

FOUNDATIONS OF POLICING

PART

I

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POLICING IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- 1.1. Summarize the key issues facing law enforcement today.
- 1.2. Discuss the concepts and mandate of the police in U.S. society.
- 1.3. Describe the difficulty associated with attempting to make generalizations about law enforcement and the scope of the functions they perform.
- 1.4. Identify the levels and types of policing in the United States.
- 1.5. Discuss some of the current concerns of police in the United States.
- 1.6. Summarize the additional types of police and the functions they perform.

LAW ENFORCEMENT TODAY

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

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

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

Public Scrutiny in Our Modern Society

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

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

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

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

Following Gray's death, Police Commissioner Anthony Bates reported that contrary to department policy, officers had failed to secure Gray inside the van while riding to the police station. The policy, which had been in effect only 6 days at the time of the incident, followed a review of other

transportation-related injuries that had been sustained in police custody in the city and elsewhere in the county during the preceding years.

The medical examiner's office concluded that Gray had sustained his injuries during transport, and therefore, his death could not be ruled an accident.² Rather, the medical examiner's office ruled Gray's death a homicide, citing the officers' failures to follow safety procedures through "acts of omission." Following the medical examiner's report, the Baltimore City state's attorney, Marilyn Mosby, announced that her office had filed criminal charges against all six police officers involved. Three of the officers were charged with manslaughter, whereas a fourth officer faced an additional count of second-degree depraved-heart murder. The remaining officers were charged with second-degree assault.³

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

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

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

Increased Danger for Police

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

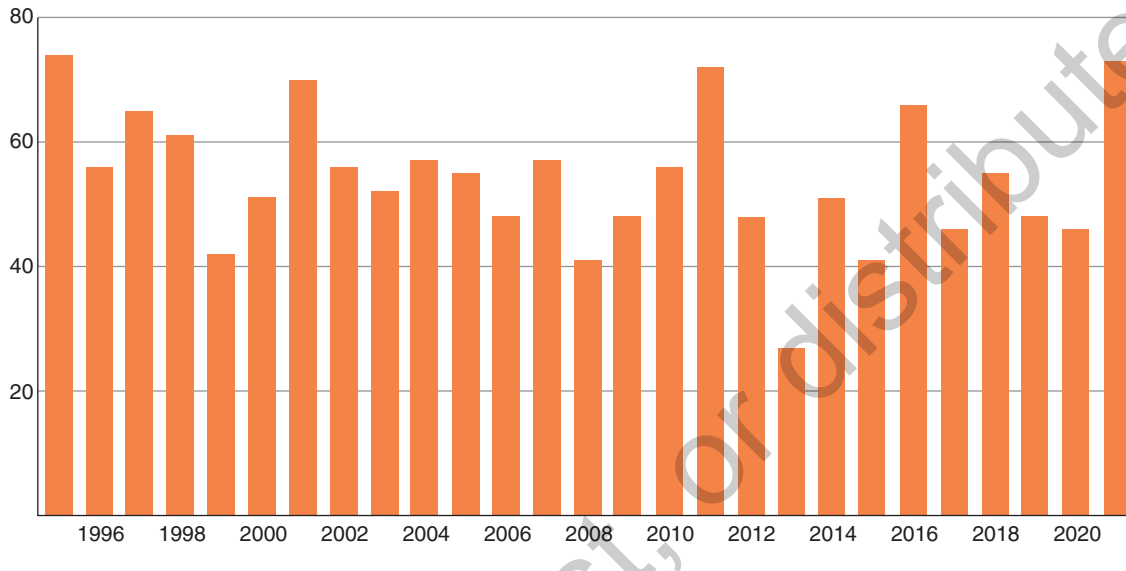
Figure 1.1 illustrates there were 73 U.S. police officers feloniously killed in the line of duty in 2021, representing a sharp increase over the previous year and the highest number since 1994. The majority of officers who were killed were fatally shot, including 24 officers who were killed in unprovoked attacks and 8 officers who died in ambush-style attacks.⁸ This includes a Texas constable deputy who was killed and two others wounded while addressing a disturbance outside a Houston nightclub. Upon entering the parking lot of the club, a suspect opened fire with an AR-15.⁹ In a separate incident, a police officer in Arvada, Colorado and a Good Samaritan were killed by a man who expressed an immense hatred toward police officers.¹⁰

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

police alike. Everyone wants answers, but the causes of crime are complex and dynamic. Factors such as gang activity, domestic violence, drug use, a curtailment of stop-and-frisk strategies, and even changes in sentencing laws may influence crime. Others, however, believe that the rise in crime began before the Ferguson Effect and point out that a sudden increase does not necessarily indicate a reversal of the 20-year downward trend. It is simply too soon to say.

