police and other governmental agencies, and communication among local, state, and federal agencies is critical in this new era of policing.

A summary of these four eras is included in Table 2.1.

TABLE 2.1 ■ The Four Eras of Policing				
Elements	**Political Era**	**Reform Era**	**Community Era**	**Homeland Security Era**
Authorization	Politics and law	Law and professionalism	Community support (political), law, professionalism	National/international threats (politics), law (intergovernmental), professionalism
Function	Broad social services	Crime control	Broad, provision of service	Crime control, antiterrorism/ counterterrorism, intelligence gathering
Organizational Design	Decentralized	Centralized, classical	Decentralized, task forces, matrices	Centralized decision-making, decentralized execution
Relationship to Environment	Intimate	Professionally remote	Intimate	Professional
Demand	Decentralized, to patrol and politicians	Centralized	Decentralized	Centralized
Tactics and Technology	Foot patrol	Preventive patrol, rapid response to calls for service	Foot patrol, problem-solving, and the like	Risk assessment, police operations centers, information systems
Desired Outcome	Citizen political satisfaction	Crime control	Quality of life, citizen satisfaction	Citizen safety, crime control, antiterrorism

Source: National Institute of Justice.

SOME CONTEMPORARY POLICING STRATEGIES

As the review of the history of policing indicates, policing is dynamic and constantly changing. Based on analysis of the effectiveness of past police practices, numerous contemporary strategies have emerged. Time and evaluation will help determine the relative effectiveness of each of these strategies, which are briefly mentioned here and discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

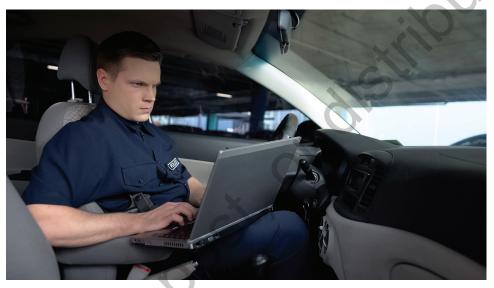### Intelligence-Led or Intelligence-Based Policing

Intelligence-led or intelligence-based policing is a policing model that originated in Britain and focuses on risk assessment and risk management. The approach involves identifying risks or patterns associated with groups, individuals, and locations to predict when and where crime is likely to occur. Many agencies now conduct crime analysis on a regular basis, thus identifying reported crime patterns. An effective records management system allows frontline officers to easily obtain this information on a timely basis prior to or while responding to a call. This may assist officers in proactively identifying and anticipating problems they may encounter rather than reacting to them at the scene. The approach has gained momentum globally following the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States.[71]

Terrorism-Oriented Policing

As previously mentioned, the events of 9/11 led to new duties and strategies for police at all levels in the United States. Now, in contrast to much of the history of policing, some of the public wants to trust the government and the police as agents of government to protect them from criminals both domestic and foreign. Terrorism and homeland security are among many important issues that currently face police agencies, but homeland security issues are of such extreme concern that agencies must question

whether their existing strategies are adequate to the task.[72] Recently, the Biden administration unveiled a national strategy to combat domestic extremism, calling for aggressive steps such as hiring more intelligence analysts and screening government employees for ties to hate groups. This indicates a shift in the government's approach to counterterrorism, which for decades has prioritized fighting foreign terrorists. But violent attacks by American extremists are growing, a problem laid bare by the deadly Capitol riot on January 6 of 2021.[73] Domestic terrorists also can also be white supremacists who kill for the sake of prejudice. In May of 2022, an 18-year-old white male carried out a racist attack that took the lives of 10 people, and wounded 3 others. Ten of the victims were Black, and the suspect had an extensive racist social media site, predicting his attack.[74]

What might be termed **terrorism-oriented policing** requires changes at all levels of policing, most of which add new duties and strategies to existing ones.

