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THE HISTORY OF POLICING
“The myth of the unchanging police dominates much of our thinking about the American police. In both popular discourse and academic scholarship one continually encounters references to the ‘tradition-bound’ police who are resistant to change. Nothing could be further from the truth. The history of the American police over the past one hundred years is a story of drastic, if not radical change.”

—Samuel Walker (1977)

“You never can tell what a man is able to do, but even though I recommend ten, and nine of them may disappoint me and fail, the tenth one may surprise me. That percentage is good enough for me, because it is in developing people that we make real progress in our own society.”

—August Vollmer (n.d.)

INTRODUCTION: POLICING AS A DYNAMIC ENTITY

Policing as we know it today is relatively new. The notion of a professional uniformed police officer receiving specialized training on the law, weapon use, and self-defense is taken for granted. In fact, policing has evolved from a system in which officers initially were appointed by friends, given no training, provided power to arrest without warrants, engaged in taking bribes from criminals, and carried revolvers. More contemporary police officers are screened, educated, and trained to serve and protect the public. As Walker’s quote above indicates, the change in American policing over time is nothing short of radical.1 Policing has progressed and is not highly tradition bound—to the luck of society! The purpose of this chapter is to offer historical information about policing in the United States in order to better understand and appreciate law enforcement as we know it today.

EARLY ENGLISH POLICING

The history of British policing directly influenced the development of policing in the American Colonies. Earliest records indicate that initially England had no regular formal police force and that policing and security responsibilities fell to a social unit referred to as the borne. This collective of 12 individuals stood surety for one another’s good behavior. Membership in any

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After finishing this chapter, you should be able to:

4.1 Summarize the influence of early English policing on policing and the increasing professionalization of policing in the United States over time.

4.2 Identify how the nature of policing in the United States has changed over time.

4.3 Evaluate the contributions of August Vollmer and the International Association of Chiefs of Police on policing in the United States.

4.4 Review the role of women and blacks in early policing.

4.5 Identify the sources and consequences of the unrest in policing during the 1960s and 1970s.

4.6 Summarize how policing has become more than just law enforcement, and offer ideas as to the direction of the future of policing in the United States.
were very corrupt. Once the offender was captured, the thief taker was paid a bounty.

Privately, thief takers: agents who were charged by the sheriffs: early policing agents who were charged to pursue and apprehend criminals at great personal financial expense. They were generally unarmed and perused individualism rather than working as a group at night to protect the community from robberies, fires, and other disturbances.

thief takers: Privately hired men who were hired by victims to capture criminal offenders. Once the offender was captured, the thief taker was paid a bounty. Often these individuals were very corrupt.

borh: Earliest known system of policing in England. The borh was a unit that was responsible for policing and security which was generally a collective of 12 individuals who stood surety for one another's good behavior.

frankpledge: A system of policing that replaced the borh. A frankpledge included all males age 12 or older from 10 households into groups referred to as tythings. Police officers in London. Citizens failed to realize that Wild led a gang of thieves who stole property. Wild would hide this property until the theft was reported in the paper. At that time, the law enforcement would turn in a member of his own thief-taking gang, claiming the man as a criminal he had apprehended. As a result, this criminal—one of his own men—would be hanged. Wild also

This informal social system of security functioned well until it was destroyed with the invasion and occupation of England in 1066 following the Norman conquest. This occupation led to the introduction of the frankpledge system. Like the earlier borh, this was a system of suretyship. Unlike the borh, it included all men over age 12 in groups of approximately 10 households (a tything or tithing). Also in contrast to the old borh system, membership in a tything was not voluntary. All members were expected to produce any man of that tything suspected of committing a crime. If the suspect failed to appear before the court, the tything would be held responsible for the deeds of the alleged offender and could be forced to pay any fines for his criminal acts.

Ten tythings were grouped together into a collective referred to as a hundred. A leader called a hundredman, who was appointed by a local nobleman, supervised the affairs of a hundred. The hundredman was considered by some to be the first real police officer who dealt with more serious breaches of the law. In time, the Frankpledge system and tythings disappeared, while the hundredman remained and became known as the parish constable.

The parish constable operated in towns and was generally unarmed, unpaid, and part-time. Initially, parishioners elected parish constables, but beginning in 1617, they were appointed by the local justice of the peace. As the population grew and the Industrial Revolution progressed, a single parish constable was unable to function successfully. Numbers of constables were increased, but this was of no positive consequence. Inwood described parish constables "of variable quality and commitment" whose effectiveness ranged from inadequate to nonexistent.

Other individuals functioned as policing entities concurrently. For example, shire reeves: operated in more county-like settings. The shire reeve (i.e., the precursor to sheriff) was appointed by the Crown or a local landowner to supervise the territory and ensure orderly conduct. Part of that responsibility entailed pursuing and apprehending criminals. In addition, city watchmen were used to protect property in England's larger cities and towns. These individuals wore leather helmets (and were dubbed leatherheads) and patrolled at night to protect the community from robberies, fires, and other disturbances. City watchmen generally avoided confrontation. When they identified a problem, they reported it to the parish constable. Given their avoidance of confrontation, they received little respect by the community.

Another group that functioned in a policing capacity was thief takers. These were men privately hired by victims to capture criminal offenders. Once an offender was captured, the thief taker was paid a bounty by the victim. Thief takers operated similarly to today's bounty hunters, although important differences between the two exist. First, victims versus bail bondsmen paid thief takers. Second, thief takers were universally corrupt and engaged in illegal activities themselves. For example, thief takers would negotiate with the victim regarding the return of stolen goods for a fee. Then thief takers would extort protection money from the same criminals they were hired to capture. Third, thief takers routinely perjured themselves at trial. Fourth, thief takers imprisoned thieves with no incentive to treat them humanely. They charged their prisoners enormous sums of money for food and board. In sum, thief takers were armed, corrupt, and extremely violent.

Jonathan Wild was an infamous thief taker at the same time he was a widely admired police officer in London. Citizens failed to realize that Wild led a gang of thieves who stole property. Wild would hide this property until the theft was reported in the paper. At that time, Wild would note that his "thief taking agents" had recovered the items and offer to return it to the owners for a price. On occasion, to appear as a noble crime fighter, Wild would turn in a member of his own thief-taking gang, claiming the man as a criminal he had apprehended. As a result, this criminal—one of his own men—would be hanged. Wild also
captured rival gang members and sent them off to their deaths. Wild’s actions appeared to be the work of a tireless lawman, when in fact it was actually rival gang violence happening before the public’s eyes. Wild proclaimed that he had sent more than 60 thieves to the gallows. Eventually, his criminality was revealed and public sentiment about him soured. As a result, Wild was hanged in 1725 in a spectacle with tickets sold in advance. The hangman had been a guest at Wild’s wedding.

