Policing: Purpose and Organization

LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter, you should be able to

• Explain the police mission in democratic societies.
• List and discuss the five core operational strategies of today's police departments.
• Define the term police management, and describe the different types of organizational structures typical of American police departments.
• Identify the three styles of policing, and discuss differences in these approaches.
• Describe the changed role of American police in the post-9/11 environment.
• Explain police discretion and how it affects the practice of contemporary law enforcement.
• Demonstrate why professionalism and ethics are important in policing today.
• Identify some of the issues related to ethnic and gender diversity in policing, and suggest ways of addressing them.
INTRODUCTION

In mid-November 2003, thousands of demonstrators protesting the proposed creation of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) clashed with hundreds of Miami police officers equipped with riot gear. The protesters were targeting a meeting by foreign trade ministers to express concern that the creation of the 34-nation FTAA would send thousands of U.S. jobs overseas, exploit cheap labor, and waste natural resources.  

Although most demonstrators paraded peacefully and avoided confrontations, some pulled down crowd-control barriers with grappling hooks and scuffled with officers who were trying to maintain order. Before the melee ended, officers had to use batons, plastic shields, concussion grenades, pepper spray, and stun guns to regain control over the unruly protesters. Armored personnel carriers stood ready to move into hot spots. “We’re basically trying to maintain the peace downtown,” said police spokesperson Jorge Pino, as demonstrators advanced on police lines. By the time the event ended, 74 people had been arrested and 42 protesters were injured, including 10 who had to be hospitalized. Three police officers were also hurt. As the Miami riots demonstrate, the maintenance of social order is an important part of police work today.

THE POLICE MISSION

The basic purposes of policing in democratic societies are to (1) enforce and support the laws of the society of which the police are a part, (2) investigate crimes and apprehend offenders, (3) prevent crime, (4) help ensure domestic peace and tranquillity, and (5) provide the community with needed enforcement-related services. Simply put, as Sir Robert Peel, founder of the British system of policing, explained in 1822, “The basic mission for which the police exist is to reduce crime and disorder.”

In the paragraphs that follow, we turn our attention to these five basic elements of the police mission.

Enforcing the Law

The police operate under an official public mandate that requires them to enforce the law. Collectively speaking, police agencies are the primary enforcers of federal, state, and local criminal laws. Not surprisingly, police officers see themselves as crime fighters, a view shared by the public and promoted by the popular media.

Although it is the job of the police to enforce the law, it is not their only job. Practically speaking, most officers spend the majority of their time answering nonemergency public-service calls, controlling traffic, or writing tickets. Most are not involved in intensive, ongoing crime-fighting activities. Research shows that only about 10% to 20% of all calls to the police involve situations that actually require a law enforcement response—that is, situations that might lead to arrest and eventual prosecution.
Even when the police are busy enforcing laws, they can’t enforce them all. Police resources—including labor, vehicles, and investigative assets—are limited, causing officers to focus more on certain types of law violations than on others. Old laws prohibiting minor offenses like spitting on the sidewalk hold little social significance today and are typically relegated to the dustbin of statutory history. Even though they are still “on the books,” few officers, if any, even think about enforcing such laws. Police tend to tailor their enforcement efforts to meet the contemporary concerns of the populace they serve. For example, if a community is upset about a “massage parlor” operating in its neighborhood, the local police department may bring enforcement efforts to bear that lead to the relocation of the business. However, while community interests significantly influence the enforcement practices of police agencies, individual officers take their cue on enforcement priorities from their departments, their peers, and their supervisors. Learn more about how police supervisory styles influence patrol officer behavior at Library Extra 6–1 at MyCrimeKit.com.

The police are expected not only to enforce the law but also to support it. The personal actions of law enforcement personnel should inspire others to respect and obey the law. Off-duty officers who speed down the highway or smoke marijuana at a party, for example, do a disservice to the police profession and engender disrespect for all agents of enforcement and for the law itself. Hence, in an important sense, we can say that respect for the law begins with the personal and public behavior of law enforcement officers.

Apprehending Offenders

Some offenders are apprehended during the commission of a crime or immediately afterward. Fleeing Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, for example, was stopped by an Oklahoma Highway Patrol officer on routine patrol only 90 minutes after the destruction of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building for driving a car with no license plate. When the officer questioned McVeigh about a bulge in his jacket, McVeigh admitted that it was a gun. The officer then took McVeigh into custody for carrying a concealed weapon. Typically, McVeigh would then have made an immediate appearance before a judge and would have been released on bail. As fate would have it, however, the judge assigned to see McVeigh was involved in a protracted divorce case. The longer jail stay proved to be McVeigh’s undoing. As the investigation into the bombing progressed, profiler Clinton R. Van Zandt of the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s Behavioral Science Unit concluded that the bomber was likely a native-born white male in his twenties who had been in the military and was probably a
Crime Prevention

Crime prevention is a proactive approach to the problem of crime; it is “the anticipation, recognition and appraisal of a crime risk and initiation of action to remove or reduce it.”10 In preventing crime, police agencies act before a crime happens, thus preventing victimization from occurring. Although the term crime prevention is relatively new, the idea is not. Securing valuables, limiting access to sensitive areas, and monitoring the activities of suspicious people are techniques used long before Western police forces were established in the 1800s.

Modern crime-prevention efforts aim not only to reduce crime and criminal opportunities and to lower the potential rewards of criminal activity, but also to lessen the public’s fear of crime.11 Crime-prevention efforts led by law enforcement make use of both techniques and programs. Techniques include access control, including barriers to entryways and exits; video and other types of surveillance; the use of theft-deterrence devices like locks, alarms, and tethers; lighting; and visibility landscaping. In contrast to techniques, crime-prevention programs are organized efforts that focus resources on reducing a specific form of criminal threat. The Philadelphia Police Department’s Operation Identification, for example, is designed to discourage theft and to help recover stolen property.12 The program educates citizens on the importance of identifying, marking, and listing their valuables to deter theft (because marked items are more difficult to sell) and to aid in their recovery. Through Operation Identification, the police department provides engraving pens, suggests ways of photographing valuables, and provides window decals and car bumper stickers that identify citizens as participants in the program. Other crime-prevention programs typically target school-based crime, gang activity, drug abuse, violence, domestic abuse, identity theft, vehicle theft, or neighborhood crimes, such as burglary.

Today’s crime-prevention programs depend on community involvement and education and effective interaction between enforcement agencies and the communities they serve. For example, neighborhood watch programs build on active observation by homeowners and businesspeople on the lookout for anything unusual. Crime Stoppers International and Crime Stoppers USA are examples of privately sponsored programs that accept tips about criminal activity that they pass on to the appropriate law enforcement organization. Crime Stoppers International can be accessed via Web Extra 6–1 at MyCrimeKit.com, and the National Crime Prevention Council can be found via Web Extra 6–2.

Predicting Crime

Law enforcement’s ability to prevent crimes relies in part on the ability of police planners to predict when and where crimes will occur. Effective prediction means that valuable police resources can be correctly assigned to the areas with the greatest need. One technique for predicting criminal activity is CompStat.13 While CompStat may sound like a software program, it is actually a process of crime analysis and police management developed by the New York City Police Department in the mid-1990s14 to help police managers better assess their performance and foresee the potential for crime. The CompStat process involves first collecting and analyzing the information received from 9-1-1 calls and officer reports.15 Then, this detailed and timely information is mapped using special software developed for the purpose. The resulting map sequences, generated over time, reveal
the time and place of crime patterns and identify “hot spots” of ongoing criminal activity. The maps also show the number of patrol officers active in an area, ongoing investigations, arrests made, and so on, thus helping commanders see which anticrime strategies are working.

CrimeStat, a Windows-based spatial statistics-analysis software program for analyzing crime-incident locations, is a second technique for predicting criminal activity. It produces results similar to CompStat’s. Developed by Ned Levine and Associates with grants from the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), CrimeStat provides statistical tools for crime mapping and analysis—including identification of crime hot spots, spatial distribution of incidents, and distance analysis—which help crime analysts target offenses that might be related to one another. CrimeStat software is available online via Web Extra 6–3 at MyCrimeKit.com. Web Extra 6–4 provides a link to chicagocrime.org, which overlays crime statistics on maps of the city.

Preserving the Peace

Enforcing the law, apprehending offenders, and preventing crime are all daunting tasks for police departments because there are many laws and numerous offenders. Still, crimes are clearly defined by statute and are therefore limited in number. Peacekeeping, however, is a virtually limitless police activity involving not only activities that violate the law (and hence the community’s peace) but many others as well. Law enforcement officers who supervise parades, public demonstrations, and picketing strikers, for example, attempt to ensure that the behavior of everyone involved remains “civil” so that it does not disrupt community life.

Robert Langworthy, who has written extensively about the police, says that keeping the peace is often left up to individual officers. Basically, he says, departments depend on patrol officers “to define the peace and decide how to support it,” and an officer is doing a good job when his or her “beat is quiet, meaning there are no complaints about loiterers or traffic flow, and commerce is supported.”

Many police departments focus on quality-of-life offenses as a crime-reduction and peacekeeping strategy. Quality-of-life offenses are minor law violations, sometimes called petty crimes, that demoralize residents and businesspeople by creating disorder. Examples of petty crimes include excessive noise, graffiti, abandoned cars, and vandalism. Other quality-of-life offenses reflect social decay and include panhandling and aggressive begging, public urination, prostitution, roaming youth gangs, public consumption of alcohol, and street-level substance abuse. Homelessness, while not necessarily a violation of the law unless it involves some form of trespass, is also typically addressed under quality-of-life programs. Through police interviews, many of the homeless are relocated to shelters or hospitals or are arrested for some other offense. Some researchers claim that reducing the number of quality-of-life offenses in a community can restore a sense of order, reduce the fear of crime, and lessen the number of serious crimes that occur. However, quality-of-life programs have been criticized by those who say that the police should not be taking a law enforcement approach to social and economic problems.

A similar approach to keeping the peace can be found in the broken windows model of policing. This thesis (which is also discussed in the “CJ Futures” box in Chapter 3) is based on the notion that physical decay in a community, such as litter and abandoned buildings, can breed disorder and lead to crime by signaling that laws are not being enforced. Such decay, the theory postulates, pushes law-abiding citizens to withdraw from the streets, which then sends a signal that lawbreakers can operate freely. The broken windows thesis suggests that by encouraging the repair of run-down buildings and...
controlling disorderly behavior in public spaces, police agencies can create an environment in which serious crime cannot easily flourish.\textsuperscript{24}

While desirable, public order has its own costs. Noted police author Charles R. Swanson says, “The degree to which any society achieves some amount of public order through police action depends in part upon the price that society is willing to pay to obtain it.”\textsuperscript{25} Swanson goes on to describe the price to be paid in terms of (1) police resources paid for by tax dollars and (2) “a reduction in the number, kinds, and extent of liberties” that are available to members of the public.

### Providing Services

As writers for the National Institute of Justice observe, “any citizen from any city, suburb, or town across the United States can mobilize police resources by simply picking up the phone and placing a direct call to the police.”\textsuperscript{26} “Calling the cops” has been described as the cornerstone of policing in a democratic society. About 70% of the millions of daily calls to 9-1-1 systems across the country are directed to the police, although callers can also request emergency medical and fire services. Calls received by 9-1-1 operators are prioritized and then relayed to patrol officers, specialized field units, or other emergency personnel. For example, the Hastings (Minnesota) Police Department handled a total of 12,895 calls for service in 2001.\textsuperscript{27} A breakdown of those calls shows that there were 1,837 calls related to serious crimes like arson, assault, auto theft, burglary, larceny, rape, and robbery. The remaining 11,058 calls were nonemergency calls about lost and found articles, minor motor vehicle accidents, barking dogs, suspicious persons, and parking and traffic law violation reports. Numbers like these have led some cities to adopt nonemergency “Citizen Service System” call numbers in addition to 9-1-1. More than a dozen metropolitan areas, including Baltimore, Dallas, Detroit, Las Vegas, New York, and San Jose, now staff 3-1-1 nonemergency systems around the clock. Plans are afoot in some places to adopt the 3-1-1 system statewide.

