



Police are the frontline of crime control. They are the first to respond to calls for help, and they play an important role in keeping society safe by investigating crimes, making arrests, patrolling the streets, and managing traffic. Police may also be the most controversial component of the criminal justice system. This controversy is not surprising, given their complex responsibilities in a diverse, democratic society.

Chapter 4 reviews the history of American policing and discusses modern policing and practices. The chapter also reviews various police systems of the twenty-first century, including local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies, as well as private security firms. It concludes with a brief look at how police departments today are structured to perform many different duties.

Chapter 5 reviews the legal constraints placed on police as they carry out their duties. Chapter 6 discusses an array of critical issues facing police today, such as discretion, use of force, corruption, and the delicate balance between social order and individual liberty within the boundaries of the law as prescribed by the Constitution and the U.S. Supreme Court.



The Police

Chapter **4** Police History and Organization

Chapter **5** Police and the Law

Chapter **6** Critical Issues in Policing

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Police History and Organization

OBJECTIVES

- 1** Understand the origins of policing in the United States, including the various systems that formed the foundation of modern policing.
- 2** Explain the purposes and goals of community policing and intelligence-led policing.
- 3** Identify the functions of local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies.
- 4** Describe the role of private security, its members, and their powers and limitations.
- 5** Understand the strengths and weaknesses of the formal structure of law enforcement agencies.
- 6** Know how the informal structure of policing may influence police practices and operations.
- 7** Explain how law enforcement agencies provide services to civilians.
- 8** Grasp the process of criminal investigations and the duties of police during investigations.
- 9** Describe the central role of police in traffic enforcement and their important service functions.

PROFILES IN CRIME AND JUSTICE

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Being a police chief is one of the most satisfying, yet challenging occupations. Police administration is at the very heart of the American way of governing and the American way of life. Those who oversee police agencies are charged with responsibilities important to public quality of life. They are responsible for providing to all people “justice” and “domestic tranquility” as set forth in the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution. But they are also responsible for satisfying the needs of their employees.

After serving in all police ranks—from patrol officer to deputy chief—in the Los Angeles Police Department, I accepted a position in the private sector as Director of Security for a multibillion-dollar financial institution. Even though the position was rewarding, I found I missed public service. I missed the satisfaction one gets from servicing the public as a member of the law enforcement profession—the satisfaction one gains from knowing he or she is providing an important contribution to our communities. Consequently, I applied for and was selected to be Police Chief of Santa Ana, California.

As a police chief, I found the duties to be much like those of a chief executive officer (CEO) in the private sector. You have a board of directors (the city council, police commission), shareholders (the public), and your employees. The salaries of police chiefs are certainly not comparable to the salaries of many CEOs in the private sector. However, the average salary today for a police chief is typically between \$100,000 and \$150,000, with those responsible for large police agencies making in the vicinity of \$300,000.

In comparison with a private-business CEO, the police chief’s tenure rests upon “three pillars of support.” The first pillar consists of the elected officials to whom the chief reports. The second pillar consists of the community members. The third pillar represents the employees. Maintaining the support of all three is paramount to a police chief’s success. Police chiefs sometimes have to make decisions that are not popular with one or more of these entities, which means making sure the others are supportive is critical. When police chiefs lose support from any two of the pillars, they will likely find themselves out of a job.

The leadership qualities of a successful police chief have changed over the past 50 years. Today’s police chiefs (often serving with 4- to 5-year contracts and without civil service protections) are less vocal and more willing to give credit to their elected officials for the successes of their agencies. One important quality of today’s police chiefs is empathy—empathy and understanding as it relates to those “three pillars of support.” Another is an unyielding commitment to protecting the rights of *all* people. Given today’s mission of maintaining public trust through community policing while facing the new task of providing for homeland security, being a police chief is truly a challenging, yet satisfying position—a position very important in preserving the American way of life.

Introduction

To fully understand policing today, it is necessary to first examine it within its historical context. Studying police history provides valuable insights into modern police organization and procedures. Likewise, familiarity with police history informs modern policing problems, such as the use of excessive force and corruption, and also provides assistance in grappling with these issues.¹ Knowing the problems of the past may help police avoid repeating the mistakes that were made.

American Policing

The history of American policing begins with the colonists bringing the *parish-constable police system* they knew in England with them to monitor the many widely scattered villages that evolved into America's first towns and cities.² Under this system, one man from each parish (or county) served a one-year term as constable on a rotating basis. This model had several key components:

- *Watch and ward system.* Constables had the authority to draft any male citizen into positions as night watchmen. These guards protected town gates and arrested law violators, putting them in jail and turning them over to the constable.
- *Hue and cry system.* When a watchman confronted more resistance than he could handle, he delivered a loud call for help (the "hue and cry"). Upon hearing the call, the men of the town were required by law to stop what they were doing and lend assistance. Anyone who did not join in this effort could be arrested for aiding and abetting the criminal.
- *Weapons ordinance.* Semiannual inspections ensured that all male town residents owned and maintained a short, broad-bladed saber to protect themselves.
- *Curfew.* At a set time determined by the constable, the city's gates were locked to keep out wanderers and other unsavory characters from entering the township.

In the beginning, this system worked well. However, as towns became more populated and their economies prospered, the nature of crime became more serious. With this change, policing became more time-consuming, dangerous, and less attractive. Many citizens began finding ways to avoid their policing obligation, which forced cities to pass ordinances that imposed fines on individuals who abandoned their responsibility; these ordinances and fines proved to be ineffective, however.

1700s: Origins of Organized Policing in America

Once the threat of a fine proved to be an ineffective way of coaxing citizens into fulfilling their police duties, the responsibility of law enforcement shifted from *all* male citizens to only those men who could not afford to hire others to take their place. City managers soon realized that public ownership of policing did not work and that what was needed was a salaried, full-time police force.³

Philadelphia was the first city to move in this direction when, in 1749, it passed two pieces of legislation: one law permitting constables to hire as many guards as they needed and a second law that established a tax to pay them. Other cities soon followed Philadelphia's lead. Unfortunately, city managers immediately realized that this new approach to policing was also ineffective because cities could not find enough capable men for the job. Police work had become increasingly unsafe, and the pay was still too low to attract highly qualified persons. As a result, some officers increased their paltry salaries by accepting bribes from gambling houses and prostitution rings.⁴

1800s: Growth, Brutality, and Corruption

The stage was set for new police reforms when, in the nineteenth century, the United States experienced rapid population growth. Government officials became fearful of the possible ramifications of the rapidly increasing number of foreign immigrants, many of whom were poor, spoke and dressed differently, and appeared to have different cultural values. Immigrants were also believed to be a factor in the growing crime problem that resulted from the increasing number of poor people languishing on the streets. These factors resulted in various policing reforms. One of the most notable reforms was the



Police systems of the political era were characterized by corruption and brutality.