Today, police have found that crime mapping and other technology-based methods have a significant impact on the prevention and investigation of crime.

iStockphoto/Motortion

For example, "the workload of already busy departments has significantly expanded to include identifying potential terrorists, protecting vulnerable targets, and coordinating first response."[75] In addition, whether the police are operating in a small town or a large city, it is now their "responsibility to ensure that plans are in place to prevent attack and to respond quickly should an attack occur."[76]

Some observers insist that partnerships with citizens and problem-solving principles are essential to successful and sustainable crime-reduction and terrorism-prevention strategies that are consistent with U.S. democratic values. Community partnership and problem-solving in policing are as relevant and modern as the war on terror.[77] In addition, terrorists often commit ordinary crimes such as robbery, drug dealing, and fraud to sustain themselves. Thus, "from a policing point of view, there is much to be said for regarding terrorists as criminals with political motives."

"Local police can identify potential terrorists living or operating in their jurisdictions, they can help protect vulnerable targets, and they can coordinate the first response to terror attacks. These are heavy new responsibilities that significantly expand the workload of already busy departments."[78] However, "counterterrorism has to be woven into the everyday workings of every department. It should be included on the agenda of every meeting, and this new role must be imparted to officers on the street so that terrorism prevention becomes part of their everyday thinking."[79]

The potential for loss of life from a terrorist attack makes prevention a critical goal. Consequently, the police have had to increase security at major events and increase patrols at ports, bridges, and other potential targets. They might also need to conduct security surveys or to give advice for protecting vulnerable sites.[80] Undoubtedly, this requires additional and appropriate training.

CASE IN POINT 2.2

In March 2009, the Peoria Police Department launched a crime-mapping program known as "CrimeView Community." The service, developed by The Omega Group, is billed as "intelligence-led policing." CrimeView enables law enforcement agencies to map and analyze their own data for a more informed approach to police functions such as investigations, deployment of officers, and emergency management. It allows public web users to check crime trends for 90-day periods in user-designated areas of the city. Such programs are already in hundreds of departments and in most states.

It is believed that the program will help the public make educated decisions about crime in the areas in which they live, work, go to school, and shop. When users log on to CrimeView in Peoria, they will be able to search 16 different types of crime by location within the city. The website is scheduled to be updated daily.

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages to CrimeView Community and other programs that map and analyze neighborhood crime data?
2. Do you think that access to crime data may cause citizens to be unnecessarily fearful of becoming crime victims?
3. Is it possible for criminals to use programs like CrimeView Community to their benefit? How?

Source: Childs, G. (2009). Tool tracks city crime. *Journal Star*, pp. A1, A8.

FEATURE 2.4 HOW THE LONG BEACH POLICE DEPARTMENT HAS ADAPTED TO THE TERRORISM THREAT

- Created a counterterrorism unit and appointed terrorist liaison officers
- Reassigned officers to assess and protect critical infrastructure, such as the port, airport, and water treatment facilities
- Sent officers to train in new skills, such as weapons of mass destruction (WMD) response and recognizing signs of terrorism
- Established a port police unit equipped with small boats
- Reassigned officers to respond to areas with high population growth
- Increased visibility and response times by switching officers from two- to one-person cars
- Reduced staffing on lower-priority programs, such as Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE)
- Reduced foot patrols and staffing in the narcotics division
- Requested additional resources to cover demand, both from the city for local needs and from the federal government for national needs

Source: Raymond, B., Hickman, L., Miller, L., & Wong, J. (2005). *Police personnel challenges after September 11: Anticipating expanded duties and a changing labor pool.* Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.

POLICING IN THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

History has shown us that policing has evolved and adapted over time as the police attempt to meet the needs of society. In earlier times, police personnel could be recruited from almost any walk of life because the nature of crime did not generally require great technical police expertise. In the new millennium, communication is instantaneous, crime can be global in scope, and technology continues to increase in sophistication. Effective policing demands that police expertise be sufficiently sophisticated as well to deter and apprehend, for example, individuals who are involved in transnational crime, who use the most advanced technologies to prey on their victims, who traffic in human beings across borders, and who threaten to spread terror and chaos.