### OPERATIONAL STRATEGIES

The police mission offers insight into general law enforcement goals, which help shape the various operational strategies that departments employ.\textsuperscript{28} There are five core operational strategies—preventive patrol, routine incident response, emergency response, criminal investigation, and problem solving—and one ancillary operational strategy—support services.\textsuperscript{29} The first four core strategies constitute the conventional way in which police have worked, at least since the 1930s; problem solving is relatively new. Each strategy has unique features, and each represents a particular way to approach situations that the police encounter.

#### Preventive Patrol

Preventive patrol, the dominant operational policing strategy,\textsuperscript{30} has been the backbone of police work since the time of Sir Robert Peel. Routine patrol activities, which place uniformed police officers on the street in the midst of the public, consume most of the resources of local and state-level police agencies.

The purpose of patrol is fourfold: to deter crimes, to interrupt crimes in progress, to position officers for quick response to emergency situations, and to increase the public’s feelings of safety and security. Patrol is the operational mode uniformed officers are expected to work in when not otherwise involved in answering calls for service. Most departments use a computer assisted dispatch
(CAD) system to prioritize incoming service calls into different categories and to record dispatches issued, time spent on each call, the identities of responding personnel, and so on. The majority of patrol activity is interactive because officers on patrol commonly interact with the public. Some forms of patrol, however, involve more interaction than others. The many types of patrol include foot, automobile, motorcycle, mounted, bicycle, boat, K-9, and aerial. Although some scientific studies of policing have questioned the effectiveness of preventive patrol in reducing crime (discussed in Chapter 5), most citizens expect police to patrol.

**Routine Incident Response**

Police officers on patrol frequently respond to routine incidents, such as minor traffic accidents. Routine incident responses comprise the second most common activity of patrol officers. Officers responding to routine incidents must collect information and typically file a written report. As noted by the National Institute of Justice, “the specific police objective will . . . vary depending on the nature of the situation, but generally, the objective is to restore order, document information or otherwise provide some immediate service to the parties involved.”

One important measure of police success that is strongly linked to citizen satisfaction is **response time**—the time it takes for police officers to respond to calls for service. It is measured from the time a call for service is received by a dispatcher until an officer arrives on the scene. During the first four months of the 2007 fiscal year, for example, police response times in New York City to crimes in progress averaged 7 minutes and 6 seconds—24 seconds better than the same period in the previous year. The average time required for a (NYPD) New York Police Department officer to arrive on the scene when responding to an incident rated by dispatchers as “critical” was 4.3 minutes. Response times to both critical incidents and crimes in progress in New York City in 2007 were the quickest times recorded in the city in more than a decade.

**Emergency Response**

In May 2003, Pomona, California, police officers on routine patrol responded to a dispatcher’s instructions to assist in an emergency at a local coin-operated laundry. On arrival, they found a two-year-old girl trapped inside an industrial-size washing machine. The officers used their batons to smash the locked glass-paned door. The girl, unconscious and nearly drowned when pulled from the machine, was taken to a local hospital where she was expected to recover. Her mother, 35-year-old Erma Osborne, was arrested at the scene and charged with child endangerment when the on-site video surveillance cameras showed her placing her daughter in the machine and shutting the door.

Although police respond to emergencies far less frequently than to routine incidents, emergency response is a vital aspect of what police agencies do. Emergency responses, often referred to as critical incidents, are used for crimes in progress, traffic accidents with serious injuries, natural disasters, incidents of terrorism, officer requests for assistance, and other situations in which human life may be in jeopardy. Emergency responses take priority over all other police work, and until an emergency situation is secured and some order restored, the officers involved will not turn to other tasks. An important part of police training involves emergency response techniques, including first aid, hostage rescue, and the physical capture of suspects.

**Criminal Investigation**

Another operational strategy, criminal investigation, dominates media depictions of police work. Although central to the mission of the police, investigations actually constitute a relatively small proportion of police work. A **criminal investigation** is “the process of discovering, collecting, preparing, identifying, and presenting evidence to determine what happened and who is responsible” when a crime occurs.

Criminal investigators are often referred to as detectives, and it is up to them to solve most crimes and to produce the evidence needed for the successful prosecution of suspects. But
any police officer can be involved in the initial stages of the investigative process, especially those responding to critical incidents. First-on-the-scene officers, or first responders, can play a critical role in providing emergency assistance to the injured and in capturing suspects. First responders, however, also have an important responsibility to secure the crime scene, a duty that can later provide the basis for a successful criminal investigation. A crime scene is the physical area in which a crime is thought to have occurred and in which evidence of the crime is thought to reside (Figure 6–1). Securing the crime scene is particularly crucial, for when a crime takes place, especially a violent one, confusion often results. People at the scene and curious onlookers may unwittingly (or sometimes intentionally) destroy physical evidence, obliterating important clues like tire tracks, fingerprints, or footprints.

FIGURE 6–1
The crime-scene investigation process.
Note: This is not a real crime scene. This picture was created by the staff of the Massachusetts State Police Crime Lab.
Source: Courtesy of the Massachusetts State Police.
The preliminary investigation is an important part of the investigatory process. An effective preliminary investigation is the foundation on which the entire criminal investigation process is built.37 The Florida Highway Patrol’s policy manual provides a broad definition of a preliminary investigation, saying that it refers to all of the activities undertaken by a police officer who responds to the scene of a crime.38 Those activities include the following:

1. Responding to immediate needs and rendering aid to the injured
2. Noting such facts as the position of victims or injured subjects, recording spontaneous statements, noting unusual actions or activities, and notifying headquarters with an assessment of the scene
3. Determining that a crime has been committed
4. Initiating enforcement action, such as arresting or pursuing the offender or dispatching apprehension information
5. Securing the crime scene and protecting evidence, including limiting access, identifying and isolating witnesses, and protecting all evidence, especially short-lived evidence (such as impressions in sand or mud)
6. Determining the need for investigative specialists and arranging for their notification
7. Compiling a thorough and accurate report of activities

A preliminary investigation begins when the call to respond has been received. Even before they arrive at the crime scene, officers may observe important events related to the offense, such as fleeing vehicles or the presence of suspicious people nearby. After they arrive, first responders begin collecting information through observation and possibly through conversations with others who are already at the scene. Typically, it is at this point that officers determine whether there are sufficient grounds to believe that a crime has actually occurred. Even in suspected homicides, for example, it is important to rule out accidental death, suicide, and death by natural causes before the investigation can proceed beyond the preliminary stage.

Next, specially trained crime-scene investigators arrive, and the detailed examination of a crime scene begins. Crime-scene investigators are expert in the use of specific forensics techniques, such as gathering DNA evidence, collecting fingerprints, photographing the scene, making sketches to show the position of items at the scene, and interviewing witnesses.

Crime-scene investigators are commonly promoted to their posts internally after at least a few years of patrol work. However, large local police departments and those at the state and federal levels may employ civilian crime-scene investigators. Follow-up investigations, based on evidence collected at the scene, are conducted by police detectives. Important to any investigation are solvability factors. A solvability factor is information about a crime that can provide a basis for determining the perpetrator’s identity. If few solvability factors exist, a continuing investigation is unlikely to lead to an arrest. Learn more about crime-scene investigation at Library Extra 6–2 at MyCrimeKit.com.

Problem Solving

Another operational strategy of police work is problem solving. Also called problem-oriented policing, problem solving seeks to reduce chronic offending in a community. NIJ authors note that “historically, [this operational strategy] is the least well-developed by the police profession. While the police have always used the mental processes of problem-solving, problem-solving as a formal operational strategy of police work has gained some structure and systematic attention only in the past 20 years.”39

The methodology of police problem solving is known by acronyms such as SARA (scanning, analysis, response, and assessment) or CAPRA (clients, acquired/analyzed, partnerships, respond, assess). CAPRA was developed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who built on the earlier SARA process. This is the CAPRA process:

- The police begin by communicating with the clients most affected by community problems.
- Information is acquired and analyzed to determine the problem’s causes.

crime-scene investigator
An expert trained in the use of forensics techniques, such as gathering DNA evidence, collecting fingerprints, photographing the scene, sketching, and interviewing witnesses.

solvability factor
Information about a crime that forms the basis for determining the perpetrator’s identity.

The expectations of law enforcement as first responder for homeland security have put an almost unachievable burden on local law enforcement.

—Judith Lewis, Captain (retired), Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department
• Solutions are developed through community partnerships.
• The police respond with a workable plan.
• After plan implementation, the police periodically assess the situation to ensure progress.

Learn more about problem analysis in policing at **Library Extra 6–3** at MyCrimeKit.com.

**Support Services**

Support services constitute the final operational strategy found in police organizations. They include such activities as dispatch, training, human resources management, property and evidence control, and record keeping. Support services keep police agencies running and help deliver the equipment, money, and resources necessary to support law enforcement officers in the field.

**MANAGING POLICE DEPARTMENTS**

**Police management** entails administrative activities that control, direct, and coordinate police personnel, resources, and activities in an effort to prevent crime, apprehend criminals, recover stolen property, and perform a variety of regulatory and helping services. Police managers include sworn law enforcement personnel with administrative authority, from the rank of sergeant to captain, chief, or sheriff, and civilians like police commissioners, attorneys general, state secretaries of crime control, and public-safety directors.

**Police Organization and Structure**

Almost all American law enforcement organizations are formally structured among divisions and along lines of authority. Roles within police agencies generally fall into one of two categories: line and staff. **Line operations** are field or supervisory activities directly related to daily police work. **Staff operations** include support roles, such as administration. In organizations that have line operations only, authority flows from the top down in a clear, unbroken line; no supporting elements (media relations, training, fiscal management divisions, and so on) exist. All line operations are directly involved in providing field services.

Because almost all police agencies need support, only the smallest departments have just line operations.

Most police organizations include both line and staff operations. In such organizations, line managers are largely unencumbered with staff operations like budgeting, training, the scientific analysis of evidence, legal advice, shift assignments, and personnel management. Support personnel handle these activities, freeing line personnel to focus on the day-to-day requirements of providing field services.

In a line and staff agency, divisions are likely to exist within both line operations and staff operations. For example, field services, a line operation, may be broken down into enforcement and investigation. Administrative services, a staff operation, may be divided into human resources management, training and education, materials supply, finance management, and facilities management. The line and staff structure easily accommodates functional areas of responsibility within line and staff divisions. An organizational chart showing the line and staff structure of the Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department (LASD)—the largest sheriff’s department in the world—can be found in Figure 6–2.

**Chain of Command**

The organizational chart of any police agency shows a hierarchical chain of command, or the order of authority within the department. The chain of command clarifies who reports to whom. Usually, the chief of police or sheriff is at the top of the command chain—although his or her boss may be a police commissioner, city council, or mayor—followed by the subordinate leaders of each division.
FIGURE 6–2
Organizational chart of the Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department.

Source: Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department. Reprinted with permission.
Because police departments employ a quasi-military chain-of-command structure, the titles assigned to personnel (captain, lieutenant, sergeant) are similar to those used by the military. It is important for individual personnel to know who is in charge; hence unity of command is an important principle that must be firmly established within the department. When unity of command exists, every individual has only one supervisor to answer to and, under normal circumstances, to take orders from. **Span of control** refers to the number of police personnel or the number of units supervised by a particular commander. For example, one sergeant may be in charge of five or six officers; they represent the sergeant’s span of control.