August Vollmer is widely considered the founder of the professional American police department.

creation of police departments with paid, full-time, uniformed officers. By 1860, these departments had become a fixture in the largest U.S. cities.

Despite all the reforms, the newly created police organizations were plagued with many problems as the nineteenth century came to a close. The “new” police received a small salary and, like some of their predecessors, a number of officers supplemented their incomes by accepting bribes by “turning a blind eye” toward illegal activities. In response to many of these flaws, the early years of the twentieth century were characterized by a series of reform efforts designed to change how police did their jobs.

■ Early 1900s: Development of Organizations and Technology

One early police reformer was Theodore Roosevelt, who served as Police Commissioner in New York City from 1895 to 1897, before becoming the 26th President of the United States. When Roosevelt became commissioner, the New York Police Department (NYPD) was one of the most corrupt police agencies in the nation. Bringing his iron will to the office, Roosevelt instantly changed how the department was run. He started by establishing new disciplinary rules, requiring officers to arm themselves with .32-caliber pistols and insisting that officers take annual physical exams. Roosevelt also received national press attention for his “midnight rambles” where he searched for police officers not at their posts. He also ordered all police officers to report for target practice, thus establishing the first Police Academy in the United States. By the time he had finished reforming the NYPD, Roosevelt had appointed 1600 new officers based on their physical and mental qualifications, rather than their political affiliations, and created opportunities within the department for women as well as racial and ethnic minorities.⁵

In the following years, Roosevelt’s ideas were expanded upon by August Vollmer, Chief of Police in Berkeley, California, from 1905 to 1932. Vollmer was responsible for bringing more change to the police profession than any other single individual. Some of the reforms he implemented included the following measures:

- Installation of the first basic police records system
- Conducting the first scientific investigation of a crime utilizing the analysis of blood, fibers, and soil
- Establishing a police school based on law and evidence procedures
- Organizing the first motorcycle and automobile patrols
- Forming the first School of Criminology at the University of California at Berkeley
- Requiring officers to have a college degree
- Using intelligence testing to select police recruits
- Introducing the polygraph
- Establishing one of the first fingerprint analysis centers⁶

Vollmer thought that police departments needed to become more efficient to protect the public, and his reforms were introduced with that end in mind.

It was also during Vollmer’s era that advances in technology increased the proficiency of police. For example, the first police patrol car hit the streets prior to World War I; by the end of the 1920s, patrol vehicles were being used by nearly all police departments in the United States. With the addition of telephones and two-way radios, citizen reports to police increased and response times quickened dramatically.⁷

An unintended consequence of the changes and improvements inspired by the reform agenda was that the public expected more from the police than they had in the past. This included the expectations that the police would achieve faster response times to calls

for service and that they would make more arrests, thus bringing a reduction in crime. These high expectations led to difficult times for police in the 1960s, as police were increasingly unable to deliver on what citizens believed they had implicitly promised.

■ Mid-twentieth Century: Responses to Increasing Crime Rates

The decade of the 1960s was a period of intense conflict between the police and the public, particularly in terms of clashes between police and both civil rights demonstrators and antiwar activists. Police responded to these challenges by implementing reforms, such as sending specialized riot units to suppress incidents of public disorder and having police chiefs address citizen concerns and media.⁸

However, when put into action, these and other reforms failed to calm the complaints of an increasingly disgruntled public. Crime rates soared (see **FIGURE 4-1**) and fear of crime increased. Racial and ethnic minorities loudly protested perceived police mistreatment and discrimination, and protesters challenged the legitimacy of the police. Additionally, the national media publicized riots and police responses to them. All of this occurred in the midst of a struggling economy that forced local governments to slash police budgets.⁹ Ultimately, as both the police and the public watched crime rates jump considerably, they discovered that the changes made in the reform era did not reduce crime (see Chapter 1).



Violence erupted in the streets of Los Angeles soon after four LAPD officers were acquitted of assault and brutality in the beating of Rodney King.

■ Late Twentieth Century: The Quiet Revolution

The reforms implemented in the 1960s and 1970s achieved, at best, only modest success. Perhaps the greatest change to police strategies came from recommendations made by federal commissions charged with studying police problems. The new recommendations emphasized the importance of police officers taking time to talk with and listen

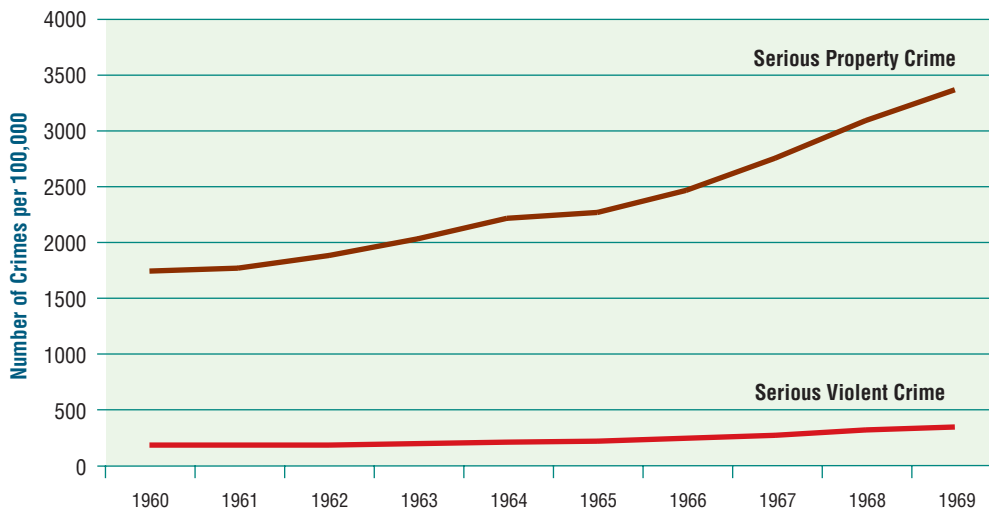


FIGURE 4-1 U.S. Crime Rates, 1960–1969

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, 2007* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 2008).

Headline Crime

Police Communication with Diverse Populations

In Los Angeles dozens of languages are spoken, which often causes problems for law enforcement officers when they are communicating with citizens. To help remedy the problem, today many LAPD officers carry a new hand-held device called the *Phraselator*, which has eased the communication gap. To operate

the *Phraselator*, the officer selects a language—Korean, for example—and speaks a phrase—such as “medical assistance”—into the microphone. A speaker in the patrol vehicle then announces a preprogrammed Korean phrase, “If you require medical assistance, please approach the nearest officer.” LAPD Police Captain Dennis

Kato believes that “when it comes to crowd control, natural disasters, or medical emergencies, it [the *Phraselator*] can be a lifesaver.”