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE ACT OF 1829

An important advancement in policing was the passage of the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 in Britain. This act, introduced by England’s Home Secretary Sir Robert Peel, established London’s Metropolitan Police Force based at Scotland Yard. Many people considered this act as the beginning of modern public policing, and not surprisingly, Peel was dubbed the Father of Modern Policing.

The Metropolitan Police Act replaced the existing jumbled system of Parish constables and night watchmen with 1,000 constables referred to as “Bobbies” (in England) or “Peelers” (in Northern Ireland). The newly established police agency was militarily structured and initially plagued by problems, including corruption and bribery. For the first several years, one third of police officers were dismissed annually. Still, the police agency established by the act was a vast improvement over the previous means of policing. One measure of this was that crime decreased greatly.

In addition to the establishment of the new policing structure, Peel is credited with creating guiding principles for police officers. These Peelian principles are presented in contemporary references as 9, 10, or 12 tenets; however, there is no evidence that Peel promulgated or believed any or all of these principles. Further, there is no evidence that Peel presented any principles in a numbered or listed fashion. There is evidence that at least some of these principles originated in the “New Police Instructions” (1829), which were published in The Times and The Courier newspapers 5 days before the new constables hit the streets. In short, research into the history of Peelian principles points to them as an invention of modern-day textbooks.

Still, the principles widely credited to Peel represent important values thought to have guided the beginnings of police modernization. Those principles include the importance of public approval for police to work effectively, the need for public cooperation, the need for police to operate in impartial service to the law, and the need for police to use physical force only when necessary.

COLONIAL AMERICA AND POLICING

Like many aspects of our criminal justice system, policing in the United States can be traced back to our English roots. Not surprising, then, is that colonial America was characterized by a variety of law enforcement roles found in Britain at the time. Little changed in policing when the Colonies broke from the control of England as English common law continued to rule and each state or territory determined lawful or unlawful behavior. Because each colony, territory, and later state maintained full sovereignty, each had to rely on its own resources in terms of finances and people for its policing apparatus. Historically, citizens insisted on minimal and local policing. This context is important to keep in mind when considering early policing in the Colonies and later the United States.

At the beginning, trained police forces did not exist and methods used to maintain the peace were ineffective. In some locales policing agents...
POLICY ISSUES

The Appropriate Role of a Police Officer

Historically, police officers performed a variety of tasks such as tax collection, street sanitation, public health, and law enforcement. Today, many believe that all police should be tasked with additional law enforcement policies—namely immigration responsibilities. Some argue that police officers should be able to stop and ask citizens about their citizenship status, request papers, and arrest those they believe are undocumented.

Think About It

1. What is the appropriate role of a police officer?
2. Would this type of policy have an effect on the relationship between police and the public?
3. How might this affect a citizen’s likelihood to report crime or victimization to the police?
4. Would a policy like this allow criminals to remain free and target Hispanics or others commonly thought to be undocumented?

Now that you have thought about the issue of immigration policies and the use of police to enforce them, imagine you are the new chief of police who gets to establish new policy in Houston, Texas.

5. Would you allow immigration duties be carried out by the police?
6. If so, how would you write policy to ensure that abuse of power does not occur and that all citizens report violence?
7. If not, what would you include as the appropriate role of a police officer today?

were unpaid, in other places agents were paid, and in yet other locations each male was expected to participate on a rotating basis as an officer. In addition, there were some more formalized positions that expected to maintain order. Parish constables were utilized in the Colonies to maintain the weapons and equipment of each hundred while sheriffs worked in counties. Though operating in distinct areas, these highly lucrative roles were similar: Both sheriffs and constables were large landowners who were appointed by colonial governors to enforce the law in the areas they controlled and to protect their lands.

Colonial sheriffs were responsible for capturing criminals, serving subpoenas, supervising elections, dealing with religious nonconformists, and collecting taxes. They did not patrol to deter crime, but rather worked reactively, focusing on citizen complaints after crimes had occurred. Sheriffs were paid with fees based on tasks performed. Because tax collection offered the highest fees, sheriffs focused on the profitable task of tax collection. The fees were not the only way sheriffs enriched themselves. They were frequently engaged in embezzlement and other irregularities associated with tax collection. Law enforcement responsibilities such as apprehending criminals—while offering monetary rewards—were not financially worthwhile enough to become a focus of their daily activities. Rather, law enforcement responsibilities were a low priority, and predictably this system was inefficient in terms of crime fighting.
Initially, constables and sheriffs could contend with crime in their respective areas. Criminal activity increased in conjunction with the population, requiring new policing actors. Mayors were considered the chief law enforcement officer in some locations, though they rarely acted in this capacity. The mayor appointed town marshals who had powers similar to those of sheriffs. Following the British system, night watchmen, operating during the night and later in the day, were also used to supplement law enforcement. The first night watch was implemented in Boston in the 1630s and consisted of an officer and six other males (some were soldiers and others citizens). This group of citizens patrolled the towns and cities to watch for suspicious actors, maintained street lamps, called the hour, gave weather reports, raised the hue and cry (i.e., alerting people to a problem or difficulty), and reported fires or any sort of mayhem. If something suspicious was noted, the watchman reported this activity to the constable.

Vigilantes

In some locales, vigilantes performed law enforcement duties with no legal authority. Vigilantes are self-appointed distributors of justice—at least justice as they see it. Charles Lynch, a Virginia farmer, was an early vigilante during the Revolutionary period who led a group of men that tracked down and punished outlaws and other assorted criminals. His acts as a vigilante resulted in the adoption of the term lynching. Another early example of vigilantism beginning in about 1765 and lasting almost 6 years was in Colonial North Carolina with the Regulator Movement. This movement featured armed citizens turning on corrupt colonial officials such as sheriffs. Citizens believed that sheriffs, the courts, and others in power were using collected taxes for personal gain. Citizens complained that sheriffs collected and pocketed taxes only to return to citizens and demand taxes already paid. The colonial governor supported this corrupt system. The citizens—primarily lower class individuals—rebelled against those in power—primarily higher class individuals—to establish an honest government and reduce taxation. Elites in power brought in the militia to crush the uprising of the citizens and hung its leaders.