**POLICING STYLES**

The history of American policing can be divided into four epochs, each distinguishable by the relative dominance of a particular approach to police operations (Figure 6–3). The first period, the political era, was characterized by close ties between police and public officials. It began in the 1840s and ended around 1930. Throughout the period, American police agencies tended to serve the interests of powerful politicians and their cronies, providing public-order-maintenance services almost as an afterthought. The second period, the reform era, began in the 1930s and lasted until the 1970s. It was characterized by pride in professional crime fighting. Police departments during this period focused most of their resources on solving “traditional” crimes, such as murder, rape, and burglary, and on capturing offenders. The third period, which continues to characterize much of contemporary policing in America today, is the community policing era—an approach to policing that stresses the service role of police officers and envisions a partnership between police agencies and their communities.

A fourth period, which we call the new era, has made its appearance only recently and is still evolving. Some scholars say that the primary feature of this new law enforcement era is policing to secure the homeland, and they have dubbed it the homeland security era. From their perspective, the homeland security era has grown out of national concerns with terrorism prevention born of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. As police scholar Gene Stephens explains it, “The twenty-first century has put policing into a whole new milieu—one in which the causes of crime and disorder often lie outside the immediate community, demanding new and innovative approaches.”

A decline in street crime, says Stephens, has been replaced by concern with new and more insidious types of offending, including terrorism and Internet-assisted crimes. These new kinds of crimes, says Stephens, while they threaten the integrity of local communities, often involve offenders thousands of miles away.

Others, however, see the new era as underpinned by an emphasis on intelligence-led policing (ILP), and they refer to it as the ILP era. ILP is discussed in detail later in this chapter. Michael Downing, commander of the Los Angeles Police Department’s Counter-terrorism/Criminal Intelligence Bureau, for example, says that ILP represents the next evolutionary stage in how law enforcement officers should approach their work. “The necessity to successfully shift into a fifth era, the intelligence-led policing era,” says Downing, “with seamless precision has never been more important considering the great threat we face as a nation.” The good news, some say, “is that ILP is not only an important strategic tool to thwart al-Qaeda and other groups but also a practical one geared toward crime control and quality of life issues.” Hence the new era, whatever we choose to call it, is still emerging, but it clearly involves efforts to deal with threats to the homeland and to inform those efforts with situational awareness and shared intelligence.

The influence of each of the first three historical phases survives today in what noted social commentator and Presidential Medal of Freedom recipient James Q. Wilson calls “policing styles.” A style of policing describes how a particular agency sees its purpose and chooses the methods it uses to fulfill that purpose. Wilson’s three policing styles—which he does not link to any particular historical era—are (1) the watchman style (characteristic of the political era), (2) the legalistic style (professional crime fighting of the reform era), and (3) the service style (which is becoming more common today). These three styles characterize nearly all municipal law enforcement agencies now operating in the United States, although some departments are a mixture of two or more styles.
### FIGURE 6–3

Historical eras in American policing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Era</th>
<th>Political Era</th>
<th>Reform Era</th>
<th>Community Policing Era</th>
<th>New Era</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics</td>
<td>Close ties between the police and public officials. Uniformed officers in paramilitary-style organizations serving the interests of the politically powerful.</td>
<td>Pride in professional crime fighting. An emphasis on solving &quot;traditional&quot; crimes and capturing offenders.</td>
<td>Police departments work to identify and serve the needs of their communities. Envisions a partnership between local police agencies and their communities.</td>
<td>Intelligence-led policing (ILP) recognizes the importance of securing the nation against both traditional criminal activity and terrorist threats. Builds on partnerships with the community to gather actionable intelligence to circumvent threats of terrorism, to control crime, and to address quality of life issues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalyst</td>
<td>The need for social order and security in a dynamic and rapidly changing society.</td>
<td>Citizen calls for reform and the development of police professionalism. The removal of politics from policing.</td>
<td>The realization that effective community partnerships can help prevent and solve crimes.</td>
<td>The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001; ongoing threats to the safety and security of all Americans; and the emergence of the ILP concept as an important strategic tool.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Police departments and officers were closely tied to their city's political system. Local &quot;ward politicians&quot; hired officers for their own purposes.</td>
<td>&quot;G-men&quot; and the crackdown on organized crime. Progressive policing, led by men like August Vollmer and O. W. Wilson.</td>
<td>A focus on quality-of-life offenses as a crime-reduction and peacekeeping strategy. The broken windows model of policing.</td>
<td>Creation of counterterrorism divisions and offices within departments. Collaboration between police agencies and the sharing and analysis of information needed to identify threats and effectively target criminal activity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Watchman Style of Policing

Police departments marked by the watchman style are chiefly concerned with achieving what Wilson calls “order maintenance” through control of illegal and disruptive behavior. Compared to the legalistic style, the watchman style uses discretion liberally. Watchman-style departments keep order through informal police “intervention,” which may include persuasion, threats, or even “roughing up” disruptive people. Some authors condemn this style of policing, suggesting that it is typically found in lower- or lower-middle-class communities, especially where interpersonal relations include a fair amount of violence or physical abuse.

The Legalistic Style of Policing

Departments operating under the legalistic style enforce the letter of the law. For example, an officer who tickets a person going 71 miles per hour in a 70-mph speed zone is likely a member of a department that adheres to the legalistic style of policing. Conversely, legalistic departments routinely avoid community disputes arising from violations of social norms that do not break the law. Police expert Gary Sykes calls this enforcement style “laissez-faire policing” in recognition of its hands-off approach to behaviors that are simply bothersome or inconceivable to community principles.

The Service Style of Policing

In service-oriented departments, which strive to meet the needs of the community and serve its members, the police see themselves more as helpers than as soldiers in a war on crime. This type of department works with social services and other agencies to provide counseling for minor offenders and to assist community groups in preventing crimes and solving problems. Prosecutors may support the service style by agreeing not to prosecute law violators who seek psychiatric help or who voluntarily participate in programs like Alcoholics Anonymous, family counseling, or drug treatment. The service style is supported in part by citizens who seek to avoid the embarrassment that might result from a public airing of personal problems, thereby reducing the number of criminal complaints filed, especially in minor disputes. While the service style of policing may seem more appropriate to wealthy communities or small towns, it can also exist in cities whose police departments actively seek citizen involvement in identifying issues that the police can help address.

Police–Community Relations

The 1960s were fraught with riots, unrest, and student activism as the war in Vietnam, civil rights concerns, and other social issues produced large demonstrations and marches. The police, generally inexperienced in crowd control, were all too often embroiled in tumultuous encounters—even pitched battles—with citizen groups that viewed the police as agents of “the establishment.” To manage these new challenges, the legalistic style of policing, so common in America until then, began to yield to the newer service-oriented policing.

As social disorganization increased, police departments across the nation, seeking to understand and better cope with the problems they faced, created police–community relations (PCR) programs. PCR programs represented a movement away from an exclusive emphasis on the apprehension of law violators toward an effort to increase the level of positive police–citizen interaction. At the height of the PCR movement, city police departments across the country opened storefront centers where citizens could air complaints and interact easily with police representatives. As police scholar Egon Bittner recognized in 1976,
PCR programs need to reach to “the grassroots of discontent,” where citizen dissatisfaction with the police exists, if they are to be truly effective.

In many contemporary PCR programs, public-relations officers are appointed to provide an array of services, such as neighborhood watch programs, drug-awareness workshops, Project ID—using police equipment and expertise to mark valuables for identification in the event of theft—and victims’ assistance programs. Modern PCR programs, however, often fail to achieve their goal of increased community satisfaction with police services because they focus on servicing groups already well satisfied with the police. PCR initiatives that do reach disaffected community groups are difficult to manage and may even alienate participating officers from the communities they are assigned to serve. Thus, as Bittner noted, “while the first approach fails because it leaves out those groups to which the program is primarily directed, the second fails because it leaves out the police department.”

**TEAM POLICING** During the 1960s and 1970s, some communities experimented with team policing, which rapidly became an extension of the PCR movement. With team policing, a team of police officers was assigned semipermanently to particular neighborhoods, where it was expected they would become familiar with the inhabitants and with their problems and concerns. Patrol officers were given considerable authority in processing complaints, from receipt through resolution. Crimes were investigated and solved at the local level, with specialists called in only if the resources needed to continue an investigation were not available locally. Some authors called team policing a “technique to deliver total police services to a neighborhood.” Others, however, dismissed it as “little more than an attempt to return to the style of policing that was prevalent in the United States over a century ago.”

**COMMUNITY POLICING** During the past 20 years, the role of the police in police–community relations has changed considerably. Originally, the PCR model was based on the fact that many police administrators saw police officers as enforcers of the law who were isolated team policing The reorganization of conventional patrol strategies into an integrated and versatile police team assigned to a fixed district.

Some, however, fear that the combination of video images and recognition software will lead to the creation of a suspect database that will inevitably include many otherwise innocent people and that might be improperly shared with other agencies or the popular media. Since 2000, the Justice Department’s Office of Community Oriented Policing Services has provided $15 million to state law enforcement agencies to equip 3,563 cruisers with cameras. A 2005 study by the International Association of Chiefs of Police surveyed 47 state law enforcement agencies that received federal grants to buy in-car cameras and concluded that such cameras substantially improved public trust in the police and protected officers against unfounded lawsuits.
strategic policing
A type of policing that retains the traditional police goal of professional crime fighting but enlarges the enforcement target to include nontraditional kinds of criminals, such as serial offenders, gangs and criminal associations, drug-distribution networks, and sophisticated white-collar and computer criminals. Strategic policing generally makes use of innovative enforcement techniques, including intelligence operations, undercover stings, electronic surveillance, and sophisticated forensic methods.

problem-solving policing
A type of policing that assumes that crimes can be controlled by uncovering and effectively addressing the underlying social problems that cause crime. Problem-solving policing makes use of community resources, such as counseling centers, welfare programs, and job-training facilities. It also attempts to involve citizens in crime prevention through education, negotiation, and conflict management.

community policing
“A collaborative effort between the police and the community that identifies problems of crime and disorder and involves all elements of the community in the search for solutions to these problems.”

Strategic policing, something of a holdover from the reform era, “emphasizes an increased capacity to deal with crimes that are not well controlled by traditional methods.” Strategic policing retains the traditional police goal of professional crime fighting but enlarges the enforcement target to include nontraditional kinds of criminals, such as serial offenders, gangs and criminal associations, drug-distribution networks, and sophisticated white-collar and computer criminals. To meet its goals, strategic policing generally makes use of innovative enforcement techniques, including intelligence operations, undercover stings, electronic surveillance, and sophisticated forensic methods.

The other two strategies give greater recognition to Wilson’s service style. Problem-solving policing (sometimes called problem-oriented policing) takes the view that many crimes are caused by existing social conditions in the communities. To control crime, problem-oriented police managers attempt to uncover and effectively address these underlying social problems. Problem-solving policing makes thorough use of community resources, such as counseling centers, welfare programs, and job-training facilities. It also attempts to involve citizens in crime prevention through education, negotiation, and conflict management. For example, police may ask residents of poorly maintained housing areas to clean up litter, install better lighting, and provide security devices for their houses and apartments in the belief that clean, well-lighted, secure areas are a deterrent to criminal activity.

The third and newest strategy, community policing (sometimes called community-oriented policing), goes a step beyond the other two. It has been described as “a philosophy based on forging a partnership between the police and the community, so that they can work together on solving problems of crime, [and] fear of crime and disorder, thereby enhancing the overall quality of life in their neighborhoods.” This approach addresses the causes of crime to reduce the fear of crime and social disorder through problem-solving strategies and police–community partnerships.

The community policing concept evolved from the early works of police researchers George Kelling and Robert Trojanowicz. Their studies of foot-patrol programs in Newark, New Jersey, and Flint, Michigan, showed that “police could develop more positive attitudes toward community members and could promote positive attitudes toward police if they spent time on foot in their neighborhoods.” Trojanowicz’s Community Policing, published in 1990, may be the definitive work on this topic.