Sources: “It Wasn’t All Bad,” *The Week*, February 15, 2008, p. 4; Richard Winston, “LAPD Finds a Way to Connect,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 16, 2008, available at <http://www.latimes.com/news/local/la-me-translate16jan16,0,6435263.story?coll=la-home-center>, accessed October 4, 2008.



Community policing strengthens the bond between law enforcement and the public, with a focus on solving problems and community empowerment rather than strict enforcement of the law.

to victims, witnesses, and other members of crime-plagued communities—an idea that led to the emergence of the community policing movement.

Community policing includes the understanding that police cannot control crime alone and need help from citizens to prevent crime. At the core of community policing is good, strong police–community relations.¹⁰ The community policing model requires police to become involved in an array of community activities, including these:

- Neighborhood Watch programs
- Mini- and storefront-police stations
- Police-sponsored athletic leagues
- Citizen auxiliary police¹¹

The roots of community policing can be traced to an essay written in 1979 by criminologist Herman Goldstein, who argued that police officers should handle not only the most obvious, superficial manifestations of a problem, but also the problem itself—an approach Goldstein called “problem-oriented” policing.¹² Goldstein believed that traditional policing efforts failed because police approached crime as though each incident was an isolated and self-contained event. Goldstein believed that, for police to be effective crime fighters, they must notice how crime incidents relate to one another and develop a more in-depth understanding of those factors that are highly correlated with criminality.

In 1982, George Kelling and James Q. Wilson expanded upon Goldstein’s work.¹³ They argued that the changes in the ways traditional policing was practiced, such as improvements in radio communications, would not reduce serious crime. Instead, police must eliminate conditions in neighborhoods (such as graffiti, drug dealing, and gambling) that produce fear and lead to neighborhood decay. This idea was articulated in their **broken windows theory**, which was a metaphor for neighborhood signs of deterioration: Once a window is broken and is not repaired, other windows are likely to be broken. Similarly, when a “social window” is broken and not repaired (e.g., roadside litter), other social windows will be broken (e.g., vandalism). The broken windows theory insists that small signs of public disorder set in motion a downward spiral of deterioration, neighborhood decline, and increasing crime. Interestingly, evidence for this theory is mounting as a result of the subprime loan crisis being experienced across the nation. Researchers Dan Immergluck and Geoff Smith found that in one neighborhood a 1 percent increase in foreclosure rates contributed to a 2.33 percent increase in violent crime.

In real terms, in a city such as Chicago, for example, where the average neighborhood has 900 homes with mortgages, 38 violent crimes, and 22 foreclosures per year, just one more foreclosure would result in four more violent crimes.¹⁴

The principle behind community policing is to prevent these social windows from being broken in the first place by paying attention to the overall quality of life in a neighborhood, not just the serious crime. Both physical incivilities, such as trash and graffiti, and social incivilities, such as gamblers in alleys and drunks in public areas, greatly diminish the quality of life in an area. Through face-to-face communications with the neighborhood's residents, police officers are able to identify the sources of incivility and then work with residents to eliminate them.¹⁵

■ The Twenty-First Century: Intelligence-Led Policing

Prior to the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, many law enforcement agencies on the federal, state, and local levels routinely employed intelligence and intelligence gathering. However, the attack of September 11 resulted in an increase in the intelligence-gathering activities of many law enforcement agencies, particularly with the creation of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, which was established by the Homeland Security Act of 2002.¹⁶ This agency has provided significant financial assistance to state and local police agencies to form special intelligence units, which are the foundation of **intelligence-led policing**. Intelligence-led policing includes the following features:

- Police intelligence units that identify security threats from terrorists groups, extremists, and gangs
- Federal guidelines for police conduct
- Advances in police computing and network systems

Intelligence-led policing is a newly emerging model of policing driven by computer databases, intelligence gathering, and analysis. Whereas in the past only big-city police departments had the resources to maintain intelligence units to target drug smugglers and organized crime, today law enforcement agencies of all sizes are developing these capabilities.

Police Systems

There is no monolithic or national police system in the United States. Instead, the U.S. police system consists of the many local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies that enforce the criminal law. While not uniform in structure, three general ideas guide how they operate and distinguish them from police systems in many other countries. In the United States:

1. *Police have limited authority.* Police must follow specific rules and regulations to protect individual liberties.
2. *There is local police control.* Some countries in Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and South America have centralized national police forces. By contrast, in the United States it is usually (but not always) the responsibility of cities and counties to provide citizens with police protection. An exception to this general rule can be found in Pennsylvania, and some other states, where *state* police agencies are the primary law enforcement agency in certain political jurisdictions that have no law enforcement. In these areas, the state truly is the political entity that provides citizens with police protection. There also is “home rule” in the United States, which gives cities and counties the right of self-government within certain parameters.

Headline Crime

Baggy Pants



Throughout the United States, an increasing number of city leaders are proposing outlawing the wearing of low-slung or “baggy” pants. The movement is being fueled by a growing number of lawmakers who con-

tend that sloppy dress by America’s teens is related to delinquency, poor learning, and crime. The underwear-exposing style, inspired by oversized, no-belt prison uniforms, has become a criminal offense in some communities. In Opa-locka, Florida, a suburb of Miami, city leaders have proposed an ordinance to ban wearing sagging pants in city parks, the library, and other municipal buildings. Violators would be evicted from city property. In other states, city leaders have introduced new indecency statutes. Bans on sagging pants have been adopted in Hawkinsville, Georgia, and six Loui-

siana parishes, including Alexandria and Shreveport. Other cities, including Atlanta, Baltimore, Charlotte, and Dallas, are also considering ordinances banning baggy pants. Wearing baggy pants could invoke a penalty as much as a \$500 fine or six months in jail. Critics of the ordinances include the American Civil Liberties Union, which contends that dress, including baggy pants, is a form of free speech and as such is protected by the First Amendment.

Sources: “The Fashion Police,” *Neatoday* 26:17 (2008); Laura Parker, “Cities Snapping Over Baggy Pants,” *USA Today*, October 15, 2007, p. 3A.



Local law enforcement officers are involved in a variety of duties, including traffic control, arresting criminal suspects, crowd control, criminal investigations, and much more.