In South Carolina in the 1760s, citizen vigilantes went into action for a different cause. Unlike the uprising in North Carolina, the events in South Carolina occurred to protect citizens from outlaw gangs that had been terrorizing citizens. Because funding for peace officers had never materialized, citizens took law enforcement (policing and courts) into their own hands. This episode of vigilantism resulted in the funding of needed criminal justice improvements by the governor of South Carolina.

Slave Patrols

Another type of policing entity emerged in the South: the slave patrol. Slave patrols originated in 1704 in South Carolina and consisted of a group of three to six white males whose purpose was to regulate the behavior of slaves and to hunt down and punish escaped slaves. Some argue that slave patrols were the first organized police organizations in America. Patrol members were frequently selected from state militias, and members were armed with and freely used firearms and whips. Apprehended slaves were not privy to any due process such as a jury trial or testifying on their own behalf. Slave patrols spread throughout the South and eventually became a national law. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850: A law passed by the U.S. Congress that addressed fears of a “slave power conspiracy” as the population of slaves grew. This law required that runaway slaves be returned to their master and that law enforcement agents arrest anyone thought to be a runaway slave. Persons who aided a runaway slave by offering food or shelter were subject to 6 months in prison and a $1,000 fine. Slave patrols created difficulty for both

Fugitive Slave Law of 1850: A law passed by the U.S. Congress that addressed fears of a “slave power conspiracy” as the number of slaves grew. This law created the need for slave patrols, which became the purview of police officers.
free and enslaved black persons as all were subjected to questions, general harassment, requirements to disperse, and searches of their persons and homes by slave patrols. Often the patrols meted out punishment such as maiming and death regardless of whether a law had been broken.

**Ineffective Policing Reigns**

Up until this time, policing was a mishmash of citizens and part-time watchmen who functioned poorly and was plagued by corruption. Walker offers some reasons for the ineffectiveness of early policing in America. First, policing was a reactive endeavor. No attempt to patrol or proactively deter crime was made by any of the agents of policing. Further, that the law was selectively applied and crimes were selectively dealt with did not escape the notice of the citizens. This lack of equal justice was especially troubling given the recent promise of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, which touted the protection of life, liberty, and property, and the promise of fair and equal administration of criminal justice. The lack of equal justice for all was abundantly clear. Second, citizens did not respect law enforcement agents. All too often, these men were as criminally motivated as the outlaws they were charged with apprehending. Third, the corruption of agents, lack of respect by the populace, and reactive nature (or lack of action altogether) by police resulted in poor reporting of crime to the police. If crimes are not reported to the police, then offenders may offend with impunity and police agents may believe that criminality is not an issue requiring their attention. An additional reason for the poor operation of the law is that many in the population did not want the laws enforced. During this period, sin and crime were synonymous. While theoretically citizens stated they were against sin, in reality many engaged in and enjoyed illegal or illicit behaviors such as drinking and illicit sex and prostitution. This environment was not conducive to professional and efficient law enforcement.
PROFESSIONALISM ENTERS AMERICAN POLICING

Initially, a modern police force was not desired and the citizenry preferred reliance on a community consensus model. The growth of cities and increasing heterogeneity of the population revealed the insufficiency of these approaches to policing. In the 1830s citizen opinions turned. The population viewed crime as being out of control and they viewed the mass immigration of the time as contributing to increased poverty, crime, vice, disease, and lowered quality of life. Cities such as New York experienced riots, major fires, and economic depressions as a result of the strife. A new approach to law enforcement was needed: formal and professional police forces.

The early 19th century was characterized by several policing improvements and the organization of the first police departments. While it is difficult to distinguish which city was the first to implement an organized police agency, though many identify Boston and New York as leading the charge. In 1838, Boston was the first major city to require by statute the maintenance of a permanent nightwatch patrol. In 1854–1855 this nightwatch was joined with Boston Police (the day patrol) to form a united entity. Boston also created the first detective division in 1851. New York City organized a police force with three separate components supervised by different authorities, and rivalries existed among the factions. In 1844 the forces were united in a centrally directed police department that was based on Peel’s English Bobbies. In the 1830s, using funds left by a philanthropist, Philadelphia organized a 24-member police force and a night force with 120 watchmen. This force was short-lived, so most note that Philadelphia created its first formal police department in 1854. A civilian patrol unit was initially implemented in New Orleans, and in 1818 it was replaced by paid watchmen and a professional force. Cincinnati required all adult males to serve in rotations (with no salary) as night watchmen. By the 1870s, unified police forces could be found in most U.S. cities.

Being an officer was a highly desirable job because it paid about $900 annually, which was about twice the amount paid to blue-collar workers at the time. Initially many police departments required officers to engage in tasks that surprise people today. For instance, Boston police officers were charged with maintaining public health. New York City police officers were required to sweep the city streets. Other responsibilities included walking beats, finding lost children, rescuing people from accidents, regulating markets, putting out fires, hauling drunks to the station, moderating domestic fights, and untangling traffic jams of horse-drawn vehicles. While these were important tasks, the major responsibility of officers was to maintain order, which represented a significant change.

While these professionalization efforts were a step forward, many serious problems remained as officer powers were unchecked and corruption continued to be a problem. Officers could arrest persons without a warrant, and controversy surrounded the type of weapons they carried. Initially, officers carried only clubs, which they used freely. Given the increasing violence of criminals, officers argued for the ability to carry revolvers. In contrast, many police chiefs described the carrying of revolvers as “unmanly.” Eventually this issue was resolved, and officers carried revolvers by the end of the 1850s, although they did so without any firearm training. Controversy also surrounded whether officers should be uniformed. In 1693, when the first uniformed police officer was appointed in New York, the use of police uniforms was uncommon. Some noted that police sloppiness in appearance was problematic and that uniforms might command more respect for officers as the citizens continued to disrespect them. In contrast, citizens were apprehensive because uniforms were linked to standing armies. The uniform debate was settled and the use of uniforms increased beginning in 1853. An additional controversy focused on to whom the police reported. Policing was highly biased because politicians in power selected officers, meaning they served politicians first and the public second. When an incumbent was removed from power, officers were replaced by those favored by the new politician. This issue was settled in places such as St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit,
and Cleveland as full control of policing agencies was moved to the state level. State-controlled policing agencies were short-lived in some places and lasted much longer in others. Additional controversies surrounding policing included ascertaining which laws to enforce, how to select officers, and the role of officers in the community. Interestingly, these are questions that are relevant today, centuries later.