Community policing seeks to actively involve citizens in the task of crime control by creating an effective working partnership between citizens and the police. Under the community policing ideal, the public and the police share responsibility for establishing and
maintaining peaceful neighborhoods. As a result, community members participate more fully than ever before in defining the police role. Police expert Jerome Skolnick says that community policing is “grounded on the notion that, together, police and public are more effective and more humane coproducers of safety and public order than are the police alone.” According to Skolnick, community policing involves at least one of four elements: (1) community-based crime prevention, (2) the reorientation of patrol activities to emphasize the importance of nonemergency services, (3) increased police accountability to the public, and (4) a decentralization of command, including a greater use of civilians at all levels of police decision making. As one writer explains, “Community policing seeks to integrate what was traditionally seen as the different law enforcement, order maintenance and social service roles of the police. Central to the integration of these roles is a working partnership with the community in determining what neighborhood problems are to be addressed, and how.”

Table 6–1 highlights the differences between traditional and community policing.

Community policing is a two-way street. It requires not only police awareness of community needs but also both involvement and crime-fighting action on the part of citizens themselves. As Detective Tracie Harrison of the Denver Police Department explains, “When the neighborhood takes stock in their community and they’re serious [that] they don’t want crime, then you start to see crime go down. . . . They’re basically fed up and know the police can’t do it alone.”

Police departments throughout the country continue to join the community policing bandwagon. A 2001 report by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) showed that state and local law enforcement agencies across the United States had nearly 113,000 full-time sworn personnel regularly engaged in community policing activities. BJS noted that only about 21,000 officers would have been so categorized in 1997. At the time of the report, 64% of local police departments serving 86% of all residents had full-time officers engaged in some form of community policing activity, compared to 34% of departments serving 62% of all residents in 1997.

The Chicago Police Department launched its comprehensive community policing program, called Chicago’s Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS), in 1993. The development of a strategic plan for “reinventing the Chicago Police Department,” from which CAPS evolved, included significant contributions by Mayor Richard M. Daley, who noted that community policing “means doing more than responding to calls for service and solving crimes. It means transforming the Department to support a new, proactive approach to preventing crimes before they occur. It means forging new partnerships among residents, business owners, community leaders, the police, and City services to solve long-range community problems.” Read the mayor’s original report, written in conjunction with the Chicago Police Department, at Library Extra 6–4 at MyCrimeKit.com.


Although community policing efforts began in metropolitan areas, the community engagement and problem-solving spirit of these programs has spread to rural regions. Sheriff’s departments operating community policing programs sometimes refer to them as “neighborhood-oriented policing” in recognition of the decentralized nature of rural communities. A Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) report on neighborhood-oriented policing notes that “the stereotypical view is that police officers in rural areas naturally work more closely with the public than do officers in metropolitan areas.” This view, warns the BJA, may not be entirely accurate, and rural departments would do well “to recognize that considerable diversity exists among rural communities and rural law enforcement agencies.” Hence, as in metropolitan areas, effective community policing requires the involvement of all members of the community in identifying and solving problems.

The emphasis on community policing continues to grow. Title I of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, known as the Public Safety Partnership and Community Policing Act of 1994, highlighted community policing’s role in combating crime and funded (among other things) “increas[ing] the number of law enforcement officers involved in activities that are focused on interaction with members of the community on proactive crime control and prevention by redeploying officers to such activities.” The avowed purposes of the Community Policing Act were to (1) substantially increase the number of law enforcement officers interacting directly with the public (through a program known as Cops
### Table 6–1 Traditional versus Community Policing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Traditional Policing</th>
<th>Community Policing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who are the police?</td>
<td>The police are a government agency principally responsible for law enforcement.</td>
<td>The police are the public, and the public are the police. Police officers are paid to give full-time attention to the duties of every citizen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the relationship of the police force to other public-service departments?</td>
<td>Priorities often conflict.</td>
<td>The police are one department among many responsible for improving the quality of life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the role of the police?</td>
<td>To solve crimes.</td>
<td>To solve problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How is police efficiency measured?</td>
<td>By detection and arrest rates.</td>
<td>By the absence of crime and disorder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the highest priorities?</td>
<td>Crimes that are high value (for example, bank robberies) and those involving violence.</td>
<td>Whatever problems disturb the community most.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What determines the effectiveness of police?</td>
<td>Response times.</td>
<td>Public cooperation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What view do police take of service calls?</td>
<td>They deal with them only if there is no “real” police work to do.</td>
<td>They view them as a vital function and a great opportunity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is police professionalism?</td>
<td>Providing a swift, effective response to serious crime.</td>
<td>Keeping close to the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What kind of intelligence is most important?</td>
<td>Crime intelligence (study of particular crimes or series of crimes).</td>
<td>Criminal intelligence (information about the activities of individuals or groups).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the essential nature of police accountability?</td>
<td>Highly centralized; governed by rules, regulations, and policy directives; accountable to the law.</td>
<td>Local accountability to community needs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the role of headquarters?</td>
<td>To provide the necessary rules and policy directives.</td>
<td>To preach organizational values.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the role of the press liaison department?</td>
<td>To keep the “heat” off operational officers so they can get on with the job.</td>
<td>To coordinate an essential channel of communication with the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do the police regard prosecutions?</td>
<td>As an important goal.</td>
<td>As one tool among many.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


On the Beat); (2) provide additional and more effective training to law enforcement officers to enhance their problem-solving, service, and other skills needed in interacting with community members; (3) encourage development and implementation of innovative programs to permit community members to assist local law enforcement agencies in the prevention of crime; and (4) encourage development of new technologies to assist local law enforcement agencies in reorienting their emphasis from reacting to crime to preventing crime.

In response to the 1994 law, the U.S. Department of Justice created the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS). The COPS Office administered the funds necessary to add 100,000 community policing officers to our nation’s streets—the number originally targeted by law. In 1999, the Department of Justice and COPS reached an important milestone by funding the 100,000th officer ahead of schedule and under budget. Although the Community Policing Act originally provided COPS funding only through 2000, Congress continued to fund the office after that, making another $500 million available for the hiring of an additional 50,000 officers. Although COPS Office funding was cut substantially during the presidency
of George W. Bush, the office continues to function and has adopted the theme “Homeland Security through Community Policing.” The theme emphasizes the crucial role of local police officers in gathering information on terrorist suspects—a topic that is discussed later in this chapter. The federal COPS Office can be found via Web Extra 6–6 at MyCrimeKit.com.

About the same time that the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act was passed, the Community Policing Consortium, based in Washington, D.C., began operations. Administered and funded by the Department of Justice’s BJA, the consortium provides a forum for training and information exchange in the area of community policing. Members of the consortium include the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Sheriff’s Association, the Police Executive Research Forum, the Police Foundation, and the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives. Visit the Community Policing Consortium via Web Extra 6–7 at MyCrimeKit.com.

CRITIQUE OF COMMUNITY POLICING As some authors have noted, “Community policing has become the dominant theme of contemporary police reform in America,” yet problems have plagued the movement since its inception. For one thing, the range, complexity, and evolving nature of community policing programs make their effectiveness difficult to measure. Moreover, “citizen satisfaction” with police performance can be difficult to conceptualize and quantify. Most early studies examined citizens’ attitudes developed through face-to-face interaction with individual police officers. They generally found a far higher level of dissatisfaction with the police among African Americans than among most other groups. Recent findings continue to show that the attitudes of African Americans toward the police remain poor. The wider reach of these studies, however, led evaluators to discover that this dissatisfaction may be rooted in overall quality of life and type of neighborhood. Since, on average, African Americans continue to experience a lower quality of life than most other U.S. citizens, and because they often live in neighborhoods characterized by economic problems, drug trafficking, and street crime, recent studies conclude that it is these conditions of life, rather than race, that are most predictive of citizen dissatisfaction with the police.

Those who study community policing have often been stymied by ambiguity surrounding the concept of community. Sociologists, who sometimes define a community as “any area in which members of a common culture share common interests,” tend to deny that a community needs to be limited geographically. Police departments, on the other hand, tend to define communities “within jurisdictional, district or precinct lines, or within the confines of public or private housing developments.” Robert Trojanowicz and Mark Moore

In the 21st Century the community policing philosophy is well positioned to take a central role in preventing and responding to terrorism and in efforts to reduce citizen fear.

—Matthew C. Scheider, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services

Los Angeles bike patrol officers conferring with a supervisor. The community policing concept requires that officers become an integral part of the communities they serve. How can community policing both help prevent and solve crimes?

Michael Newman/PhotoEdit Inc.
To deal effectively with the threat of domestic terrorism, the police must be able to manage and coordinate different sources of data and intelligence, and then process them in such a way as to provide an enhanced understanding of actual or potential criminal activity.

—COPS Office

cautions police planners that “the impact of mass transit, mass communications and mass media have widened the rift between a sense of community based on geography and one [based] on interest.”

Researchers who follow the police definition of community recognize that there may be little consensus within and between members of a local community about community problems and appropriate solutions. Robert Bohn and colleagues at the University of Central Florida have found, for example, that while there may be some “consensus about social problems and their solutions . . . the consensus may not be community-wide.” It may, in fact, exist only among “a relatively small group of ‘active’ stakeholders who differ significantly about the seriousness of most of the problems and the utility of some solutions.”

Finally, there is continuing evidence that not all police officers or managers are willing to accept nontraditional images of police work. One reason is that the goals of community policing often conflict with standard police performance criteria (such as arrests), leading to a perception among officers that community policing is inefficient at best and, at worst, a waste of time. Similarly, many officers are loathe to take on new responsibilities as service providers whose role is more defined by community needs and less by strict interpretation of the law.

Some authors have warned that police culture is so committed to a traditional view of police work, which is focused almost exclusively on crime fighting, that efforts to promote community policing can demoralize an entire department, rendering it ineffective at its basic tasks. As the Christopher Commission found following the Rodney King riots, “Too many . . . patrol officers view citizens with resentment and hostility; too many treat the public with rudeness and disrespect.” Some analysts warn that only when the formal values espoused by today’s innovative police administrators begin to match those of rank-and-file officers can any police agency begin to perform well in terms of the goals espoused by community policing reformers.

Some public officials, too, are unwilling to accept community policing. Fifteen years ago, for example, New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani criticized the police department’s Community Police Officer Program, saying that it “has resulted in officers doing too much social work and making too few arrests.” Similarly, many citizens are not ready to accept a greater involvement of the police in their personal lives. Although the turbulent, protest-prone years of the 1960s and early 1970s are long gone, some groups remain suspicious of the police. No matter how inclusive community policing programs become, it is doubtful that the gap between the police and the public will ever be entirely bridged. The police role of restraining behavior that violates the law will always produce friction between police departments and some segments of the community. Learn more about measures of police effectiveness, including those related to community policing, at mycrimekit.com.

TERRORISM’S IMPACT ON POLICING

In April 2005, three British nationals were charged with plotting to bomb five financial buildings in New York City, New Jersey, and Washington, D.C. The men, Dhiren Barot, 32, Nadeem Tarmohamed, 26, and Qaisar Shaffi, 25, allegedly served as al-Qaeda scouts and performed reconnaissance on the buildings. The three had been arrested by British authorities in August 2004, and information gathered during the arrest led Homeland Security officials to convene a press conference at the Citigroup tower in Midtown Manhattan. The nation was told that known al-Qaeda operatives had conducted surveillance at several large New York financial centers.
including the New York Stock Exchange. Officials said that the terrorists may have been planning to use truck bombs targeting Wall Street in an effort to disrupt world financial markets. Outgoing Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge stressed the seriousness of the threat when he told reporters who had gathered for the briefing, “This is the most significant, detailed piece of information about any particular region that we have come across in a long, long time, perhaps ever.” In response to the announcement, the New York City Police Department set up barricades and vehicle checkpoints and mobilized heavily armed officers specially trained in antiterrorism tactics to patrol the financial district. Downtown city streets took on the embattled look of a city at war.

The incident made clear the changed role of American police agencies in the new era of international terrorism that began with the September 11, 2001, attacks on American targets. While the core mission of American police departments has not changed, law enforcement agencies at all levels now devote an increased amount of time and resources to preparing for possible terrorist attacks and gathering the intelligence necessary to thwart them.