All of these and other activities often require direct intervention into the lives of citizens. The debate rages over the balance between the needs of law enforcement for information and the public's democratic right to privacy. Democracy represents consensus, freedom, participation, and equality; the police represent restriction and the imposition of authority of government on the individual.[81] The police and the community must share in controlling crime. In exchange for greater legal leeway to do so, the police may need to be more transparent and raise their standard for accountability. Community service may require better training in the theory and practice of total crime prevention.[82]

In December 2014, President Barack Obama commissioned an 11-member task force on 21st-century policing to identify practices to promote effective crime reduction while building public trust.[83] The task force was commissioned in response to a number of serious incidents between the police and the communities they serve and protect. The report contained several underlying themes upon which later, more specific recommendations were based.

Change the policing culture: The first theme focused on shifting policing from a warrior to a guardian mindset. Police officers are charged with protecting the dignity and human rights of everyone, to be the guardians and champions of the Constitution. Police leaders across all facets of law enforcement must ensure internal policies, practices, and procedures that guide individual officers and make organizations more accountable to the communities they serve.

Embrace community policing: Community policing is both a philosophy as well as a way of conducting business. It requires a commitment to work with communities to tackle the immediate and long-term causes of crime through joint problem-solving strategies that reduce crime and improve the quality of life. It also makes officers safer and increases the likelihood that citizens will follow the law.[84]

Ensure fair and impartial policing: Procedural justice focuses on the way police and other legal authorities interact with the public, how the characteristics of those interactions shape the public's views of the police, their willingness to obey the law, and actual crime rates.[85] Procedural justice is based on four key principles: (1) treating people with dignity and respect, (2) giving individual's "voice" during encounters, (3) being neutral and transparent in decision-making, and (4) conveying trustworthy motives.

Build community capital: Public trust and police legitimacy are the products of positive interactions with police that involve more than the mere enforcement of laws. Police can better achieve trust and legitimacy by establishing positive presence at community activities and events, participating in problem-solving, and ensuring that communities have a voice and seat at the table working with officers.

Pay attention to officer wellness and safety: Police officers face forms of threats and stress that have a direct impact on physical safety and well-being. Police leaders must ensure that officers have access to the tools that will help keep them safe, including bulletproof vests, tactical first-aid kits, and training. Additionally, police organizations should address officer wellness through a combination of physical, social, and mental health support.

Technology: New technologies are changing the ways that officers police. Technology improves efficiency and transparency but also raises privacy and cost concerns. Body-worn cameras, less lethal weapons, communication, and social media all require a legal and practical review of policies, practices, and procedures that should be developed with input from the community and constitutional scholars.

From these broad themes emerged five specific recommendations for police:

1. Review and update policies, training, and data collection on use of force, and engage community members and police labor unions in the process.

2. Increase transparency of data, policies, and procedures.

3. Call on the POST (Police Officer Standards and Training) Commission to implement training at all levels.

4. Examine hiring practices and ways to involve the community in recruiting.

5. Ensure officers have access to the tools they need to keep them safe.

Clearly, "policing has changed immensely over the past 50 years in response to the demands imposed on it by an increasingly diverse, technological, urbanized, globalized, mobile, sophisticated, rights-conscious, and knowledge-based society."[86] Agencies must decide how best to use their limited budgets. They must determine how much specialized training they should require of officers to be effective in the complex world of international terrorist conspiracies and rapidly changing, technologically sophisticated crimes, all on a finite budget. They must balance a centralized and sophisticated organization with the need to have close ties with the community while maintaining accountability, transparency, and respect for individual rights.

There is a critical need to establish shared expectations between the police, the community, and elected officials about police policies and operational practices. If communities want change to police operations, then police should work with the community to inform the public of potential costs, advantages, and disadvantages of that change so communities can make informed and appropriate decisions. Elected officials are responsible for facilitating this process, ensuring thoughtful changes are implemented, and owning the outcome.[87]

FEATURE 2.5 CONTEMPORARY POLICE ISSUES

- New strategies in policing
- Concerns with continuing education and training
- Recruitment and selection of officers
- Police accountability
- Exercise of discretion
- Ethical issues
- Police misconduct
- Policing in a multicultural society

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The manner in which organized and professional police agencies operate today has been influenced greatly by their historical development from English origins over the last 200 years. Police officers of the early days had little to no training, and there were no formal educational requirements. The system of night watchmen over time evolved into a more militarily organized system of police under government control. The close ties of officers to the communities they served gave them great problem-solving abilities but also left the door open to bribery and corruption. There was considerable political influence on police officers, some of which was unprofessional at best, including unethical and unlawful acts at the behest of the politicians who controlled them. Although politics still play an important role in policing, there are many other and perhaps more pressing and complicated influences.