ADVANCING PROFESSIONALISM IN POLICING: 20th-CENTURY REFORM

August Vollmer: The Father of American Policing

While many improvements had been made in policing since the colonial era, police agencies at the turn of the 20th century were still disorganized, rife with political corruption, incompetence, and brutality. Police officers continued to be underpaid, poorly trained, and often pressured to enforce the laws that benefited those in political power. This changed with the contributions of August Vollmer, the Father of American Policing.

Vollmer was elected town marshal of Berkeley, California, in 1905 and believed that police officers should be free from political pressure and be highly educated, trained, and well paid. Through the use of science and technology, and the education and professionalization of policing, Vollmer argued, officers could better protect the public and their property. Some of his first actions as leader of the Berkeley police force were to implement a code of ethics for officers, ban political corruption and gifts, and outlaw the third degree. The third degree was a brutal activity used by officers to gather information from a citizen. Vollmer was a tireless advocate who believed that officers should function as social workers and do more than arrest offenders.

Technology

Vollmer was directly responsible for the adoption of many innovative police techniques and technologies that are still in use today. He had telephone boxes with electric flashing signal alarms installed throughout town that allowed headquarters to summon and dispatch officers more efficiently. As technology advanced, he outfitted officers with radios to further facilitate communication. Vollmer started patrols on bicycles (and later motorcycles and patrol cars), which increased officer mobility and decreased response times. Vollmer implemented one of the first centralized police records systems in the nation. His emphasis on well-kept police records was a central theme in his policing strategy—one eventually taken to the national level in the form of the Uniform Crime Reports. Vollmer also implemented the first use of the modus operandi system to classify offenders and crimes, and facilitated the identification of crime patterns to solve crimes. Vollmer was the first to make use of the scientific analysis of evidence such as blood, fibers, and soil
in crime investigation. Another significant technological innovation implemented by Vollmer, in 1920, was a lie detector type instrument developed at the University of California for use in crime investigations. Vollmer also introduced scientifically based screening methods for hiring officers and weeding out emotionally unsuitable individuals among policing candidates.

**Education and Professionalization**

Vollmer’s influence extended beyond improvements for policing on the streets. He strongly believed in the need for an educated police force and he required that Berkeley police officers earn a college degree. To this end, in 1908 Vollmer established the Berkeley Police School, where all officers were required to complete course work while off duty. Courses taught by academics and experienced police professionals covered topics such as police methods and procedures, marksmanship, laws of evidence, fingerprinting, and first aid. This recognition of the importance of a well-educated police force is astonishing considering that more than 100 years later, only 1% of police agencies in the United States require that their officers hold a 4-year degree and only 9% require the completion of a 2-year degree.\(^\text{15}\)

In 1916, Vollmer began offering a series of summer courses at the University of California, Berkeley, which police officers and university students attended. These summer courses constitute the beginning of criminal justice and criminology as an academic field, leading directly to the 1951 establishment of the School of Criminology on the Berkeley campus. This was the first school in the nation to offer graduate degrees in criminology.\(^\text{16}\) Even after his official retirement, Vollmer contributed to the field. He and several colleagues formed what is known today as the American Society of Criminology, the professional organization of criminologists across the world.

It is difficult to imagine policing without the influence of Vollmer. Imagine, for example, trying to investigate the crimes against Jennifer Schuett without tools and technologies we take for granted today. Would police have ever been able to identify a subject in the Schuett case? Without the improvements that began with Vollmer and others like him, would any suspect identified in the Schuett case have been the actual guilty party? Without these advances, it may have been that an innocent person would have been identified in Schuett’s case and have been punished severely or executed. What of Chris Farias? Would he have been caught had he been driving while intoxicated during the early part of the 20th century? Possibly, but it would have depended on where he was driving. It was illegal to drive while intoxicated in New York as early as 1910. Areas in Massachusetts viewed driving under the influence as a crime as early as 1907. Though laws existed regarding driving under the influence a century or more ago, they were not specific about blood alcohol content, so it remains unknown if Chris would have been interacting with the criminal justice system had he been caught driving drunk 100 years before. It is possible that the actions of Joshua Paul Benjamin would never have come to light had he committed these deeds in the early 1900s. First, child sexual abuse has only been recognized as a criminal act since 1973 in the United States. In addition, it is clear that Joshua’s actions would not have been videotaped as that technology did not exist. This means that he would have technically not committed a crime, and there would not have been video of these activities. And finally, we know that Drs. Asch, Stone, and Balmaceda would not have been accused of any crime involving transplanting eggs as that technology did not exist a century ago. Advances in policing are tied intimately with technology.
International Association of Chiefs of Police

An influential and important group in the United States also has contributed greatly to the professionalization of policing in more contemporary times. This group, currently known as the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), started taking form in 1871. At this time, 112 police officials from across the nation gathered to discuss policing issues, including police telegraphing, detective information, social evil, abandoned youth, and an increase in crime. This gathering was organized largely through the efforts of officials in the St. Louis Police Department. A committee was established to plan the next meeting which failed to materialize.

Twenty-two years later, the chief of police in Omaha suggested a meeting in Chicago to further advance policing. At this 1893 meeting the organization was officially launched as the National Chiefs of Police Union, with an emphasis on crime prevention and rehabilitation. This meeting was unsuccessful because those in attendance were more interested in partaking of the benefits of Chicago than in dealing with police business. The next convention was held in 1895, and annual conventions have occurred since.

Initially, the goal of the organization was to apprehend and return criminal offenders who had absconded from jurisdictions in which they were wanted. Over time, the goals of the association have expanded to include advancing the art and science of police work, fostering cooperation, developing information exchange among police agencies, promoting best practices in law enforcement agencies (including recruitment and training of officers), and encouraging officers to behave with integrity and professional conduct.

The first president of the IACP was Richard Sylvester, the superintendent of the District of Columbia’s police department. He infused the organization with a professional spirit and ushered in the dawn of a new era of police administration in the United States as he served for 15 years. This included the renaming of the association in 1902 to the International Association of Chiefs of Police, a name by which it is still known today. Sylvester was responsible for many other important changes in the organization, including ideas related to professionalism. This effort included criticizing the motion picture industry for depictions of police officers as bumbling Keystone Cops.