In today’s post-9/11 world, local police departments play an especially important role in responding to the challenges of terrorism. They must help prevent attacks and respond when attacks occur, offering critical evacuation, emergency medical, and security functions to help stabilize communities following an incident. A survey of 250 police chiefs by the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) found that the chiefs strongly believe that their departments can make valuable contributions to terrorism prevention by using community policing networks to exchange information with citizens and to gather intelligence. Read the results of the PERF survey online at Library Extra 6–7 at MyCrimeKit.com.

The Council on Foreign Relations, headquartered in New York City and Washington, D.C., agrees with PERF that American police departments can no longer assume that federal counterterrorism efforts alone will be sufficient to protect the communities they serve. Consequently, says the council, many police departments have responded by

- Strengthening liaisons with federal, state, and local agencies, including fire departments and other police departments
- Refining their training and emergency response plans to address terrorist threats, including attacks with weapons of mass destruction
- Increasing patrols and shoring up barriers around landmarks, places of worship, ports of entry, transit systems, nuclear power plants, and so on
- More heavily guarding public speeches, parades, and other public events
- Creating new counterterrorism divisions and reassigning officers to counterterrorism from other divisions, such as drug enforcement
- Employing new technologies, including X-ray-like devices, to scan containers at ports of entry and using sophisticated sensors to detect a chemical, biological, or radiological attack

The extent of local departments’ engagement in such preventive activities depends substantially on budgetary considerations and is strongly influenced by the assessed likelihood of attack. The New York City Police Department (NYPD), for example, which has firsthand experience in responding to terrorist attacks (23 of its officers were killed when the World Trade Center towers collapsed), has created a special bureau headed by a deputy police commissioner responsible for counterterrorism training, prevention, and investigation. One thousand officers have been reassigned to antiterrorism duties, and the department is training its entire 35,000-member force in how to respond to biological, radiological, and chemical attacks. The NYPD has assigned detectives to work abroad with law enforcement agencies in Canada, Israel, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East to track terrorists who might target New York City, and it now employs officers with a command of the Pashto, Farsi, and Urdu languages of the Middle East to monitor foreign television, radio, and Internet communications. The department has also invested heavily in new hazardous materials protective suits, gas masks, and portable radiation detectors.

In November 2004, in an effort to provide the law enforcement community and policymakers with guidance on critical issues related to antiterrorism planning and critical incident response, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) announced its Taking Command Initiative. The IACP described the initiative as “an aggressive project to assess the
current state of homeland security efforts in the United States and to develop and implement the actions necessary to protect our communities from the specter of both crime and terrorism.\textsuperscript{95} Initial deliberations under the initiative led the IACP to conclude that “the current homeland security strategy is handicapped by a fundamental flaw: It was developed without sufficiently seeking or incorporating the advice, expertise, or consent of public safety organizations at the state, tribal or local level.”\textsuperscript{96} Building on that premise, the IACP identified five key principles that it says must form the basis of any effective national homeland security strategy:\textsuperscript{97}

- Homeland security proposals must be developed in a local context, acknowledging that local, not federal, authorities have the primary responsibility for preventing, responding to, and recovering from terrorist attacks.
- Prevention, not just response and recovery, must be paramount in any national, state, or local security strategy. For too long, federal strategies have minimized the importance of prevention, focusing instead on response and recovery.
- Because of their daily efforts to combat crime and violence in their communities, state and local law enforcement officers are uniquely situated to identify, investigate, and apprehend suspected terrorists.
- Homeland security strategies must be coordinated nationally, not federally.
- A truly successful national strategy must recognize, embrace, and value the vast diversity among state and local law enforcement and public-safety agencies. A one-size-fits-all approach will fail to secure the nation.

Finally, in 2005, the IACP and its partners in the Post-9/11 Policing Project published \textit{Assessing and Managing the Terrorism Threat}. The Post-9/11 Policing Project is a collaborative effort of the IACP, the National Sheriffs’ Association (NSA), the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE), the Major Cities Chiefs Association (MCCA), and the Police Foundation.\textsuperscript{98} Learn more about the ongoing Taking Command initiative as its leaders work to “transform the concept of a locally designed, nationally coordinated homeland security strategy into a reality” via Web Extra 6–8 at MyCrimeKit.com, and download the publication \textit{Assessing and Managing the Terrorism Threat} at Library Extra 6–8 at MyCrimeKit.com.

As the IACP recognizes, workable antiterrorism programs at the local level require effective sharing of critical information between agencies. FBI-sponsored Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTFs) facilitate this by bringing together federal and local law enforcement personnel to focus on specific threats. The FBI currently has established or authorized JTTFs in each of its 56 field offices. In addition to the JTTFs, the FBI has created Regional Terrorism Task Forces (RTTFs) to share information with local enforcement agencies. Through the RTTFs, FBI special agents assigned to terrorism prevention and investigation meet twice a year with their federal, state, and local counterparts for common training, discussion of investigations, and intelligence sharing. The FBI says that “the design of this non-traditional terrorism task force provides the necessary mechanism and structure to direct counterterrorism resources toward localized terrorism problems within the United States.”\textsuperscript{99} Six RTTFs are currently in operation: the Inland Northwest, South Central, Southeastern, Northeast Border, Deep South, and Southwest.

Another FBI counterterrorism component, Field Intelligence Groups (FIGs), were developed following recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. The commission said that the FBI should build a reciprocal relationship with state and local agencies, maximizing the sharing of information. FIGs, which now exist in all 56 FBI field offices, work closely with JTTFs to provide valuable services to law enforcement personnel at the state and local levels. According to the FBI, FIGs “generate intelligence products and disseminate them to the intelligence and law enforcement communities to help guide investigative, program, and policy decisions.”\textsuperscript{100}

Given the changes that have taken place in American law enforcement since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, some say that traditional distinctions between crime, terrorism, and war are fading and that, at least in some instances, military action and civil law enforcement are becoming integrated. The critical question for law enforcement administrators in the near future may be one of discerning the role that law enforcement is to play in the emerging global context.
Intelligence-Led Policing and Antiterrorism

In 2005, the U.S. Department of Justice embraced the concept of intelligence-led policing (ILP) as an important technique to be employed by American law enforcement agencies in the battle against terrorism. Intelligence is information that has been analyzed and integrated into a useful perspective. The information used in the development of effective intelligence is typically gathered from many sources, such as surveillance, covert operations, financial records, electronic eavesdropping, interviews, newspapers, the Internet, and interrogations. Law enforcement intelligence, or criminal intelligence, is the result of a “process that evaluates information collected from diverse sources, integrates the relevant information into a cohesive package, and produces a conclusion or estimate about a criminal phenomenon by using the scientific approach to problem solving.” While criminal investigation is typically part of the intelligence-gathering process, the intelligence function of a police department is more exploratory and more broadly focused than a single criminal investigation.

ILP (also known as intelligence-driven policing) is the use of criminal intelligence to guide policing. A detailed description of ILP and its applicability to American law enforcement agencies is provided in the FBI publication The Law Enforcement Intelligence Function by David Carter of Michigan State University’s School of Criminal Justice. The document is available at Library Extra 6–9 at MyCrimeKit.com.

According to Carter, criminal intelligence “is a synergistic product intended to provide meaningful and trustworthy direction to law enforcement decision makers about complex criminality, criminal enterprises, criminal extremists, and terrorists.” Carter goes on to point out that law enforcement intelligence consists of two types: tactical and strategic. Tactical intelligence “includes gaining or developing information related to threats of terrorism or crime and using this information to apprehend offenders, harden targets, and use strategies that will eliminate or mitigate the threat.” Strategic intelligence, in contrast, provides information to decision makers about the changing nature of threats for the purpose of “developing response strategies and reallocating resources” to accomplish effective prevention.

Not every law enforcement agency has the staff or resources needed to create a dedicated intelligence unit. Even without an intelligence unit, however, a law enforcement organization should have the ability to effectively utilize the information and intelligence products that are developed and disseminated by organizations at all levels of government. In other words, even though a police agency may not have the resources necessary to analyze all the information it acquires, it should still be able to mount an effective response to credible threat information that it receives. Learn more about the law enforcement intelligence function and intelligence-led policing at Library Extra 6–10 at MyCrimeKit.com.

Information Sharing and Antiterrorism

The need to effectively share criminal intelligence across jurisdictions and between law enforcement agencies nationwide became apparent with the tragic events of September 11, 2001. Consequently, governments at all levels are today working toward the creation of a fully integrated criminal justice information system. According to a recent task force report, a fully integrated criminal justice information system is “a network of public safety, justice and homeland security computer systems which provides to each agency the information it needs, at the time it is needed, in the form that it is needed, regardless of the source and regardless of the physical location at which it is stored.” The information that is provided should be complete, accurate, and formatted in whatever way is most useful for the agency’s tasks. In a fully integrated criminal justice information system, information would be made available at the practitioner’s workstation, whether that workstation is a patrol car, desk, laptop, or judge’s bench. Within such a system, each agency shares information not only with other agencies in its own jurisdiction but with multiple justice agencies on the federal, state, and local levels. In such an idealized justice information system, accurate information is also available to nonjustice agencies with statutory authority and a legal obligation to check criminal histories before licensing, employment, weapons purchase, and so on.

intelligence-led policing (ILP)
The collection and analysis of information to produce an intelligence end product designed to inform police decision making at both the tactical and strategic levels.

criminal intelligence
Information compiled, analyzed, or disseminated in an effort to anticipate, prevent, or monitor criminal activity.

With the rise of community policing, intelligence led policing, evidence based policing, homeland security, and a host of other nontraditional police expectations, police work in 2020 will encompass a much broader set of activities and will require that officers grasp a broader range of issues.

—The Futures Working Group

Library Extra 6–9
Cooperation of police at all levels along with coordination with other agencies will be necessary to cope with crime that is increasingly cross-jurisdictional.
—Bud Levin, Blue Ridge Community College

Library Extra 6–10
With the rise of community policing, intelligence led policing, evidence based policing, homeland security, and a host of other nontraditional police expectations, police work in 2020 will encompass a much broader set of activities and will require that officers grasp a broader range of issues.

—The Futures Working Group
One widely used information sharing system is Law Enforcement Online (LEO). LEO, an intranet intended exclusively for use by the law enforcement community, is a national interactive computer communications system and information service. This user-friendly system can be accessed by any approved employee of a duly constituted local, state, or federal law enforcement agency or by an approved member of an authorized law enforcement special-interest group. LEO provides a state-of-the-art communication mechanism to link all levels of law enforcement throughout the United States. Members use LEO to support investigative operations, send notifications and alerts, and remotely access a wide variety of law enforcement and intelligence systems and resources. LEO also allows federal agencies, including the FBI, to immediately disseminate sensitive but unclassified information across agency boundaries. The system includes password-accessed e-mail, Internet chat, an electronic library, an online calendar, special-interest topical focus areas, and self-paced distance learning modules.

Another important information-sharing resource is NLETS, the International Justice and Public Safety Information Sharing Network. NLETS members include all 50 states, most federal agencies and territories, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. NLETS, which has been in operation for nearly 40 years, was formerly called the National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System. It has recently been enhanced to facilitate a variety of encrypted digital communications, and it now links 30,000 agencies and over half a million access devices in the United States and Canada. The system facilitates nearly 41 million transmissions each month. Information available through NLETS includes state criminal histories, homeland alert messages, immigration databases, driver records and vehicle registrations, aircraft registrations, Amber Alerts, weather advisories, and hazardous materials notifications and regulations. You can reach NLETS on the Web via Web Extra 6–9 at MyCrimeKit.com.

**Fusion Centers**

In March 2008, more than 900 federal, state, and local law enforcement and Homeland Security officials attended the National Fusion Center Conference in Washington, D.C. Fusion centers, a new concept in policing, pool and analyze information from law enforcement agencies at all levels, looking for meaningful patterns and actionable intelligence. Slightly more than 70 fusion centers currently operate in 37 states and have received $380 million in federal funding over the last five years. These centers are largely an outgrowth of one of the 9/11 Commission’s criticisms that law enforcement agencies don’t talk to each other as they should.