One of those influences was the development of slave patrols in the slave-holding southern states in the 18th and 19th centuries. These patrols were designed to control and repress the many enslaved Black American being held in bondage. Slave patrols formed a type of repressive policing unique to the southern slave-holding states. Even after the American Civil War freed the slaves, Jim Crow laws were created to restrict and control Black Americans. It has been argued that a higher level of mistrust of the police today by Black Americans has some roots in this repression.

Important technological advances gave the police more options in fighting crime, but changes in standards, development of ethical codes, education and training provided by those outside policing,

and other indicators of professionalism were largely lacking. To be sure, some important changes had occurred. Reformers had identified inappropriate political involvement as a major problem in U.S. policing. Civil service successfully removed some of the patronage and ward influences from police officers. Law and professionalism were established as the bases of police legitimacy. Under these circumstances, policing became a legal and technical matter left to the discretion of professional police executives. Eliminating all political influence from policing is unlikely and, if we wish to maintain civilian control of the police, perhaps undesirable.

The political and social environment of each decade has had its influence on how the police operate, the degree of the connection they have with their communities, and how the public perceives them. Numerous policing strategies have been implemented and tested over the years in an attempt to satisfy the goals of segments of the U.S. public. Inattention to the will of diverse minorities has often been the basis of strained police–community relations. The 2020 death of George Floyd at the hands of police in Minneapolis has accelerated this strain, and increased calls for social justice and police reform concerning the use of force. This, in turn, has manifested itself through increased training in de-escalation of force.

During the last three decades, the police began to reconsider their fundamental mission, as well as the nature of the core strategies of policing, and the nature of their relationships with the communities they serve.[88] Despite numerous innovative programs initiated in recent years and the research needed to evaluate them, the evidence related to police performance and implementation associated with these innovations on crime reduction and community satisfaction is limited.[89]

Organizational change in police agencies has been a constant theme of academicians, policymakers and practitioners from the very beginning—perhaps only because it is one factor among the many complex issues facing the police over which these groups can exercise some control. Changes in police strategy have not always been determined through rigorous testing.[90]

Some of the newest policing strategies are based on the tenets of community- and problem-oriented policing and operate in response to global issues that now affect local police operations. The increasing complexities of policing, coupled with the technology-based nature of the world in which we live and work, demand vigilant, cooperative, and proactive forms of policing to effectively address a wide variety of issues.

KEY TERMS

Commission on Accreditation for Law
  Enforcement Agencies (CALEA)
  (p. 29)
community policing (p. 30)
community relations programs (p. 30)
Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE)
  (p. 30)
intelligence-led or intelligence-based policing
  (p. 33)
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
  (LEAA) (p. 27)
National Advisory Commission on Civil
  Disorders (1967) (p. 28)

National Advisory Commission on Criminal
  Justice Standards and Goals (1973) (p. 28)
night watch system (p. 21)
Patrick Colquhoun (p. 21)
Pendleton Act (p. 23)
President's Commission on Law Enforcement and
  Administration of Justice (1967) (p. 28)
problem-oriented policing (p. 31)
professionalism (p. 20)
Reform Era (Reform Movement) (p. 26)
sheriff (p. 24)
Sir Robert Peel (p. 21)
terrorism-oriented policing (p. 34)

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Briefly discuss the evolution of the U.S. police and the problems they currently confront.

2. How did the need for police arise?

3. What problems confronting the police are inherent in democratic societies?

4. What are the positive and negative effects of the interaction between politics and the police in our society?

5. Discuss some of the most recent policing strategies and their potential effectiveness.

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. Using your favorite search engine, go online and see what you can find out about the history of policing. What two or three websites did you find most interesting? What kinds of information did these websites contain?

2. Go to the internet and search for articles dealing with current police corruption. In light of the articles you found, do you believe there is still a need for reform in policing? If so, what types of reform would you like to see?