In 1921, Vollmer was elected president of the IACP. As president, he advocated that officers act as social workers and intervene in citizens’ lives before they entered criminality. In addition, he pushed for many of the advances he had implemented in the state of California and Berkeley specifically. Vollmer also advocated for a national fingerprint collection system. And just as he had advocated for shared uniform crime data in California, he was instrumental
in urging the adoption of a nationally uniform system for the classification and collection of crime data. This system was adopted by the IACP after his presidency. Shortly thereafter in 1935, the Bureau of Investigation (the precursor to the Federal Bureau of Investigation) took charge of the Uniform Crime Reports, as noted in Chapter 2.

Today, the IACP publishes Police Chief Magazine, which advertises police positions, manages centers such as the International Association of Chiefs of Police Center for Officer Safety and Wellness, and provides information on a variety of topics, including school violence, victim response, training, and ethics. The organization continues to be an important leader in the continued professionalism of police officers and policing agencies.

DIVERSITY IN POLICING

Female Police Officers

Historically, policing has been viewed as a man’s job. In fact, in many agencies women were not even considered for clerical work. Identification of the first female officer is difficult because titles and responsibilities varied from place to place. One possibility is Lucy Gray. She was the first Los Angeles police matron, who in the 1880s created a position in the police department that aided children and women who were victims and offenders. While Gray was never referred to as a policewoman, she performed many of the same duties that male officers did while serving as police matron. Another possibility is Marie Owens, who in 1893 became the first woman appointed to perform police duties in Chicago. In this capacity, Owens held the rank of sergeant and enforced child labor and welfare laws. Others identify Lola Baldwin as the first female police officer. Appointed in 1905 in Portland, Oregon, Baldwin was given a temporary assignment with the Department of Public Safety for the Protection of Young Girls and Women. Initially, volunteers who staffed this group were not referred to as police officers. Rather, they were called operatives and workers at the request of Baldwin. This group was so successful that they were given permanent positions in the Portland Police Department, though they were housed at the YMCA instead of the precinct. Alice Stebbins Wells is another whom some cite as the first female police officer in the United States. In 1910, she became the first full-time police matron: Title frequently given to women who worked in the early days of policing.
New Hampshire police have different physical fitness testing standards based on the gender of the police cadet. Overall, on average males are stronger than females, and to account for these differences some jurisdictions, including New Hampshire, require female recruits to satisfy less rigorous physical standards than males when training in the police academy.

**Think About It**

This policy raises several questions.

1. Is it ethical that physical fitness tests be used at all?
2. Is it ethical that females be allowed to be police officers given their average lower physical strength and lower testing threshold?
3. Will the smaller physical presence of female officers (on average) provoke attacks by offenders and therefore endanger the public? Or does greater technology negate physical differences?
4. Or should females be allowed to be officers but be restricted to working at a desk, with juveniles, and only with other females?

Research suggests that females on average are more empathetic, better communicators, and less aggressive than males. These findings raise several important questions related to policy.

5. Do these gender differences indicate that females make better police officers than males?
6. Given the nature of most police work (which is not physical), are greater communications skills among females indicators that females are more suitable police officers?

Not only do the New Hampshire police have different physical fitness standards based on gender; they also must meet differing criteria based on the age of the applicant. Older applicants are not expected to meet such rigorous physical requirements.

New Hampshire’s policy on age raises more questions.

7. Should one limit hiring of police officers only to younger folks who tend to be more physically fit on average than their older counterparts?
8. Or should older police officers be allowed to work only with the elderly?
9. Or perhaps the ethical thing to do is to restrict older officers to desk work duty?

As the new police chief of Peacefulville, you are charged with establishing police officer testing criteria.

10. How will you address average differences in males and females in terms of requirements? Will you impose different criteria based on age, physical size, education, and communication skill levels?
11. What would you do and why?

The acceptance of female police officers created numerous controversies. Department and other official responses to female officers range from ambivalence to hostility. While many understood the value that women offered, they felt that their contributions should come through volunteer groups. Others were displeased with the thought of women wearing uniforms, patrolling beats, and arresting men and blacks. Female policing associations attempted to address objections by assuring police and other officials that women would not wear uniforms, walk beats, or interact with anyone but women and children. Further, reminding officials that policewomen were still women who cleaned houses and that they would not take over the responsibilities of males ameliorated other worries.
The responsibilities of policewomen differed from those of policemen. They patrolled areas where juveniles gathered, searched for missing persons, and suppressed inappropriate billboard displays. Not surprisingly, female officers were paid less than their male counterparts. Over time, enthusiasm for female officers diminished and fewer entered the profession. In the 1960s, attention on female officers reemerged (Figure 4.1). During this second era of policewomen, the first female was killed in the line of duty. Officer Gail Cobb, who was also an African American, was shot and killed while apprehending a bank robbery suspect in Washington, DC, in 1974.

**Black Police Officers**

Not only was policing viewed as man’s work, but it was seen as *white* man’s work. Identifying the first African American police officer is difficult as many jurisdictions failed to name these men. Police expert and researcher Sam Walker notes that a mayor in Chicago appointed the first African American officer in 1872.\(^24\) Although never identified by name, this individual is considered to be the first black officer *anywhere* and began a series of several black officers working for the Chicago police department. In 1884, the mayor of Philadelphia appointed 35 black officers at one time.\(^25\) Members of the public were passionately opposed to this move and assaulted the newly minted officers. In 1886, the Los Angeles Police Department hired two black officers, Robert William Stewart and Roy Green. Even in light of this, many sources give the distinction of the first African American police officer to Wiley Overton of the then Brooklyn Police Department (now part of the New York City Police Department). Overton was hired in 1891 shortly before the incorporation of the five boroughs into New York City.

In 1899, Julius Boyd Loving was hired as the first African American deputy in the Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department.\(^26\) Loving was responsible for progressive programs in the Los Angeles jail system. Known to many as the father of jail programs, Loving started the jail store, craft programs, a carpenter shop, a shoe shop, and a tailor shop. These programs helped to lower jail costs. Loving also was responsible for founding and supervising a prisoners’ art exhibit, which displayed paintings and other creative works produced by inmates. And he designed a three-tier bunk system in the jail that alleviated crowding and reduced the number of inmates sleeping on the floor.