Fusion centers vary greatly in size and in the equipment and personnel available to them. Some are small, consisting of little more than limited conference facilities and only a few participants. Others are large high-technology offices that make use of the latest information and computer technologies and that house representatives from many different organizations. Some fusion centers are physically located within the offices of other agencies. The Kentucky Fusion Center, for example, is housed within the state’s Department of Transportation building in the state’s capitol. Others operate out of stand-alone facilities and are physically separated from parent agencies.

Similarly, although information sharing is their central purpose, the activities of fusion centers are not uniform. Some centers perform investigations, some make arrests, and some exist only to share information. A number of fusion centers, like the National Counterterrorism Center and the National Gang Intelligence Center, focus on clearly defined issues. Most of today’s fusion centers do more than target terrorists, however; they work to collect information on a wide variety of offenders, gangs, immigrant smuggling operations, and other threats. Recognizing that actionable intelligence can come from seemingly unrelated areas, Michael Mines, the FBI’s deputy assistant director of intelligence, says that the nation’s network of fusion centers is intended to “maximize the ability to detect, prevent, investigate, and respond to criminal and terrorist activity.”

Many fusion centers are still developing, and a number of problems remain. Obtaining security clearances for employees of local law enforcement agencies, for example, has sometimes been difficult or time-consuming. Even representatives of federal agencies like the Department of Homeland Security and the FBI sometimes refuse to accept each other’s
Fusion Centers: Unifying Intelligence to Protect Americans

In Arizona, an international terrorism case was referred to local law enforcement after it was determined that the subjects of the case were involved in local criminal activity. In New Mexico, several individuals linked to FBI investigations—including an MS-13 gang member—were identified. In Tennessee, the FBI developed—with its partners—a formal process for collecting, sharing, and analyzing suspicious activity reports, looking for trends and patterns.

These cooperative efforts—and many more like them—have been made possible through the work of intelligence fusion centers around the country. These centers, usually set up by states or major urban areas and run by state or local authorities, are often supported by federal law enforcement, including the FBI.

In March 2009, nearly 2,000 local, state, tribal, and federal representatives working in these centers gathered in Kansas City to continue the process of standardizing fusion center operations. The ultimate goal? To create a network of centers presenting a unified front against terrorism and other national security and criminal threats that put Americans at risk.

Speaking at the Kansas City conference, FBI Chief Intelligence Officer Don Van Dyne said that “while we still have work to do to make the information process more seamless,” the FBI is committed to “expanding our interconnectedness” to help combat threats from terrorist and criminal networks. Van Dyne also said that during the past year the agency has rolled out—to all 56 field offices—standardized intelligence operations structures, roles, and procedures to enhance collaboration with its partners.

Although a few were already in existence before the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, fusion centers increased rapidly after the attacks when local and federal officials recognized the need to quickly coordinate information-sharing related to terrorism. Its number has been growing ever since. Today, there are some 70 centers around the country—50 state and 20 regional. Some have expanded their focus to include public safety matters and major criminal threats.

Fusion center personnel “fuse” intelligence from participating agencies to create a more comprehensive threat picture, locally and nationally. They don’t just collect information—they integrate new data into existing information, evaluate it to determine its worth, analyze it for links and trends, and disseminate their findings to the appropriate agency in the best position to do something about it.

The FBI currently has 114 employees working in 38 fusion centers—about 36% are agents, 61% are intelligence analysts, and the rest are language specialists, financial analysts, and the like. Fourteen of these centers are located with an FBI field intelligence group or joint terrorism task force.

Elaine Cummins, the FBI’s chief information sharing officer, notes that “participating in a national network of fusion centers definitely helps us share timely, relevant, and actionable intelligence with our partners—an increasingly important component to our unique national security and law enforcement mission.”

The FBI says that “with fusion centers, everybody wins. State and local law enforcement agencies get access to certain federal databases and the benefit of big-picture terrorism and crime perspectives from their federal partners, along with grant funding, technical assistance, and training. Federal agencies like the FBI gain intelligence from the local level that may fuel terrorism or national security investigations elsewhere in the country or even overseas. And the public gets to sleep a little easier at night, knowing that their local, state, and federal officials are all working together to keep them safe.”

The National Criminal Intelligence Sharing Plan

Although information sharing efforts continue to evolve, most experts agree that a fully integrated nationwide criminal justice information system does not yet exist.111 Efforts to create one, however, began in 2003 with the National Criminal Intelligence Sharing Plan (NCISP). The NCISP was developed under the auspices of the U.S. Department of Justice’s Global Justice Information Sharing Initiative and was authored by its Global Intelligence Working Group.112 Federal, local, state, and tribal law enforcement representatives all had a voice in the development of the plan. The NCISP provides specific steps that law enforcement agencies can take to participate in the sharing of critical law enforcement and terrorism prevention information.

Plan authors note that not every agency has the staff or resources needed to create a formal intelligence unit. However, the plan says that even without a dedicated intelligence unit, every law enforcement organization needs the ability to effectively consume the intelligence available from a wide range of organizations at all levels of government.113

In 2006, U.S. Representative Bennie Thompson (D-MS), chairman of the House Committee on Homeland Security, proposed establishing a National Center for Intelligence-Led Policing.114 The center, which is intended to solve many of the intelligence-gathering and sharing problems identified in this chapter, would have four primary functions:

1. Promoting the law enforcement intelligence process and ILP in order to promote a common understanding of these concepts among police officers and sheriff’s officers nationwide
2. Identifying best practices in these areas and sharing them with all law enforcement agencies
3. Providing training resources to educate officers about ILP and to make it relevant to their daily work
4. Establishing a technology and research development capability to assess existing technologies relevant to ILP

The center, according to documents prepared by Thompson’s office, would help develop and coordinate the education, training, and professional services necessary to establish a common foundation for ILP across the country:

[T]he Center should provide police and sheriffs’ officers with a common and consistent understanding of the importance of contributing credible and relevant law enforcement information as part of the intelligence cycle at both the federal and non-federal levels; the process by which that information becomes useful and actionable intelligence; and a set of clear and consistent procedures to facilitate uniform sharing policies across the nation, including policies for protecting privacy and civil liberties.115

The NCISP is available in its entirety at Library Extra 6–11 at MyCrimeKit.com. A congressional document proposing the creation of a National Center for Intelligence-Led Policing can be read at Library Extra 16–12.

DISCRETION AND THE INDIVIDUAL OFFICER

Even as law enforcement agencies struggle to adapt to the threats posed by international terrorism, individual officers continue to retain considerable discretion in terms of their actions. Police discretion refers to the exercise of choice by law enforcement officers in the decision to investigate or apprehend, the disposition of suspects, the carrying out of official duties, and the application of sanctions. As one author has observed, “Police authority can be, at once, highly specific and exceedingly vague.”116 Decisions to stop and question someone, arrest a suspect, and perform many other police tasks are made solely by individual officers and must often be made quickly and in the absence of any close supervision. Kenneth Culp Davis, who pioneered the study of police discretion, says, “The police make policy about what law to enforce, how much to enforce it, against whom, and on what occasions.”117 To those who have contact with the police, the discretionary authority exercised by individual
An officer writing a traffic ticket. Police officers wield a great amount of discretion, and an individual officer's decision to enforce a particular law or to effect an arrest is based not just on the law's applicability to a particular set of circumstances but also on the officer's subjective judgment about the nature of appropriate enforcement activity. What other factors influence discretion?

—International Association of Chiefs of Police, Image and Ethics Committee

Ethics remains our greatest training and leadership need today.

Policing is of greater significance than all of the department manuals and official policy statements combined.

Patrolling officers often decide against a strict enforcement of the law, preferring instead to handle situations informally. Minor law violations, crimes committed out of the officer’s presence where the victim refuses to file a complaint, and certain violations of the criminal law where the officer suspects that sufficient evidence to obtain a conviction is lacking may all lead to discretionary action short of arrest. The widest exercise of discretion is in routine situations involving relatively less serious violations of the law, but serious criminal behavior may occasionally result in discretionary decisions not to make an arrest. Drunk driving, possession of controlled substances, and assault are examples of crimes in which on-the-scene officers may choose to issue a warning or offer a referral instead of making an arrest.

Studies of police discretion have found that a number of factors influence the discretionary decisions of individual officers. Here are some of those factors:

- **Background of the officer.** Law enforcement officers bring their life experience to the job. Values shaped through early socialization and attitudes acquired from ongoing socialization influence an officer's decisions. For example, if an officer learned prejudice against certain ethnic groups, that prejudice will likely manifest itself in enforcement decisions. An officer who values the nuclear family may handle spousal or child abuse and domestic disputes in predetermined ways.

- **Characteristics of the suspect.** Characteristics of a suspect that may influence police decisions include gender, demeanor, style of dress, and grooming. Some officers treat men and women differently. Belligerent suspects are often seen as “asking for it” and as challenging police authority. Well-dressed suspects are likely to be treated with deference, but poorly groomed suspects can expect less respectful treatment. Suspects sporting personal styles with a message—biker’s attire, unkempt beards, outlandish haircuts, gang-style clothes, and other nonconformist styles—are more likely to be arrested than are others.

- **Department policy.** Official policy rarely controls discretion, but it does influence it. For example, if department supervisors adhere to strict enforcement guidelines and closely monitor dispatches and other communications, individual officers will be less likely to release suspects at their own discretion.

- **Community interest.** Public attitudes toward certain crimes will increase the likelihood of arrest for suspected offenders. Contemporary attitudes toward crimes involving children—including child sex abuse, the sale of drugs to minors, domestic violence involving children, and child pornography—have all led to increased and strict enforcement of laws governing such offenses. Communities may identify specific problems affecting them and ask law enforcement to respond. Fayetteville, North Carolina, was plagued some years ago by a downtown area notorious for prostitution and massage parlors. Once the community voiced its concern over the problem and its economic impact on the city, the police responded with a series of highly effective arrests that eliminated massage parlors within the city limits. Departments that require officers to live in the areas they police recognize that community interests affect citizens and officers alike.

- **Pressure from victims.** Victims of certain crimes, such as spousal abuse and assaults on customers of prostitutes, commonly refuse to file a complaint. When victims refuse to cooperate, there is often little that police can do. However, some victims demand that their victimization be recognized and dealt with. Victims’ assistance groups, such as People Assisting Victims and the Victim's Assistance Network, have sought to keep pressure on police departments and individual investigators to ensure the arrest and prosecution of suspects.
Disagreement with the law. Some behaviors that are crimes in one area are not crimes in other areas. For example, gambling is now legal in many states, aboard cruise ships, and on some Native American reservations; many states have legalized homosexuality and most forms of consensual adult sexual behavior; prostitution is legal in portions of Nevada; and some drug offenses have been “decriminalized,” with offenders being ticketed rather than arrested.

Some laws lack a popular consensus, such as laws relating to many victimless offenses. Unpopular laws are not likely to get much attention from law enforcement officers. Sometimes such crimes are regarded as just “part of the landscape,” or the law is thought to have not kept pace with a changing society. When an arrest does occur, it is often because individuals being investigated for more serious offenses were caught violating an unpopular statute. For example, drug offenders arrested in the middle of the night may be caught performing an illegal sexual act when the police break in. Charges may then include “crime against nature,” as well as possession or sale of drugs.

In some cases, discretionary police activity may take the form of “street justice” and may approach vigilantism. For example, certain lawful, even protected, behaviors may be annoying, offensive, or disruptive by the normative standards of a community or the personal standards of an officer. In these cases, the officer makes a personal decision about how to handle the disruption. Or an officer investigating a clear violation of the law may discover that he knows the guilty party. In some cases, officers have been known to render unusable the evidence needed for a conviction in court. In recognizing these possibilities, noted law enforcement scholar Gary Sykes says, “One of the major ambiguities of the police task is that officers are caught between two profoundly compelling moral systems: justice as due process... and conversely, justice as righting a wrong as part of defining and maintaining community norms.”