3. *Agencies are decentralized and fragmented.* Instead of having a single, national police force, the United States supports nearly 18,000 separate law enforcement agencies that are loosely coordinated, with much duplication or overlap among them.¹⁷

Each type of police force, regardless of its level, has a **jurisdiction**, which is the territory or body of law it controls. U.S. police agencies employ more than 1 million people and have a total operating budget of nearly \$48 billion.¹⁸ Nearly 700,000 persons employed by law enforcement are **sworn officers**, who are men and women empowered to arrest suspects, serve warrants, carry weapons, and use force.¹⁹ The overall “police–population ratio” is about 2.5 sworn officers per 1000 citizens,²⁰ although the actual ratio varies widely across different cities. Washington, DC, for instance, has 6.6 officers per 1000 population, whereas the police–population ratio in San Francisco is 1.6. Research has not found any statistically significant relationship between the police–population ratio and the crime rate.²¹

Local Police

There are more than 17,000 local law enforcement agencies in the United States. This number includes city, county, and special-jurisdiction agencies, such as campus police, park rangers, and transit police.²² Most local police agencies are very small and homogeneous, employing fewer than 25 sworn officers and serving fewer than 10,000 residents.²³ However, some local departments are very large. The New York City police department, the nation’s largest, employs 36,000 or more uniformed officers.²⁴

Regardless of the size of the department, local police officers perform similar duties. They control traffic, patrol streets, and investigate crimes. Officers in some departments also handle animal control, operate search-and-rescue missions, provide emergency medical care, and control crowds at entertainment events such as NFL games or rock concerts. In big-city departments, special units handle counterterrorism and community problems such as drunk driving, missing children, victim assistance, and gang violence. Local police also assist in meeting the needs of special populations, including persons

with HIV/AIDS, the homeless, victims of domestic violence, and abused or neglected children.

A principal difference between past and present local police departments is their racial, ethnic, and gender composition. Although these departments were once the near-exclusive domain of whites, today racial and ethnic minorities account for 24 percent of full-time sworn officers in local departments, up from 15 percent in 1987; women represent 12 percent of officers, up from 8 percent in 1987.²⁵ Yet, in many departments in large cities, African Americans and Latinos are still underrepresented relative to their proportion of the general population (see **TABLE 4-1**).

In city police departments, the police chief is usually appointed by the city council or mayor. Such a department's jurisdiction is limited by statute to the geographic boundaries of the city. By contrast, all states are divided into districts called *counties* (*parishes* in Louisiana and *boroughs* in Alaska). The chief law enforcement officer of a county is the **sheriff**, who is an elected official, except in Rhode Island (where the sheriff is appointed by the governor) and Hawaii (where the sheriff is appointed by the Department of Health). The sheriff's department investigates crimes, operates jails, processes court orders, provides security for county courts, and collects county fees and property taxes.

The largest sheriff's department serves Los Angeles County, which has 10 million residents. This department employs more than 8200 officers.²⁶ However, most of the nation's 3000 sheriff's departments are small, with two-thirds employing fewer than 25 sworn officers and 71 percent serving fewer than 50,000 residents.²⁷

TABLE 4-1**Ratio of Minority Officers to Minority Residents in 25 Large City Police Departments**

City	Officer-Resident Ratio	
	African American	Latino
1. New York City	0.50	0.66
2. Los Angeles	1.21	0.71
3. Chicago	0.70	0.49
4. Houston	0.77	0.48
5. Philadelphia	0.80	0.66
6. Phoenix	0.40	0.35
7. San Diego	0.61	0.63
8. Dallas	0.56	0.38
9. San Antonio	0.70	0.71
10. Las Vegas	0.48	0.33
11. Detroit	0.77	0.60
12. San Jose, California	1.60	0.75
13. Honolulu	0.67	0.39
14. San Francisco	1.24	0.96
15. Indianapolis	0.69	0.18
16. Jacksonville	0.67	0.29
17. Columbus	0.59	0.12
18. Austin	1.07	0.54
19. Baltimore	0.60	0.94
20. Memphis	0.72	0.63
21. Charlotte	0.64	0.23
22. Milwaukee	0.57	0.80
23. Boston	0.95	0.42
24. Washington, DC	1.11	0.63
25. Nashville	0.72	0.94

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report by Brian Reaves and Matthew Hickman, *Police Departments in Large Cities, 1990-2000* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 2002), p. 11.



The U.S. highway system is the main jurisdiction of state police departments.

The duties of sheriff deputies, particularly in many of the southern and western states, often are much more demanding than those of city police. The countywide jurisdiction, for instance, may pose special obstacles because of its large geographical size and often small population compared to that of municipalities. A deputy may need to drive 100 or more miles to respond to a citizen's call for assistance. This requirement poses special problems for deputies, because they are more likely than city police officers to ride alone and backup units may not be readily available in an emergency. Given the people they serve, deputies are also more likely to confront armed citizens than city police because per capita gun ownership is higher in rural areas than it is in either suburban or urban areas.²⁸ However, even though

gun ownership is higher in rural areas, it is also true that illegal gun ownership is higher in cities and the will to utilize those weapons against the police may be more likely.

Interestingly, the role of the sheriff in some northern states is very different. In many of these states, the sheriff is only a figurehead. He or she is an elected official, whose department is primarily responsible for providing security in the county courthouse, serving bench warrants, and transporting prisoners. In some states, the sheriff and his or her deputies have no true law enforcement powers. They do not investigate crimes, in some states they cannot by law make traffic stops, and they are prevented from participating in the use of electronic surveillance. Therefore, a caveat to the statement in the preceding paragraph that the role of sheriff is much more demanding than that of city police is necessary. In states that have not adopted a strong sheriff model, the role of sheriff is not as demanding as the job of some other law enforcement officers. As an example, in Pennsylvania, the state police are responsible for primary police services in any area that does not have its own police department. In these areas it is the state police trooper (not the sheriff) who covers vast areas, with backups often being miles and precious minutes away.

Special-jurisdiction police typically safeguard transportation systems and facilities. A total of 130 special police departments serve transportation-related jurisdictions, such as mass-transit systems, airports, bridges, tunnels, and port facilities. These agencies collectively employ approximately 9100 full-time sworn officers. The largest, the Port Authority of New York–New Jersey, employed 1607 officers in 2004, 25 percent more than in 2000. The Port Authority Police protects LaGuardia, Kennedy, and Newark Airports; the Lincoln and Holland Tunnels; the George Washington and Staten Island Bridges; the PATH train system; the Port Authority Bus Terminal; and the Port Newark and Port Elizabeth Marine Terminals. Many of the nation's largest transit systems have their own dedicated police forces. The five largest are in the New York, Washington, DC, Atlanta, Philadelphia, and Boston metropolitan areas. Collectively, the 10 largest transit police departments employed 20 percent more sworn personnel in 2004 than in 2000.²⁹

■ State Police

There are 49 state police agencies in the United States (Hawaii does not have a state police agency).³⁰ State police agencies have statewide authority to conduct criminal investigations, enforce traffic laws, investigate traffic accidents, respond to calls for service, and provide law enforcement assistance to any police agency that requests it. Often, but not always, state police perform functions outside of the county sheriff's jurisdiction, such as enforcing traffic laws on state highways and interstate expressways. They also protect state capital buildings and the governor, train officers for local jurisdictions that are too small to operate their own training facilities, and provide local police access to state crime laboratories as needed.