FIGURE 1.1 ■ Officers Feloniously Killed in the Line of Duty (1995–2021)

Officers feloniously killed in the line of duty (1995–2021)



Source: FBI's LEOKA database

Police and the Public Trust

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



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

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

This, of course, is related to questions of how to best hold police accountable and how to best measure police performance. Meaningful measurement is reliant on the reporting of accurate and complete data, something which has become a constant concern and an area with much room for improvement. Indeed, without accurate

statistics, it is nearly impossible to know the truth about how the police are doing, especially when high-profile cases and emotionally charged issues dominate the conversation. For example, the United States has no national database that tracks fatal shootings by police. The federal government does not currently require local law enforcement agencies to report such data.¹⁴

Investigative reporting by the *Washington Post* newspaper determined an unofficial accounting of fatal police shootings. Their estimate was that 1,055 individuals were shot and killed by police in 2021, which is up from 1,021 shootings the previous year.¹⁵ Black people and people of color remain disproportionately more at risk. For example, despite making up only 13% of the total population, Blacks are approximately 2.9 times more likely to be killed by police than white people, who account for nearly 60% of the nation's population.¹⁶ Stated another way, while white people were killed at a rate of 2.3 people per million in the population from 2015-2021, Hispanic Americans were killed at a rate of 4.2 per million and Blacks at 5.7 people per million. In the vast majority of cases, 85%, the deceased people had wielded firearms or other weapons, including a machete, a sledge axe, and a pitchfork. Mental health again played an outsized role in the shootings; approximately 14% had known mental issues, which is down from one fifth the previous two years.¹⁵

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

THE CONCEPT AND MANDATE OF THE POLICE

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

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

Societies experience a tension between the needs of order and liberty, which often results in a paradox involving the need for police and the need for protection from the police. On one hand, police require the legal authority to detain persons suspected of criminal activity, to investigate crimes, and to seize property. On the other hand, police are required to respect (and even to protect) restrictions on police activities that might violate fundamental constitutional protection against unreasonable search and seizure.¹⁷

The police in civilian society are vested with the authority to impose or to force solutions on citizens when problems or emergencies arise—such as making arrests, on the one hand, and providing services for the physically or mentally ill, on the other. The police are responsible for both protecting individual rights as well as ensuring an orderly society. To help accomplish the latter, police officers frequently intervene in the daily affairs of private citizens, for example, when enforcing traffic laws or dealing with domestic violence. Individuals want the protection of the police when they are threatened or harmed but also—especially in the United States—do not want the police to interfere in their activities and lives. Many early settlers came to this country precisely because they did not want government intervention in, and regulation of, their daily activities.¹⁸

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The police are also expected to share in a number of social service functions that require intervention in cases such as domestic violence, mentally ill and emotionally disturbed individuals, and child and elder abuse.¹⁹ This type of police responsibility is occurring at a time when some police have begun “severely limiting the types of calls that result in direct face-to-face responses by officers.”²⁰ Some police agencies, for instance, have begun to experiment with self-reports of certain crimes (offenses that are generally considered to be “unworkable”) in an attempt to focus their limited resources on other activities.

POLICE STORIES 1.1 COMMANDER DAN KOENIG, LAPD RETIRED

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

him to the movies. After agreeing to a reasonable curfew, the young couple left. The parents thanked us for our service, and we left with waves to them and the small gathering of neighbors that had formed.