Available alternatives. An officer’s awareness of alternatives to arrest can influence discretion. Officers looking to avoid official action may turn to community treatment programs like outpatient drug or alcohol counseling and domestic dispute-resolution centers.

Personal practices of the officer. Some officers view the violation of particular laws less seriously than other officers do. The police officer who smokes an occasional marijuana cigarette may deal less harshly with minor drug offenders than nonusing officers, and officers who routinely speed while driving the family car may be more lenient with speeders encountered while on duty.

PROFESSIONALISM AND ETHICS

A profession is an organized undertaking characterized by a body of specialized knowledge acquired through extensive education and by a well-considered set of internal standards and ethical guidelines that hold members of the profession accountable to one another and to society. Contemporary policing has many of the attributes of a profession.

Police professionalism requires that today’s police officers have a great deal of specialized knowledge and that they adhere to the standards and ethics set out by the profession. Specialized knowledge in policing includes an understanding of criminal law, laws of procedure, constitutional guarantees, and relevant Supreme Court decisions; a working knowledge of weapons, hand-to-hand combat tactics, driving skills, vehicle maintenance, and radio communications; report-writing abilities; interviewing techniques; and media and human relations skills. Other specialized knowledge may include Breathalyzer operation, special weapons skills, polygraph operation, conflict resolution, and hostage negotiation. Supervisory personnel require an even wider range of skills, including administrative skills, management techniques, and strategies for optimum utilization of resources.

Police professionalism places important limits on the discretionary activities of individual enforcement personnel and helps officers and the departments they work for gain the respect and regard of the public they police. Police work is guided by an ethical code developed in 1956 by the Peace Officers Research Association of California (PORAC) in conjunction with Dr. Douglas M. Kelley of Berkeley’s School of Criminology. The Law Enforcement Code of Ethics is reproduced in the “Ethics and Professionalism” box in this chapter.
Ethics training has been integrated into most basic law enforcement training programs, and calls for expanded training in police ethics are being heard from many corners. A comprehensive resource for enhancing awareness of law enforcement ethics, called the Ethics Toolkit, is available from the IACP and the federal Office of Community Oriented Policing Services via Web Extra 6–10 at MyCrimeKit.com.

Many professional associations are associated with police work. One such organization, the Arlington, Virginia–based International Association of Chiefs of Police, has done much to raise professional standards in policing and continually strives for improvements in law enforcement nationwide. In like manner, the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) is one of the best-known organizations of public-service workers in the United States. The FOP is the world’s largest organization of sworn law enforcement officers, with more than 318,000 members in more than 2,100 lodges.

Accreditation is another avenue toward police professionalism. The Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) was formed in 1979. Police departments seeking accreditation through the commission must meet hundreds of standards in areas as diverse as day-to-day operations, administration, review of incidents involving the use of a weapon by officers, and evaluation and promotion of personnel. As of January 1, 2009, more than 600 (3.3%) of the nation’s 17,784 law enforcement agencies were accredited, while a number of others were undergoing the accreditation process. Many accredited agencies are among the nation’s largest; as a result, 25% of full-time law enforcement officers in the United States at the state and local levels are members of CALEA-accredited agencies. Although accreditation makes possible the identification of high-quality police departments, it is often not valued by agency leaders because it offers few incentives. Accreditation does not guarantee a department any rewards beyond that of peer recognition. Visit CALEA online via Web Extra 6–11 at MyCrimeKit.com.

Education and Training

Basic law enforcement training requirements were established in the 1950s by the state of New York and through a voluntary peace officer standards and training (POST) program in California. (Information on California’s POST program can be accessed via Web Extra 6–12 at MyCrimeKit.com.) Today, every jurisdiction mandates POST-like requirements, although...
these requirements vary considerably. Modern police education generally involves training in subjects as varied as self-defense, human relations, firearms and weapons, communications, legal aspects of policing, patrol, criminal investigations, administration, report writing, ethics, computers and information systems, and cultural diversity. According to a 2009 Bureau of Justice Statistics report, the median number of hours of training required of new officers is 881 in state police agencies, 965 in county departments, 883 in municipal departments, and 719 in sheriff’s departments. Standards continue to be modified.

Federal law enforcement agents receive schooling at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC) in Glynco, Georgia. The center provides training for about 60 federal law enforcement agencies, excluding the FBI and the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), which have their own training academies in Quantico, Virginia. FLETC also offers advanced training to state and local police organizations through the National Center for State and Local Law Enforcement Training, located on the FLETC campus. Specialized schools, like Northwestern University’s Traffic Institute, are also credited with raising the level of police practice from purely operational concerns to a more professional level.

In 1987, in a move to further professionalize police training, the American Society for Law Enforcement Trainers was formed at the Ohio Peace Officer Training Academy. Now known as the American Society for Law Enforcement Training (ASLET), the Frederick, Maryland–based agency works to ensure quality in police officer training and confers the title Certified Law Enforcement Trainer (CLET) on police-training professionals who meet its high standards. ASLET also works with the Police Training Network to provide an ongoing and comprehensive nationwide calendar of law enforcement training activities. Visit the network online via Web Extra 6–13 at MyCrimeKit.com.

A recent innovation in law enforcement training is the Police Training Officer (PTO) program, whose development was funded by the COPS Office starting in 1999. The PTO program was designed by the Reno (Nevada) Police Department, in conjunction with the Police Executive Research Forum, as an alternative model for police field training. In fact, it represents the first new postacademy field-training program for law enforcement agencies in more than 30 years. The PTO program uses contemporary methods of adult education and a version of problem-based learning that is specifically adapted to the police environment. It incorporates community policing and problem-solving principles and, according to the COPS Office, fosters “the foundation for life-long learning that prepares new officers for the complexities of policing today and in the future.” Learn more about the PTO program at Library Extra 6–13 at MyCrimeKit.com.

As the concern for quality policing builds, increasing emphasis is also being placed on the formal education of police officers. As early as 1931, the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (the Wickersham Commission) highlighted the importance of a well-educated police force by calling for “educationally sound” officers. In 1967, the President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice voiced the belief that “the ultimate aim of all police departments should be that all personnel with general enforcement powers have baccalaureate degrees.” At the time, the average educational level of police officers in the United States was 12.4 years—slightly beyond a high school degree. In 1973, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals made the following rather specific recommendation: “Every police agency should, no later than 1982, require as a condition of initial employment the completion of at least four years of education . . . at an accredited college or university.”

However, recommendations do not always translate into practice. A report found that 16% of state police agencies require a two-year college degree, and 4% require a four-year degree. County police are the next most likely to require either a two-year (13%) or four-year (3%) degree. Among sheriff’s departments, 6% require a degree, including 1% with a four-year degree requirement. A 2002 report on police departments in large cities found that the percentage requiring new officers to have at least some college rose from 19% in 1990 to 37% in 2000, and the percentage requiring either a two-year or four-year degree grew from 6% to 14% over the same period. A Dallas Police Department policy requiring a minimum of 45 semester hours of successful college-level study for new recruits was upheld in 1985 by the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in the case of Davis v. Dallas.
An early survey of police departments by the Police Executive Research Forum found that police agencies that hire educated officers accrue these benefits: (1) better written reports, (2) enhanced communications with the public, (3) more effective job performance, (4) fewer citizen complaints, (5) greater initiative, (6) wiser use of discretion, (7) heightened sensitivity to racial and ethnic issues, and (8) fewer disciplinary problems. However, there are drawbacks to having more educated police forces. Educated officers are more likely than noneducated officers to leave police work, question orders, and request reassignment.

Most federal agencies require college degrees for entry-level positions. Among them are the FBI, the DEA, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF), the Secret Service, the Bureau of Customs and Border Protection, and the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).

**Recruitment and Selection**

All professions need informed, dedicated, and competent personnel. In its 1973 report on the police, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals bemoaned the fact that “many college students are unaware of the varied, interesting, and challenging assignments and career opportunities that exist within the police service.”

Today, police organizations consider education an important recruiting criterion, and they actively recruit new officers from two- and four-year colleges and universities, technical institutions, and professional organizations. The national commission report stressed the setting of high standards for police recruits and recommended a strong emphasis on minority recruitment, elimination of the requirement that new officers live in the area they were hired to serve, decentralized application and testing procedures, and various recruiting incentives.

A Bureau of Justice Statistics study published in 2006 found that local police departments use a variety of applicant-screening methods. Nearly all use personal interviews, and a large majority use basic skills tests, physical agility measurements, medical exams, drug tests, psychological evaluations, and background investigations into the personal character of applicants (see Figure 6–4). Among departments serving 25,000 or more residents, about eight in ten use physical agility tests and written aptitude tests, more than half check credit records, and about half use personality inventories and polygraph exams. After training, successful applicants are typically placed on probation for one year. The probationary period in police work has been called the “first true job-related test . . . in the selection procedure,” providing the opportunity for supervisors to gauge the new officer’s response to real-life situations.

Effective policing, however, may depend more on innate personal qualities than on educational attainment or credit history. One of the first people to attempt to describe the
personal attributes necessary for a successful police officer, famed 1930s police administrator August Vollmer, said that the public expects police officers to have “the wisdom of Solomon, the courage of David, the strength of Samson, the patience of Job, the leadership of Moses, the kindness of the Good Samaritan, the strategic training of Alexander, the faith of Daniel, the diplomacy of Lincoln, the tolerance of the Carpenter of Nazareth, and finally, an intimate knowledge of every branch of the natural, biological, and social sciences.”139 More practically, Orlando (O. W.) Wilson, the well-known police administrator of the 1940s and 1950s, once enumerated some “desirable personal qualities of patrol officers”140: (1) initiative; (2) responsibility; (3) the ability to deal alone with emergencies; (4) the capacity to communicate effectively with people from diverse social, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds; (5) the ability to learn a variety of tasks quickly; (6) the attitude and ability necessary to adapt to technological changes; (7) the desire to help people in need; (8) an understanding of others; (9) emotional maturity; and (10) sufficient physical strength and endurance.

High-quality police recruits, an emphasis on training with an eye toward ethical aspects of police performance, and higher levels of education are beginning to raise police pay, which has traditionally been low. The acceptance of police work as a true profession should contribute to significantly higher rates of pay in coming years.

ETHNIC AND GENDER DIVERSITY IN POLICING

In 2003, Annetta W. Nunn took the reins of the Birmingham (Alabama) Police Department. For many, Nunn, a 44-year-old African American mother and Baptist choir singer, symbolized the changes that had taken place in American policing during the past few decades. The new chief sat in a chair once occupied by Eugene “Bull” Connor, an arch segregationist and a national symbol of the South’s fight against integration who jailed thousands of civil rights demonstrators during the 1960s. A 23-year veteran of the department, Nunn headed a force of 838 men and women. She left the department in 2008 to become an advocate for a domestic violence education program in municipal court.

A 1968 survey of police supervisors by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders141 (aka the Kerner Commission) found a marked disparity between the number of black and white officers in leadership positions. One of every 26 black police officers had been promoted to the rank of sergeant, while the ratio among whites was one in 12. Only one of every 114 black officers had become a lieutenant, while among whites the ratio was one in 26. At the level of captain, the disparity was even greater: One out of every 233 black officers had achieved the rank of captain, while one of every 53 whites had climbed to that rank.