TABLE 4-2 Federal Law Enforcement Agencies Employing 500 or More Officers

Agency	Number of Officers
U.S. Customs Service and Border Protection	27,705
Federal Bureau of Prisons	15,214
Federal Bureau of Investigation	12,242
Immigration and Naturalization Service	10,399
U.S. Secret Service	4,769
Drug Enforcement Administration	4,400
U.S. Federal Probation Office	4,126
U.S. Marshals Service	3,233
U.S. Postal Inspection Service	2,976
Internal Revenue Service	2,777
Veterans Health Administration	2,423
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms	2,373
National Park Service	2,148
U.S. Capitol Police	1,535
Bureau of Diplomatic Security	825
U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service	708
USDA Forest Service	600

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics by Brian Reaves, *Federal Law Enforcement Officers, 2004* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 2006).

■ Federal Law Enforcement Officers

Federal law enforcement agents enforce national laws. Their work includes controlling illegal immigration, investigating counterfeiting, policing airports, and protecting the President and other members of federal institutions. Federal law enforcement agents may also investigate crimes that are not local to just one state—for example, kidnapping, narcotics trafficking, and Internet and mail fraud. In addition, they enforce the law in federal buildings (e.g., the U.S. Mint, the U.S. Capitol) and national parks (e.g., Yellowstone National Park). There are 65 federal law enforcement agencies that employ more than 100,000 agents, all of whom are authorized to make arrests and carry firearms (see **TABLE 4-2**).³¹ The total annual budget of these agencies is roughly \$4 billion.³²

Following the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, federal law enforcement agencies experienced a massive reorganization. Today the best-known federal law enforcement agency is the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). The creation of the DHS represents the most significant transformation of the U.S. government in more than half a century, realigning the current government policing activities into a single department whose primary mission is to protect the United States. The DHS is divided into several divisions. The criminal justice agencies that are now part of the DHS have the following functions:

- U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) is the unified border agency within the DHS that combined the inspectional work forces and broad border authorities of U.S. Customs, U.S. Immigration, Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, U.S. Border Patrol, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA).³³
- Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) is the largest investigative branch of the DHS and was created by combining the law enforcement arms of the former Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the former U.S. Customs Service. Before September 11, 2001, immigration and customs authorities were not widely recognized as an effective counterterrorism tool in the United States. ICE changed this perception by creating a host of new systems to better address

FOCUS ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE

U.S. Park Police Understaffed

U.S. Park Police guard national monuments and parks across the nation. Today, in the time of greatest need, the U.S. Park Police force is severely understaffed, which is an especially serious development at a time of heightened terrorism. Because there are too few officers, the U.S. Park Police are not able to adequately protect national monuments, such as the Statue of Liberty and the Washington Monument. In fact, the security is so lax that recently a large suitcase was left unattended for more than five minutes at the Washington Monument before it was discovered by Park Police. The problem Park Police face is that since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the number of U.S. Park Police officers has decreased to about one-half of what the number was before September 11, while their responsibilities have increased to include antiterrorism duties, even as the U.S. Park Police budget has been decreased.



Sources: "National Monuments undefended," *The Week*, February 18, 2008, p. 6; "Park Police Understaffed," *The Week*, March 7, 2008, p. 4.

national security threats, detect potential terrorist activities in the United States, effectively enforce immigration and customs laws, and protect against terrorist attacks. ICE does so by targeting illegal immigrants; the people, money, and materials that support terrorism; and other criminal activities.³⁴

- The U.S. Secret Service protects the President and Vice President, their families, heads of state, and other designated individuals; investigates threats against these persons; protects the White House, Vice President's residence, foreign missions, and other buildings within Washington, DC; and plans and implements security designs for designated National Special Security Events. In addition, it investigates violations of laws relating to counterfeiting of obligations and securities of the United States; financial crimes that include access device fraud, financial institution fraud, identity theft, computer fraud; and computer-based attacks on the U.S. financial, banking, and telecommunications infrastructure.³⁵

Two of the most widely known federal law enforcement agencies are the U.S. Marshal's Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

U.S. Marshals

The oldest federal police agency is the U.S. Marshals Service, which was established by the Judiciary Act of 1789. Marshals occupy a unique position in law enforcement: They are the enforcement arm of the federal courts, are involved in every federal policing program, and have the broadest authority and jurisdiction of all federal officers. Among the duties of marshals are to

- Protect federal judicial officials, which includes judges, attorneys, and jurors
- Arrest persons who commit federal crimes
- Arrest fugitives
- Operate the Witness Security Program
- Provide prison services to approximately 53,000 inmates in 1300 federal prisons each day³⁶

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Established in 1908, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is the principal investigative arm of the U.S. Department of Justice.³⁷ The FBI has a threefold mission:

- To defend the United States against terrorist and foreign intelligence threats
- To uphold and enforce the criminal laws of the United States
- To provide leadership and law enforcement assistance to federal, state, municipal, and international agencies

This mission is performed by the agency's more than 30,000 employees, including special agents and support professionals, such as intelligence analysts, language specialists, scientists, and information technology specialists. The FBI has the authority and responsibility to investigate specific crimes assigned to it but primarily focuses on counterterrorism, cybercrime, white-collar crime, organized crime, major thefts, and violent crime. The FBI is also authorized to provide other law enforcement agencies with support, including fingerprint identification, laboratory examinations, and police training.

Some of the other federal policing agencies include the U.S. Postal Inspectors, U.S. Forest Service, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, National Park Service, U.S. Park Police, Bureau of Prisons, Federal Trade Commission, Indian Affairs, and Amtrak.