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

SCOPE OF THE LAW ENFORCEMENT SECTOR

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

Levels of Policing

American police personnel are employed at the international, federal, state, county, and municipal levels. The federal Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) conducts comprehensive and detailed surveys of police agencies in the United States. There is one census for state and local agencies and another for federal agencies. As of 2016, the BJS reported that more than 15,000 local police and sheriff’s departments and primary state agencies in the United States employed a slightly over 1 million persons on a full-time basis. Of those employees, approximately 701,000 were sworn full-time officers, whereas an additional 349,000 were identified as non-sworn full-time employees. Another 65,000 were described as part time, both sworn and non-sworn employees.²¹

A total of 4% of police departments (624 agencies) employed 100 or more officers in 2016. These agencies employed 62% of all full-time police officers in the United States, or around 430,000 officers. The New York City Police Department (NYPD) remained the largest police agency in 2016, with 36,008 full-time officers. The NYPD was one of 45 local police departments that employed 1,000 or more full-time officers. By way of comparison, about 48% (5,848 agencies) employed fewer than 10 full-time police officers. Other agencies employed no full-time sworn personnel but rather hired a number of part-time officers or contracted with outside agencies to provide their police services. See Table 1.1 for statistics on police personnel.

TABLE 1.1 ■ General Purpose State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 2016
(Latest Data Available)

Type of Agency	Number of Agencies	Number of Full-Time Sworn Officers
All state and local	15,322	701,273
Local police	12,261	468,274
Sheriff*	3,012	173,354
Primary state**	49	59,645

*excludes sheriffs’ offices with only jail and court duties. **Hawaii does not have a primary state law enforcement agency

Source: Hyland & Davis (2019)

State Police

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

State police agencies have the responsibility for traffic enforcement on highways, particularly in areas outside the city or township limits. Some agencies focus almost exclusively on traffic control (highway patrol departments), and others maintain more general enforcement powers (state police investigation departments).²² Typically, the state police are empowered to provide law enforcement service anywhere in the state, while the highway patrol officers have limited authority based on their specific duty assignment, type of offense, or jurisdiction.



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

AP Photo/Darron Cummings

Local Police

Local police departments employed 468,274 full-time sworn personnel in 2016, accounting for about two thirds (67%) of all state and local police officers working for general purpose agencies.²¹ The officers working for these agencies represent what most people think of when referring to the “police.” Local police departments are tasked with providing a breadth of services that include crime prevention, order maintenance, traffic enforcement, criminal investigations, and community outreach programs. Local police are composed of the cities, municipalities, and political subdivisions that have decided to create a police force to serve their own specific needs.

Sheriffs and Deputy Sheriffs

Sheriffs remain one of the only elected law enforcement officials still in existence today. Depending on the size and complexity of the agency, sheriff's deputies perform duties similar to municipal police officers such as routine patrol, criminal investigations, and traffic enforcement. Many sheriff's deputies perform a number of additional duties as well, which involve maintaining the safety and security of courthouses, including ensuring the security of jurors when they are outside the courtroom, serving court papers, extraditing prisoners, and performing other court functions.²³ Likewise, in most counties, the sheriff is responsible for maintaining the jail, the supervision of inmates, and the transportation of inmates to court.

Federal Law Enforcement

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

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), formerly known as the Bureau of Investigation (BOI), and perhaps the best known federal law enforcement agency, was created in 1908. As of 2016, the FBI employed nearly 14,000 full-time officers.²⁴ Other federal agencies that employ law enforcement officers include the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA); the U.S. Marshals Service; the Bureau

of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF); the U.S. Supreme Court; the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA); Amtrak; and the Library of Congress.

The largest federal agency reported at the time was the U.S. Customs and Border Protection agency, with nearly 44,000 full-time officers with arrest and firearms authority. It is responsible for regulating and facilitating international trade, collecting import duties, and enforcement of U.S. regulations that include trade, custody, and immigration.