New York City hired its first black officer in 1905 (though some sources note 1911). Samuel Battle was hired to patrol Central Park West but was ostracized by other officers. Many officers wished to preserve the all-white nature of the New York Police Department and gave Battle the silent treatment. Still, he rose to become the department’s first black sergeant, lieutenant, and parole commissioner. While these examples demonstrate early hiring of blacks as officers, this activity was still an anomaly. Following this early period, few were hired. For example, in 1965 only five black officers worked for the LAPD.

Like females versus males, the responsibilities of early black officers differed from their white male counterparts. Most early black officers worked in plain clothes because it was believed that having them in uniform would offend the white public. In addition, black officers generally worked only in black neighborhoods and could not arrest white citizens. Over time, more African Americans have joined police forces. Today, roughly 36% of the Philadelphia police department is composed of black officers.\(^27\) In New York City at the end of 2010, 53% of all patrol officers were black,\(^28\) and in Los Angeles as of 2000, 14% of the police department was black.\(^29\)
Hispanic and Asian Police Officers

Gathering information on the history of Hispanic policing is unfortunately very challenging. Some report that the first Hispanic police officer was appointed to what is now the New York City Police Department. George Garcia became a police officer in New York in 1888 (some report it as 1896). No additional information regarding this officer can be located. A search suggests that the first Hispanic police officer killed in the line of duty was Manuel Garcia y Griego. He was shot and killed on June 24, 1868, in Albuquerque, New Mexico. New Mexico did not become a state until 1902, and it is not clear who the first Hispanic officer killed in the line of duty in the United States proper was. Sadly, searches for Hispanics and policing are rich with incidents of police brutality against Hispanics. It is unfortunate that more information on the many early contributions of Hispanics to policing in the United States is unavailable.

A similar fate is found for Asian and American Indian officers in the United States: Information is extremely scarce. Reportedly, Jim Beltran was the first Asian police officer in
the United States. He joined the Seattle Police Department in 1958. No additional information on Officer Beltran and his accomplishments can be located. Scant details are found when searching for the first American Indian police officer in the United States. What can be found suggests that Thomas Lewis holds this honor. However, no information can be located as to where he served or when he was appointed.

UNREST IN POLICING (1960s AND 1970s)

By the time the 1960s rolled around, professionalism in policing in the United States had improved dramatically (Figure 4.2). Officers were trained and hiring was no longer based on the political patronage system. Still, this time showed that much remained to be accomplished regarding policing. The 1960s was a period of civil unrest in the United States. The civil rights movement was in full effect as blacks worked toward securing equal rights through peaceful and sometimes not-so-peaceful demonstrations. Riots became more commonplace, and too frequently these gatherings led to violence with the police. Blacks were segregated into ghettos, were forced to attend separated schools, had few employment opportunities, and were
routinely discriminated against at the voting booth. The civil rights movement frequently involved excessive use of force by officers, resulting in violent interactions between police and citizens.

**Legislative Changes**

Several legislative changes directly affecting policing occurred during this decade. First, rights were expanded through legislation including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Civil Rights Act was initially called for by President John F. Kennedy prior to his assassination. This important piece of legislation signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson outlawed discrimination against racial, ethnic, national, and religious minorities and women. The act stopped unequal application of voter registration requirements and racial segregation in schools, the workplace, and general public facilities (e.g., separate white and black drinking fountains). Initially the powers available to enforce the Civil Rights Act were weak; however, later legislation supplemented them. The Voting Rights Act, also signed by President Johnson, outlawed discriminatory practices that led to widespread disenfranchisement of blacks. It specifically sought to end the use of literacy tests to register to vote. It established federal oversight of election administration, which meant states with a history of discriminatory practices could not change anything that affected voting without the approval of the Department of Justice. Even today, states such as Texas are considered covered jurisdictions requiring federal oversight given historical discrimination.

Additional challenges presented themselves to policing following publication of *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* (1967). This work called for increasing educational requirements to college levels and improved training programs, techniques, and facilities for policing. Recommendations included the modernization of recruitment and promotion to reflect education, personality, and performance. In addition, the need for improved community relationships with an emphasis on improving relations between the police with the poor, minorities, and juveniles was outlined. An effort to recruit more minorities and improve officer supervision and discipline was called for in this report in an effort to reduce crime rates.

Another problem characterizing the 1960s was high rates of crime and the perceived lack of control over the sale and possession of firearms. In response, Congress enacted the **Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968**. The act accomplished four primary criminal justice improvements. First, it established the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) and charged it with assisting states and local jurisdictions in preventing and reducing crime and improving the function of their criminal justice system. Second, it addressed the admissibility of confessions in criminal trials. Third, the act established rules for obtaining wiretap orders by police agencies. And finally, it included provisions that regulated firearm sales and possession. Clearly, these provisions affected policing and the interaction of officers with the public. By the end of the 1970s, significant progress in developing more efficient and professional policing had been made (Figure 4.3).

**Canine Police Officers**

Canines have served proud and important roles in law enforcement for centuries. While unofficially dogs have worked alongside human policing agents for thousands of years, history points to 1899 in Belgium as the beginning of canines’ official relationship with law enforcement. A dog training program was established in Ghent, and before the year ended, 37 trained dogs were working on police forces assisting officers on night patrols. Not long after, in 1907, the first documented police dog programs were established in the United States. One program was located in South Orange, New Jersey, and the other in New York City. Like their predecessors, these trained dogs were used on night patrols with the goal of deterring burglaries and thefts. Though the canines proved successful, the use of dogs did not become widespread. Between 1907 and 1952, only 14 police dog programs operated (and many

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**Literacy tests**: Tests used to deny blacks the right to vote.

**covered jurisdictions**: States, cities, or counties that must submit proposed voting changes to the U.S. Department of Justice because of their history of discrimination against minority voters.