Private Security Guards

In the United States, *private security guards* also assist local policing efforts. Private security guards are not sworn law enforcement officers and do not have the power of arrest. These officers do not provide police services, but rather provide security services to individuals, small businesses, and large corporations, including amusement parks, healthcare facilities, hotel and resort complexes, industrial plants, museums, office buildings, professional sports teams, restaurants, schools, and shopping malls. Private security guards perform a variety of duties, including these:

- Installing and servicing burglar alarms
- Transporting valuable commodities
- Patrolling buildings or parks
- Providing protection at schools
- Monitoring public transportation systems

Today, private security in the United States is a \$12 billion annual industry, employing approximately 2 million people in roughly 90,000 private security firms.³⁸ There are nearly three private security officers for every one sworn law enforcement officer in the United States.³⁹ One of the largest employers, the Sears Roebuck Company, employs about 6000 security guards; by comparison, the Denver Police Department has only 1500 sworn police officers.⁴⁰



Private security guards provide services to individuals and a variety of small businesses, and large corporations. Private security guards do not have arrest powers.

Police Organization

Police have two primary functions: to fight crime and to maintain order. As crime fighters, they are law enforcers. When police are maintaining order, they are providing civilians with services and keeping the peace.⁴¹ Police agencies are organized to efficiently and effectively carry out these functions. The formal structure of large departments resembles a semi-military structure in that it establishes relationships among department members and clarifies the responsibilities of each position (see **FIGURE 4-2**).



FIGURE 4-2 Formal Structure of a Police Department

Police work also involves an underlying, informal structure, which represents the unofficial relations that exist among officers. These relations affect police operations and the ways in which police perform their duties of patrol, criminal investigations, traffic enforcement, and community services. It is important for police agencies to strike a balance between the official rules and the informal structure as they go about trying to achieve departmental goals and carry out their law-related functions.

■ Formal Structure of Police Organizations

A police department is a **bureaucracy**, which is a type of organization that operates on strict rules, close supervision, and reliance on authority. This organizational model includes the following components:⁴²

- Chain of command
- Delegation of authority
- Specialization
- Rules and regulations
- Limited rewards
- Competency

Chain of Command

A **chain of command**, or hierarchy of authority, identifies who communicates with and gives orders to whom. In police departments, this chain establishes the working relation-

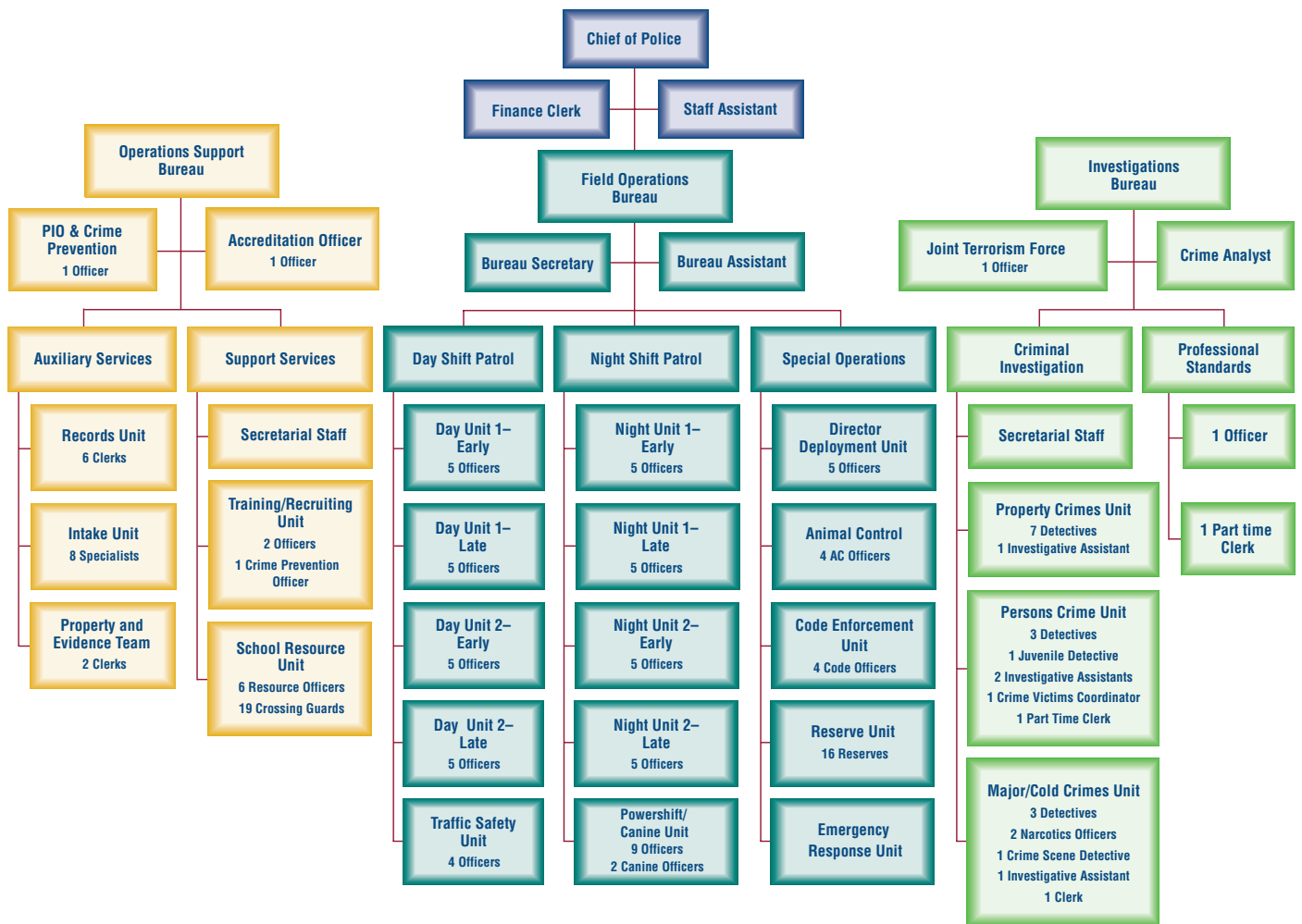


FIGURE 4-3 Police Department Organization Chart

ships among the different ranks. The purpose of the chain of command is to make the lines of authority clear and precise. Sergeants, for example, know they have less authority than lieutenants but more authority than corporals, who in turn have more authority than patrol officers. The complexity of a department’s chain is linked to its size (e.g., number of employees). In a small department, the bureaucratic structure is less complex than it is in large agencies. Regardless of the department’s size, all police departments have an organization chart (see **FIGURE 4-3**). The chart identifies how information will flow inside the department and makes it clear who is responsible for what specific tasks and operations.

Delegation of Authority

The practice of passing decision-making responsibilities through a chain of command is called **delegation of authority**. Police chiefs delegate authority to assistant chiefs, who in turn pass authority to captains, and so forth down the line. Authority is delegated because chiefs cannot monitor every situation or make every decision on their own. In the most efficient organizations, the department leaders will share management of the various responsibilities.