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

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

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

TABLE 1.2 ■ The Five Largest Federal Agencies With Authority for Firearms and Arrest, 2016 (Latest Data Available)

Agency	Number of Full-Time Officers	Agency Responsibility
Customs and Border Protection	43,724	Enforcement of controlled substance laws
Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP)	19,093	Custody and care of federal inmates
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)	13,799	Investigation of violations of federal criminal law in a variety of areas (e.g., civil rights, terrorism, espionage, cyber-based attacks, public corruption, white-collar crime, and violent crime)
Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)	12,400	Promotion of homeland security and public safety through the criminal and civil enforcement of federal laws governing border control, customs, trade, and immigration
Secret Service	4,697	Investigation of violent crimes, criminal organizations, illegal use and storage of explosives, acts of arson and bombings, acts of terrorism, and the illegal diversion of alcohol and tobacco products

Source: Brooks, C. (2019).

A CHANGING LANDSCAPE

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

Regardless of their status as public or private, full time or part time, sworn or non-sworn, police personnel currently find themselves operating in a rapidly changing environment. For example, the use of unmanned aerial vehicles for crime-scene mapping, traffic control, and border monitoring is slowly increasing, as is the use of global positioning systems (GPS) and sophisticated video surveillance.²⁵ At the same time, the USA PATRIOT (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism) Act extended government authority to tap phones and computers, which requires the police to process huge amounts of information.

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

YOU DECIDE 1.1

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

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

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

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

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

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

A CHANGING WORKFORCE

The domination of policing by white males in the United States has long been considered a threat to the legitimacy of the profession as police agencies have struggled with attracting, retaining, and promoting minorities within their agencies for decades.²⁶ Reformers have encouraged law

enforcement to recognize and value the emotional labor aspects of the profession and have advocated for police leaders to expand the definition of appropriate emotional work to include activities and feelings associated with the service aspects of the profession. Reformers have emphasized the discrepancy between the values and cultures created by the image of the police as crime fighters and the reality of most police work, which is overwhelmingly composed of tedious and mundane service and order-maintenance tasks. Community policing is the most salient example of this type of reform.²⁷

The inclusion of female and minority police officers in the workforce has been seen as an attempt to integrate unique skill sets that promote community policing. Generally, women are believed to be more people focused, socially skilled, and emotionally sensitive than men and more likely to engage in caring behavior.²⁸ Going by recommendations of the Kerner Commission (1968), the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, and findings from studies which examine policing in immigrant communities, it can be argued that increasing minority officer representatives (African American or Hispanic) in these communities may be beneficial because having more officers who share background characteristics (e.g., race/ethnicity, language, minority status) with immigrant citizens might help alleviate some problems that immigrants can present to policing. These include lack of trust in the police due to negative experiences with police officers from their home countries.²⁹

In 2016, racial or ethnic minorities comprised 29% of local police officers, according to the most recent United States Bureau of Justice Statistics Report.³⁰ That is up from the first published study in 1987, which showed 15% minority officers, and 25% minority officers in 2007.³¹ Likewise, in 2016, 12% of local police personnel were identified as female, who were twice as likely to work in departments that served 250,000 or more residents than jurisdictions with fewer than 25,000 residents (16% and 8%, respectively).³⁰ Although future chapters in this text will further examine the changes in our police workforce, one recent illustration of these changes can be seen in the 2020 graduation class of the John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York. Of the 4,145 students graduating, 59.6% of the graduates were women.³¹



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

AP Photo/Mark Wilson

CASE IN POINT 1.1

January 6th, 2021 U.S. Capitol Riot

On January 6, 2021, a heavily-armed mob of U.S. President Trump's supporters attacked the U.S. Capitol building after months of believing the voting system for the presidential election was fraudulent. Many say the president himself instigated the attack as he held a "Save America" rally nearby on the same day, where he again touted claims of a rigged election and voter fraud. In his speech, he told his supporters to "never concede" and "If you don't fight like hell, you're not going to have a country anymore." He later said, "You'll never take back our country with weakness. You have to show strength, and you have to be strong." Following his speech, thousands of Trump supporters marched 16 blocks to the Capitol building, breached the police gates, smashed windows, pushed police officers and forced their way into the Capitol. Fearing for their lives, Congress was forced to adjourn and its members take shelter in secret tunnels as rioters ransacked the Capitol, including the office of the House Speaker. There were 1,400 Capitol Police officers on duty during the riot, and they proved to be greatly outnumbered by the 1,000s of people storming the Capitol Building, and the National Guard was not deployed to assist until most of the violence had subsided. Meanwhile, President Trump and the rest of the nation watched the violence unfold for hours, which would eventually claim the lives of four rioters and three Capitol Police officers (two officers by suicide after the attack) and injure approximately 140 Capitol and Metropolitan police officers. At least 725 people have been charged in connection with the attack, and as of this writing, at least 167 rioters have pleaded guilty to their charges. The FBI continues to search for suspects in this incident.