Beginning in the mid-1900s, police dog programs gained popularity. By 1960, there were 44 canine units that had been started, and by the end of the decade, 350 programs existed.35

During the civil rights movement of the 1960s, support for police dogs waned. To many in the public, canine officers came to represent aggressive and violent attitudes toward civil rights protestors and African Americans in general. One significant incident leading to decreased public support occurred in Wichita, Kansas, in 1961. Police released dogs during a riot by youth outside a theater. Perhaps the most iconic incident occurred in Birmingham, Alabama, which at the time was one of the most racially divided cities in the nation. During a peaceful civil rights protest led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., a young man in the crowd was “downed” by a police dog. Nearly 200 black protestors attempted to help the man, and in response, Birmingham Police Commissioner “Bull” Connor gave the order to use the dogs (and high-pressure water hoses) on the entire crowd, including children and bystanders.36

Today, general sentiment regarding police dogs is positive. Canine police officers offer an effective nonlethal method of deterring and detecting crime. Presently, police dogs are trained to search buildings and areas for explosives, evidence (such as firearms), narcotics, chemicals, illegally taken game, and human remains. Police dogs also help to locate missing persons and to track and capture criminals using minimal force. Canine units are often outfitted with their own bulletproof vests, identification, and police badges. Law enforcement agencies provide trading cards with police dog photos and their statistics for collection purposes. Intentionally injuring or killing a K-9 is a felony in most jurisdictions. Canine officers are retired if they become pregnant, are raising puppies, or are too old, sick, or seriously injured. When a canine officer is killed in the line of duty, he or she is given a police funeral with the same honors afforded a human officer killed (Figure 4.4).
Following the tumult of the 1960s and 1970s, policing became relatively calmer. This is not to say that since the 1980s, policing has been controversy free, but civil unrest was reduced and working conditions for officers improved. One reason for this improvement was the proliferation of police unions. Unions bargained and won greater benefits and salary for officers. They also forced policing administrators to negotiate with unions before making personnel decisions.

Another important change that occurred around this time was the renewed call that policing be more than a law enforcement role. Many argue that policing should become more connected to the community at all times versus swooping in only during times of crime. Officers should focus on being polite, courteous, and helpful, not just on being social control agents. This perspective harkens back to Vollmer’s calls almost 100 years ago that officers be more than enforcers, that they be social workers as well.

This chapter presented a history of policing in the United States through the early 1970s. This overview included discussion of the British system, which heavily influenced practices in the United States in its early history and today. We learned that policing began as an unprofessional, untrained, and all too often corrupt and cruel occupation. With the growth and increasing heterogeneity of the population, it became clear that policing by community consensus was untenable, and calls for training and education mounted. The influence of visionaries such as August Vollmer and those at the IACP, in addition to the availability of police unions, helped improve conditions and reduce controversy.

Infallibility of Canine Officers and Drug Alerts

Many people believe that police dogs are infallible when it comes to detecting drugs and that when a drug dog “hits” or “alerts,” one has solid evidence of the presence of illegal substances. This belief is not surprising given the incredible sensitivity of a dog’s nose, which is thought to be, at a minimum, 1,000 times more sensitive than a human’s nose. Alerting by a canine officer is directly tied to law enforcement’s ability to conduct warrantless searches. The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that a canine’s alert for narcotics is sufficient to establish probable cause for a warrantless search of a vehicle and the individuals in the vehicle. In other words, a dog’s alert may mean the difference between having one’s car, luggage, bags, pockets, and other items searched without warrant and not having these searched.

So how accurate are police dogs when it comes to alerting on drugs? Findings vary, but some research suggests they are not terribly accurate. For example, in a 2007–2008 examination of the Illinois State Police canine unit, slightly less than 26% of the alerts by police dogs resulted in uncovering drugs. A similar study in the suburbs of Chicago revealed a slightly better outcome: an overall accuracy rate of 44%. Interestingly, when the officers in the Chicago suburbs interfaced with Hispanics, the accuracy rates of the dogs was a mere 27%.

So what is going on? Some say the dogs, though trained, often respond to subtle cues by their handler. In other words, officers intentionally or unintentionally can provide subtle cues prompting a dog to alert. This lack of accuracy and the ease with which one could subtly cue a drug dog to alert is disturbing. And it suggests the possibility that some officers may use drug dogs improperly to provide law enforcement with legal cover to conduct a search.
of technology, resulted in continual professionalization of policing. The 1960s and 1970s demonstrated that while policing had become more professional and honorable than it once was, great progress was still needed. Through a variety of crime commissions, research, and the support of policymakers, policing has become professional and approaches now depend on serving the community and using intelligence to be efficient and effective (see Figure 4.5).

Conspicuously missing from this chapter is direct attention to cybercrime, terrorism, white-collar crime, and victims. This is not an oversight, but rather reflects the history of policing though the 1970s. Much has changed in terms of society, technology, and the criminal justice system over time. The Internet and widespread use of personal computers was far in the future, meaning cybercrime was unheard of in the early United States (and even later into the 20th century). Terrorism—as conceived of today—was also unimagined. These individuals would not have had the access to technology (e.g., jetliners) to create the scale of terror in earlier times.
An individual committing crimes who today would be considered a terrorist would have been handled as any ordinary offender in colonial America and the early United States. The same goes for white-collar crime. Edwin Sutherland coined the term in 1939, and those engaging in embezzlement or other activities considered white-collar likely were treated the same as other criminals in an earlier era. Or if, as Sutherland proposed, white-collar crime is committed by respected persons of high status, their misdeeds were entirely overlooked in the past. Clearly, victims have been around since colonial times. How did police deal with these important individuals? Unfortunately, in the past, victims were ignored by the criminal justice system except to the extent that they served as witnesses to crimes. They had no rights and were not informed of the progress of their case. In fact, viewing it as “their case” was not

Policing cybercrime is now more common. How might this role change what skills we need in our police officers?

Figure 4.5 Full-Time Sworn Personnel per 100,000 Residents Employed by State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 2008

When last estimated, Wyoming, Louisiana, Illinois, and New York had the highest rates of full-time sworn officers per 100,000 residents. What difference would more or fewer police officers make on crime rates? Or feelings of safety by residents? Why?

Source: Figure 4 from Reeves, B. (2011). Census of state and local law enforcement agencies, 2008. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
the status quo. Criminal cases were viewed as crimes against the state. The victim was forgotten.
Social conditions have changed in recent decades as victims are more integrally incorporated into
the system process. While not perfect, at least compared with earlier times, things have improved
greatly.