Today, many departments, through dedicated recruitment efforts, have dramatically increased their complement of officers from underrepresented groups. The Metropolitan Detroit Police Department, for example, now has a force that is more than 30% black. Nationwide, racial and ethnic minorities comprised 22.7% of full-time sworn police personnel in 2000, up from 17.0% in 1990.142 From 1990 to 2000, the number of African American local police officers increased by 13,300, or 35%, and the number of Hispanic officers increased by 17,600, or 93%. Moreover, a 2006 study of 123 African American police executives in the
United States found that they were generally well accepted by their peers, well integrated into their leadership roles, and socially well adjusted.143

Although ethnic minorities are now employed in policing in numbers that approach their representation in the American population, women are still significantly underrepresented. The 2001 Status of Women in Policing Survey, conducted by the National Center for Women and Policing (NCWP), found that women fill only 12.7% of all sworn law enforcement positions nationwide.144 On the other hand, the NCWP notes that women account for 46.5% of employed people over the age of 16 nationwide, meaning that they are “strikingly under-represented within the field of sworn law enforcement.”145 Key findings from the survey show the following146:

- Women currently fill about 12.7% of all sworn law enforcement positions among municipal, county, and state agencies in the United States with 100 or more sworn officers. Women of color hold 4.8% of these positions.
- Between 1990 and 2001, the representation of women in sworn law enforcement ranks increased from 9% to 12.7%—a gain of less than 4%, or less than 0.5% each year.
- If the slow growth rate of women in policing holds, women will not achieve equal representation within the police profession for another 70 years, and many experts caution that time alone may not be sufficient to substantially increase the number of female officers.
- Women hold 7.3% of sworn top command law enforcement positions, 9.6% of supervisory positions, and 13.5% of line operation positions. Women of color hold 1.6% of sworn top command positions, 3.1% of supervisory positions, and 5.3% of line operation positions.
- Fifty-six percent of the agencies surveyed reported no women in top command positions, and 88% of the agencies reported no women of color in their highest ranks.
- State agencies trail municipal and county agencies by a wide margin in hiring and promoting women. Specifically, 5.9% of the sworn law enforcement officers in state agencies are women, which is significantly lower than the percentage reported by municipal agencies (14.2%) and county agencies (13.9%).
- Consent decrees mandating the hiring and promotion of women and minorities significantly affected the gains women have made in law enforcement. Of the 25 agencies with the highest percentage of sworn women, ten are subject to such decrees. This contrasts sharply with just four of the 25 agencies with the lowest percentage of sworn women operating under consent decrees.
- On average, in agencies without a consent decree mandating the hiring and promotion of women and minorities, women comprise 9.7% of sworn personnel, whereas those agencies with a consent decree in force average 14.0% women in their ranks. The percentage of women of color is 6.3% in agencies without a consent decree and 11.7% in agencies operating under one.

It is unclear just how many women actually want to work in policing. Nonetheless, many departments aggressively recruit and retain women because they understand the benefits of having more women as sworn officers. Because female officers tend to use less physical force than male officers, for example, they are less likely to be accused of using excessive force. Female officers are also better at defusing and de-escalating potentially violent confrontations, often possess better communications skills than their male counterparts, and are better able to facilitate the cooperation and trust required to implement a community policing
model. Moreover, the NCWP says that “female officers often respond more effectively to incidents of violence against women—crimes that represent one of the largest categories of calls to police departments. Increasing the representation of women on the force is also likely to address another costly problem for police administrators—the pervasive problem of sex discrimination and sexual harassment—by changing the climate of modern law enforcement agencies.”\textsuperscript{147} Finally, “because women frequently have different life experiences than men, they approach policing with a different perspective, and the very presence of women in the field will often bring about changes in policies and procedures that benefit both male and female officers.”\textsuperscript{148} Additional information on how police departments can recruit and retain female officers can be found at Library Extra 6–14 at MyCrimeKit.com.

Women as Effective Police Officers

One research report on female police officers in Massachusetts found that female officers (1) are “extremely devoted to their work,” (2) “see themselves as women first, and then police officers,” and (3) are more satisfied when working in nonuniformed capacities.\textsuperscript{149} The researcher identified two groups of female officers: (1) those who felt themselves to be well integrated into their departments and were confident in their jobs and (2) those who experienced strain and on-the-job isolation. The officers’ children were cited as a significant influence on their perceptions of self and their jobs. The demands of child rearing in contemporary society were found to be a major factor contributing to the resignation of female officers. The study also found that the longer female officers stayed on the job, the greater the stress and frustration they tended to experience, primarily because of the uncooperative attitudes of male officers. Some of the female officers identified networking as a potential solution to the stresses encountered by female officers but also said that when women get together to solve problems, they are seen as “crybabies” rather than professionals. Said one of the women in the study, “We’ve lost a lot of good women who never should have left the job. If we had helped each other, maybe they wouldn’t have left.”\textsuperscript{150}

Some studies found that female officers are often underutilized and that many departments hesitate to assign women to patrol and other potentially dangerous field activities.\textsuperscript{151} Consequently, some policewomen experience frustration and a lack of job satisfaction. An analysis of the genderization of the criminal justice workplace by Susan Ehrlich Martin and Nancy Jurik, for example, points out that gender inequality is part of a historical pattern of entrenched forms of gender interaction relating to the division of labor, power, and culture.\textsuperscript{152} Martin and Jurik contend that women working in the justice system are viewed in terms of such historically developed filters, causing them to be judged and treated according to normative standards developed for men. As a result, formal and informal social controls continue to disenfranchise women who wish to work in the system and make it difficult to recognize the specific contributions that they make as women.

Increasing the Number of Minorities and Women in Police Work

To increase the representation of ethnic minorities and women in police work, the Police Foundation recommends (1) involving underrepresented groups in departmental affirmative action and long-term planning programs, (2) encouraging the development of an open
promotion system whereby women can feel free to apply for promotion and in which qualified individuals of any race or gender will face equity in the promotion process, and (3) conducting periodic audits to ensure that female officers are not being underutilized by ineffective tracking into clerical and support positions.

Networking has taken root among the nation’s female police officers, as attested to by the growth of organizations like the International Association of Women Police. Networks support female officers and help them deal with dilemmas on the job. Mentoring, another method for introducing women to police work, creates semiformal relationships between experienced female officers and rookies through which problems can be addressed and experienced officers can guide junior partners through the maze of formal and informal expectations of policing.

Women today have entered the ranks of police administration. The 2,000-member International Association of Women Police estimates that there are more than 100 female chiefs of police throughout the country. The Women’s Police Chief Association offers networking opportunities to women seeking and holding high rank in departments nationwide. And the National Center for Women and Policing, a project of the Feminist Majority Foundation, provides a nationwide resource for law enforcement agencies, community leaders, and public officials seeking to increase the numbers of female police officers in their communities.

Barriers to diversity continue to fall. In 1979, for example, San Francisco became the first city in the world to actively recruit homosexuals for its police force. That action reduced the fear of reporting crimes among many homosexuals, who for years had been victims of organized assaults by bikers and street gangs. During the Clinton administration, Attorney General Janet Reno ordered all Justice Department agencies to end hiring discrimination based on sexual orientation.

Former Birmingham (Alabama) Chief of Police Annetta Nunn. Nunn’s tenure as chief lasted from 2003 to 2008 and is indicative of expanded opportunities in policing for women and minorities. Nunn, who holds a bachelor’s degree in criminal justice from the University of Alabama, was four years old in 1963 when thousands of civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham were beaten and arrested on orders of Police Chief Eugene “Bull” Connor. How do communities benefit from police agencies that are socially and culturally diverse?

**Birmingham Police Department**

**summary**

- The fundamental police mission in democratic societies includes five components: (1) enforcing the law (especially the criminal law), (2) investigating crimes and apprehending offenders, (3) preventing crime, (4) helping to ensure domestic peace and tranquillity, and (5) providing the community with needed enforcement-related services.

- This chapter presents five core law enforcement strategies: (1) preventive patrol, (2) routine incident response, (3) emergency response, (4) criminal investigation, and (5) problem solving. Support, an ancillary operational strategy, is also discussed.

- Police management involves the administrative activities of controlling, directing, and coordinating police personnel, resources, and activities in the service of preventing crime, apprehending criminals, recovering stolen property, and performing regulatory and helping services. Virtually all American law enforcement organizations are formally structured among divisions and along lines of authority. Roles within police agencies usually fall into one of two categories: line and staff. Line operations are field or supervisory activities directly related to daily police work. Staff operations include support roles, such as administration.

- Three policing styles are identified in this chapter: (1) the watchman style, (2) the legalistic style, and (3) the service style. The style of policing that characterizes a community tends to flow from the lifestyles of those who live there. While the watchman style of policing, with its emphasis on order maintenance, was widespread during the mid-twentieth century, the service style, which is embodied in the community policing model, is commonplace today. Community policing is built on the principle that police departments
and the communities they serve should work together as partners in the fight against crime.

- Policing in America was forever changed by the events of September 11, 2001. Local law enforcement agencies, many of which previously saw community protection and peacekeeping as their primary roles, are being called on to protect against potential terrorist threats with international roots. The contemporary emphasis on terrorism prevention, along with the need for a rapid response to threats of terrorism, has led to what some see as a new era of policing to secure the homeland. Homeland security policing builds on the established framework of community policing for the purpose of gathering intelligence to prevent terrorism.

- Police discretion refers to the opportunity for police officers to exercise choice in their enforcement activities. Put another way, discretion refers to the exercise of choice by law enforcement officers in the decision to investigate or apprehend, the disposition of suspects, the carrying out of official duties, and the application of sanctions. The widest exercise of discretion can be found in routine situations involving relatively less serious violations of the law, but serious criminal behavior may also result in discretionary decisions not to make an arrest.

- Police professionalism requires that today’s law enforcement officers adhere to ethical codes and standards established by the profession. Police professionalism places important limits on the discretionary activities of individual enforcement personnel and helps officers and the departments they work for gain the respect and regard of the public they police.

- This chapter points out that ethnic minorities are now employed in policing in numbers that approach their representation in the general population. Women, however, are still significantly underrepresented. Questions can be raised about the degree of minority participation in the command structure of law enforcement agencies, about the desire of significant numbers of women to work in policing, and about the respect accorded to women and members of other underrepresented groups who work in law enforcement by their fellow officers.

**key terms**

- chain of command, 186
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**questions for review**

1. What are the basic purposes of policing in democratic societies? How are they consistent with one another? In what ways might they be inconsistent?

2. What are the five core operational strategies that police departments use today? What is the ancillary operational strategy?

3. Define the term police management, and describe the different types of organizational structures typical of American police departments.

4. What are the three styles of policing described in this chapter? How do they differ? Which one characterizes the community in which you live?

5. What new responsibilities have American police agencies assumed since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks? What new challenges are they facing?

6. What is police discretion? How does the practice of discretion by today’s officers reflect on their departments and on the policing profession as a whole?

7. What is police professionalism? How can you tell when police action is professional? Why are professionalism and ethics important in policing today?

8. What issues related to gender and ethnicity are important in American policing today? What problems still exist? How can those problems be addressed?
1. Are there any aspects of the police mission that this chapter fails to recognize and that should be added to the basic purposes of policing identified here? If so, what are they?

2. How are police organizations managed? Might participatory or democratic management styles or the organizational styles of innovative high-technology firms be effective in policing? Why or why not?

3. What is community policing? How does it differ from what some might call traditional policing?

4. Does community policing offer an opportunity to improve policing services in the United States? Why or why not? Does it offer opportunities in the fight against terrorism? Why or why not?

5. Do you believe that policing is a true profession? How can the professionalism of today’s law enforcement organizations be increased? Explain your answer.

Discuss your answers to these questions and other issues on the CJ Today e-mail discussion list (join the list at MyCrimeKit.com).

Go to MyCrimeKit.com to explore the following study tools and resources specific to this chapter:

- Chapter Quiz and More Practice: dozens of multiple-choice and true-false questions
- Flashcards: 30 flashcards to test your knowledge of the chapter’s key terms
- Web Quest: review organizational charts showing the agency structure of a big-city agency, a smaller town police department, and a sheriff’s office
- Assignments: real-world essay questions about current issues, e-homework, opinion-based essay questions, and chapter projects for research and analysis

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