Specialization

No one person has the time or the skills to perform all of the duties associated with running a police department. Big-city police agencies, for example, often focus or concentrate their efforts on specific activities. **Specialization** requires an agency to concentrate its resources on a narrow area of knowledge, skill, or activity. It typically involves a law enforcement agency adapting itself to perform some particular function, such as forming a special unit on domestic violence, gang suppression, or homicide investigations. Specialization is similar to the department implementing a **division of labor** that outlines and assigns tasks to officers, such as patrolling a specific neighborhood, controlling traffic at an event, or updating the media about an ongoing criminal investigation. Usually both specialization and division of labor come about from trial and error; during this process, it may be discovered that certain groups of individuals are better at performing specific assignments than others. Through specialization, police departments usually are able to increase their productivity.

Rules and Regulations

Police organizations and internal operations are governed by detailed sets of rules. A rule in policing is a proscription about behavior (i.e., must do this, don't do that). Department rules govern behavior and specific courses of action to achieve particular goals. For instance, in some agencies the department rule manual states that when officers are on duty they must:

- Be neat and clean in appearance, and wear standard uniforms
- Avoid cigarettes, alcohol, and vulgar or profane language

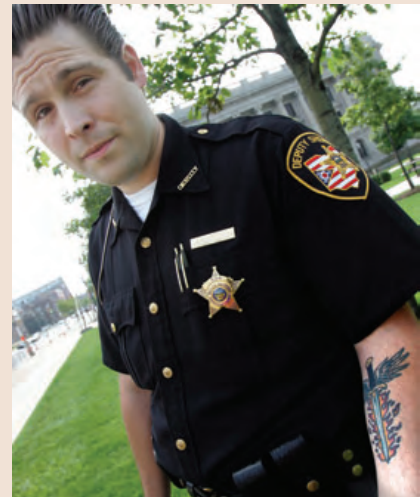
FOCUS ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Body Art on the Squad

Tattoos are becoming popular among young adults, and even among law enforcement officers. Today, an increasing number of police agencies across the United States are crafting stricter policies regarding just how much body art is acceptable for their officers. Departments are concerned that “tattooed” officers do not present a professional image to the public and that the tattoos themselves do not comply with the grooming standards of the profession.

Police agencies differ in terms of what they regard as an excessive tattoo. Some agencies disqualify applicants with any body art; other departments allow tattoos that may cover 25 percent or less of an arm or a leg. For example, in Baltimore, no tattoos are permitted; in Kentucky, applicants with visible tattoos are rejected; in Los Angeles, police must cover tattoos with skin-colored patches or clothing; in San Diego, officers must hide any markings that cover 30 percent or more of exposed body parts; and in Houston, police must wear clothing to cover all tattoos.

In Hartford, Connecticut, police officers have challenged their department's rules on tattoos. These officers argued that their tattoos were protected under the First Amendment, specifically as part of their right to free speech. A ruling in 2006 by a U.S. Appeals Court disagreed, stating that police officer tattoos do not enjoy First Amendment protection and can be subject to department rules.



Source: Matt Reed, “Tattoos: Official Blots on Reputations?” *USA Today*, July 23, 2007, p. 3A.

- Not engage in political or religious arguments
- Be obedient and loyal to the department at all times

Rules contribute to maintaining order and keeping the peace by portraying to the public a positive image of police officers and police agencies.

The formal rules in police departments are clear, widely understood, and intended to be fairly applied. Having clear-cut rules and regulations reduces ambiguity, decreases internal conflicts, and increases the likelihood that work will be completed satisfactorily and on time. The responsibilities and authority for each role in the police agency are plainly spelled out in the department policy manual. During a criminal investigation, for instance, patrol officers—who usually are the first members of the department to reach the crime scene—complete the preliminary inquiry. Later, detectives arrive and interrogate suspects. Both the patrol officers and the detective on the scene know when and where the responsibility of one party ends and the responsibility of the other party begins.

Limited Rewards

Most police officers begin and end their careers as patrol officers. Promotion opportunities in police agencies are limited for several reasons:

- Civil service regulations mandate that officers serve for a specific number of years in a particular rank before they become eligible for promotion.
- Promotional exams are given at irregular intervals because department promotions depend more on the financial well-being of a city than on the needs of the police agency.
- Promotions are based on a formal testing process that usually consists of an oral interview and written exams that may favor applicants with more privileged educational backgrounds.

While it was once true that there were limited opportunities for employment and promotion of women and racial and ethnic minority members in law enforcement agencies, this is no longer the case. Most law enforcement agencies have voluntarily leveled the playing field; others were instructed to do so by the courts. Today in many instances the hiring and promotion rates for women and racial and ethnic minorities exceed those for white males. While personal interviews in some law enforcement agencies sometimes give white males an advantage, the conditions for promotion for women and racial and ethnic minorities are much better today than they were only a short time ago.⁴³

Competency

In bureaucracies, personnel are hired and promoted based on their knowledge, skills, and capacity to perform the job. Collectively, these capabilities are called **competency**. Competency is made apparent by evidence that reflects the desired abilities or skills of employees, such as qualifications, test scores on promotional exams, and field performance. Ascribed attributes, such as gender, ethnicity, and race, should not influence hiring, promotion, or retention decisions in a bureaucracy—but sometimes they do.

■ Informal Structure of Police Organizations

The foundation of the informal structure of police departments is a **police subculture**, which is the collective set of beliefs, values, and patterns of behavior that separate officers from the public and police administrators. Subcultures are not unique to police work; they are found in both legitimate and illegal lines of work ranging from lawyers and physicians to criminal gangs and auto thieves. The police subculture has a strict code of conduct that teaches police officers to adhere to the following expectations:

- Take care of their partner(s)
- Never back down

- Do not interfere in another officer's sector or work area
- Do not snitch on another officer⁴⁴

Like many other subcultures, the police subculture enforces a “code of silence,” ensuring that what goes on “behind closed doors” stays private. A 1950s study by William Westley discovered that police often believe that the public is their enemy.⁴⁵ This perception pushes officers to turn to fellow members of the department for support, a tendency that is strengthened by officers' strong commitment to secrecy. To shield themselves from outsiders, police officers may go to great lengths to protect one another, which could include covering up improper behavior and lying to supervisors.