1. Discuss how this incident might shape police responses to future riots, including how various levels of police might coordinate future responses.
2. If you were a local police chief, how might you use incidents like this one to formulate prevention plans?
3. How might citizens and police work together to ensure protests stay peaceful?

Source: <https://www.americanoversight.org/investigation/the-january-6-attack-on-the-u-s-capitol>

ADDITIONAL TYPES OF POLICE/SECURITY

Private Security

Estimates of private security and contract personnel indicated that there were 11,719 private security companies in 2022.³² These companies employed at least 1.1 million private security personnel in a number of different occupations ranging from private security or contract guards to executive protection, to private investigators, to industrial security, and to contract employees for the military.³³

Special Jurisdiction Police

Special jurisdictions include college and university police, public and private school police, and agencies that serve transportation systems and facilities.³⁴ In many cases, special jurisdiction police are both sworn and non-sworn police officers assigned to a specific geographic jurisdiction.

University police officers respond to requests for service that cannot be fulfilled by local police. As an example, the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign provides specific class training in the following areas: active threat training, safe walk programs, crime prevention classes, rape aggression defense classes, courses related to intolerance/hate crime prevention.³⁵ In addition, the University of Illinois Urbana–Champaign employs unarmed community service providers to address non-emergencies and recently engaged in a program to train its police alongside social workers to better address people with mental health issues.

Auxiliary, Reserve, and Special Purpose Police

Auxiliary, reserve, and special purpose police assist regular police officers. They usually work part time; they can be armed or unarmed and either paid for their services or volunteer. The extent of training varies in many cases based on the duties assigned, but the training is usually similar to that completed by full-time sworn police officers. This type of officer may be assigned to vehicle, foot, or bicycle patrol. Table 1.3 includes a list of some of these special tasks and the percentage of departments that designate personnel to perform each task.



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

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Conservation Police Officers and Game Wardens

These types of police officers usually have full police authority and statewide or federal jurisdiction. The enforcement duties of Illinois officers, for example, include enforcement in state parks of criminal laws, vehicle laws, drug laws, fish and wildlife laws, timber transportation laws, endangered species laws, and snowmobile operation as well as patrolling Illinois lakes and rivers to check boating safety equipment and watercraft registration.³⁶

TABLE 1.3 ■ Personnel Designated to Perform Special Operational Tasks in Local Police Departments, by Size of Department, 2016 (Latest Data Available)

Problem or Task	Departments Serving 100,000 or More Residents	Departments Serving Less Than 100,000 Residents
Total	Total	Total
Bomb/explosive disposal	56.7%	5.1%
Cybercrime	78.3	18.9
Bias/hate crimes	45.1	11.1
Tactical operations (e.g., SWAT)	98.9	28.6
Terrorism homeland security	81.2	10.9

Source: Hyland, S. & Davis, E. (2019). *Local Police Departments, 2016: Personnel*. Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.

Tribal Police Officers

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, there are currently 258 law enforcement agencies that are operating on Native American land, including 234 tribal-operated agencies and 23 agencies operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). A majority of these police departments are general-purpose police agencies, and the others are special jurisdiction agencies that enforce natural resource laws.³⁷

These agencies provided a broad range of police services on tribal lands, including “responding to calls for service, investigating crimes, enforcing traffic laws, executing search warrants, serving process, providing court security, and conducting search and rescue operations.”³⁸

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

CHAPTER SUMMARY

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

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

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

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

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

KEY TERMS

Department of Homeland Security (DHS) (p. 11) police officer (p. 4)
 law enforcement officer (p. 4) police (p. 7)

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

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

INTERNET EXERCISES

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

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