This chapter contemplated how our case studies may have been handled in earlier
times. As noted, some of those highlighted in our case studies would not have been
viewed or uncovered as perpetrators in the past. Joshua Paul Benjamin would not have
had the means to document his crimes given the lack of technology. Chris Farias may not
have been cited with DUI as it was not illegal in some locales and there were no standards
for blood alcohol content in bygone times. Dr. Asch and his colleagues also would not
have had the opportunity to improperly use fertilized human ova as the technology to do
so is a relatively recent advance. In addition, the alleged white-collar crimes Dr. Asch and
colleagues committed (e.g., tax evasion) may or may not have been addressed. His high-
status position as a physician also would have guaranteed him a certain level of protection
from the law. Finally, the offender in the Jennifer Schuett case would have been viewed as
a criminal and hunted. Given the lack of professionalization of the police, and the activities
of others such as vigilantes, one can speculate about whether the perpetrator would
have been apprehended. It is equally likely that an innocent individual would have been
captured and made to pay the price for these crimes. All in all, the case studies highlight
the incredible advances in the professionalization of the police and the use of technology
in fighting crime. In the next chapter, we focus on policing in recent decades. During this
time there has been a reinvigorated approach to policing as more than law enforcement,
using approaches such as community-oriented and intelligence-driven policing.

KEY POINTS

• The development of policing has a complex and lengthy
  historical background that is based on a foundation of
  British policing.

• The earliest role of security was performed by males in the
  community and operated on a community consensus model.

• Early officers were appointed by the patronage system,
  required no training or skills, and were highly corrupt. At
times it was difficult to distinguish the officer from the
  criminal.

• Early police officers performed many functions such as tax
  collecting, street sanitation, and law enforcement. In general,
tax collecting was their primary focus as it was the most
  lucrative.

• Sir Robert Peel is considered the Father of Modern Policing,
  while August Vollmer is touted as the Father of American
  Policing.

• Though a few African Americans and women were hired
  as police officers in the late 1800s, they did not become a
  substantial portion of police agencies until later in the 20th
  century.

• The International Association of Chiefs of Police, while
  getting off to a rocky start, has been responsible for
  much of the professionalization of policing in the United
  States. Richard Sylvester was the first president of the
  IACP and contributed greatly to the professionalization
  of policing in the United States.

• The victim played virtually no role in the criminal justice
  system aside from that of witness until recent decades.

• Civil unrest in the 1960s contributed to a negative view of
  policing as officers were considered to have used excessive
  force against citizens, especially those engaging in civil
  rights demonstrations.

• Supreme Court rulings in the 1960s reinforced the right of
  citizens to be free and equal in the United States. Several
  rulings handed down during this time period curtailed police
  powers and enhanced citizen freedoms (e.g., search and
  seizure, personal rights).
• Government attention to unrest indicated the need for greater training of officers, so the federal government offered money and expertise to state and local jurisdictions to improve policing in their communities.

• Police unions improved policing conditions by improving benefits and salaries.

**KEY TERMS**

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**REVIEW QUESTIONS**

1. How is a shire reeve associated with a sheriff?
2. Who appointed police officers in colonial times?
3. How have training and the responsibilities of officers changed over time?
4. How have the uses of tools and weapons changed for police officers through history?
5. What cities were leaders in terms of the increasing professionalization of policing over time?
6. How did the civil rights movement influence policing in the United States?
7. What role did women and minorities play in early U.S. policing?
8. What role did canine officers play in early U.S. policing?
9. Where do you see policing going in the future in terms of recruitment, training, and roles?

**CRITICAL THINKING MATTERS**

1. **Role of Officers.** There is no agreement as to the role or responsibilities of police officers. August Vollmer argued that vice should not be the purview of police and that when police become involved in vice, it erodes public trust in policing. In early times, police gathered slaves and returned them to their captors, which some viewed as outside their responsibilities. Others disagree and find the role of police should extend beyond law enforcement responsibilities. What do you believe are the proper roles and responsibilities of police? Given the specific roles and responsibilities you have identified that officers have that they should not, or do not have that they should, how would the expansion and contraction of these policing roles have benefitted or hindered officers dealing with the case of Jennifer Schuett? Chris Farias? Joshua Paul Benjamin? Drs. Asch, Stone, and Balmaceda?

2. **Educating Police Officers.** Initially, officers received no training and were frequently corrupt and ill prepared for the responsibilities of being an officer. If you were in charge, what policies would you implement to ensure your officers were of sound mind and body? Would you require particular psychological exams? What would you seek to uncover that would make the candidate unsuitable? Or suitable? What type of education should be required of police officers? What are the three most important skills you believe your officers should
possess? What specific training would you require? Is physical fitness mandatory? Would you pay more for officers trained according to your policies? Are there particular places you would recruit the type of officer you envision for your police agency? Which of these skills would be most important in dealing with the Schuett, Farias, Benjamin, and Asch and colleagues cases? Why? Which of these skills are least important in dealing with the case studies? Why?

3. **Minorities in Policing.** Diversity in policing is problematic. Is having a diverse police department important? Why or why not? If diversity should not be a concern, would you be okay with a police force that is 100% female? 100% Black? Or 100% Hispanic? Should we celebrate and seek diversity? Does it enhance the job of officers? Or create more trouble? What do you mean by diversity? Is it race, ethnicity, gender, age, income, able-bodiedness, socioeconomic class? Is being bilingual (or more) important? What accounts for the lack of parity in women and officers of color found in many departments today? What, if anything, should be done to remedy this? Do the highlighted case studies in the text influence your beliefs about having a diverse police force?

4. **Canine Officers.** Are canine police officers an appropriate tool in law enforcement? Has the way they have been used over time been appropriate? Is it appropriate to punish those who harm a canine officer severely? If you were a police chief, what policy would you implement regarding canine officers and penalties associated with their work?

5. **Proper Role of Victims.** In the past, victims were a forgotten part of the criminal justice system. More recently, they have been incorporated into the process as more than just witnesses. Do you think the victim should be treated any differently than other witnesses to crimes? Do you think that victims deserve special rights? Why or why not? Should the government assist victims of crime emotionally, psychologically, materially, and financially? Why? And what of offenders such as Joshua Paul Benjamin? What should the criminal justice system do for him to assist him in coping with his crimes? Why?

6. **Dealing With White-Collar Crime, Terrorism, and Cybercrime.** In colonial America there was no such thing as white-collar crime, terrorism, or cybercrime. Or was there? Were these sorts of crimes committed but viewed as ordinary crime? Or were such crimes impossible decades ago? Do you believe these sorts of crimes get special attention today? If so, is that special attention deserved? Should penalties for such crimes be enhanced, or should these criminals be treated as ordinary street criminals?