The idea that a strong, unified, and influential police subculture exists has been challenged over the past several decades. Some criminologists contend that while police have slightly different attitudes and beliefs than the public, these differences are unimportant.⁴⁶

For instance, Eugene Paoline, who studied big-city police agencies, concluded that the notion of a police subculture has been highly overestimated.⁴⁷ In fact, in nearly all law enforcement agencies today, the power wielded by the police subculture is much less than it was years ago. Today's law enforcement agencies are more professional, and law enforcement officers are more professional and are more concerned with legal considerations and self-preservation than adhering to any particular code of conduct. This does not mean that in some law enforcement agencies there does not exist rogue officers; they are still present, but there are fewer today than in the recent past.

Working Personality

Criminologist Jerome Skolnick hypothesized that police develop a **working personality** to deal with the danger and authority inherent in their job. Over time, through their interactions with the public and police administrators, officers become more authoritarian and suspicious than they were before they entered the police academy. Police also learn to carefully protect their authoritative position, which often means establishing a disdain for the rights of criminals and a high suspicion of the stereotypical criminal—poor, young, and minority males—to the point where “every hostile glance directed at the passing patrolman is read as a sign of possible guilt.”⁴⁸

Operational Styles

Political scientist James Q. Wilson has constructed a typology to represent common operational styles of policing. Wilson found that police departments (not officers) develop

Headline Crime

Breaking the “Code of Silence”

In 1951, William Westley identified the strong solidarity that exists among police officers. Through his research he discovered that police viewed themselves as “brothers” who under no circumstances would “rat out” one of their own.

As time passed and as the ethnic, racial, and sex composition of law enforcement agencies changed, how-

ever, the power of the brotherhood, or the “wall of silence,” also diminished. For example, in Milwaukee in 2007, the beatings by police officers of Frank Jude, Jr., and Lovell Harris triggered massive outrage across the city after a state trial ended with the jury acquitting the three police officers who were involved. Following the state trial, Milwaukee police officers came forward,

breaking the “code of silence,” and spoke to federal officers about what happened on that night. A subsequent federal investigation led to plea agreements with the three officers, each of whom received a sentence of 15 or more years in prison for his role in the beatings.

Source: Kevin Johnson, “Busting the ‘Code of Silence,’” *USA Today*, December 18, 2007, p. 3A.

one of three **operational styles** that alter the behavior of the department's officers when they are reacting to misdemeanor crimes and noncrime incidents:⁴⁹

- *Legalistic departments* adopt a zero-tolerance approach to serious crime. In these departments, administrators believe arrest deters crime. For minor infractions, police may not always arrest the perpetrators, but they will almost always use the threat of arrest to maintain order.
- *Watchmen departments* resolve disputes and community problems informally before they resort to making an arrest. They believe arrests exacerbate an already tenuous relationship between police and the public.
- *Service departments* emphasize helping the public and are not overly concerned with enforcing the law for minor violations. Rather than making arrests, officers are more likely to refer offenders to neighborhood treatment agencies for guidance and assistance. Taking formal action against someone who has committed a minor crime is a last resort.

The operational style of a department and its officers derives from a city's political culture, climate, financial resources, and organization.⁵⁰ However, it is likely that the operational styles identified by Wilson do not exist in all departments. In her study of the Dallas Police Department, criminologist Ellen Hochstedler was unable to find either the department or its officers having developed a particular type of operational style; instead, she concluded, police work is too unpredictable and complicated for either the organization or its officers to utilize one specific style consistently.⁵¹

Police Operations

Police operations describe the services that police agencies provide to civilians and how these services are delivered. The public expects more from the police than the police can deliver.⁵² Police agencies and their officers are always “a day late and a dime short.” Yet, they do their best to meet the varied and complex demands placed on them. After all, they are one of few public agencies available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days a year. They provide citizens with a 9-1-1 telephone number to call during emergencies and use automobiles with flashing lights and sirens to offer rapid response to citizen complaints.

Police Patrol

Despite common misconceptions, police on average spend only 25 percent of their time enforcing the law (see **FIGURE 4-4**).⁵³ Police spend most of their time on patrol—that is, moving through assigned areas by foot or vehicle to deter crime, apprehend criminals committing crimes in progress, assist citizens who find themselves in dangerous situations, maintain order, enforce regulations, and manage traffic.

Historically, police patrolled their beats on foot. Beginning in the 1930s, police expanded the use of automobile patrol because officers in cars could cover a greater area in less time. This type of patrol also made officers less accessible to the public and, therefore, less likely to be tempted by corrupting influences. In addition to foot and automobile patrols, police today use a variety of other methods of patrolling their beats, including bicycles, horses, motorcycles, snowmobiles, watercrafts, and Segways (a two-wheeled stand-up personal transportation device).

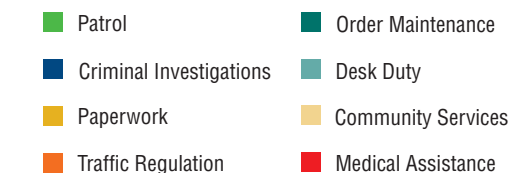
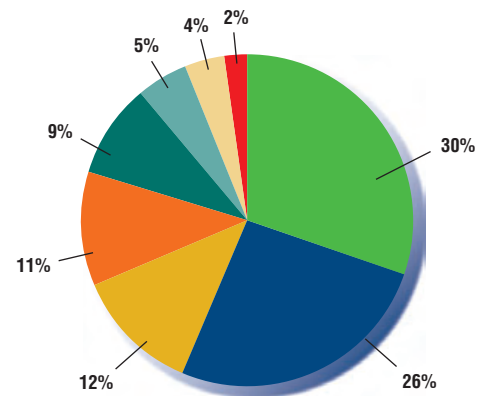


FIGURE 4-4 Police Responsibilities

Adapted from Jack Green and Carl Klockars, “What Police Do,” in Stephen Mastrofki (ed.), *Thinking about Police*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991) pp. 273–284.



More than 150 law enforcement agencies worldwide use Segways for a variety of purposes, such as parking enforcement, patrol, providing crowd control, event security, and in community policing activities. What makes the Segway ideal for police work is its ability to transverse all terrain, including bike paths, gravel, and sand.

Foot Patrol

Today, only about 6 percent of all patrol officers work their beats on foot. The reason is that generally foot patrol is inefficient and not cost-effective in modern-day policing. An officer on foot is no match for a fleeing suspect in a vehicle. However, on the positive side, foot patrol has several advantages over other types of patrol. Foremost is that it reduces the public's fear of crime, improves community relations, and increases morale and job satisfaction among police.⁵⁴ Foot patrol also provides police with the opportunity to produce "new" information that may help them solve future crimes. Additionally, foot patrol allows officers to establish long-term, face-to-face relationships with citizens; this rapport can later help police when they try to solve crimes, as officers may be able to call upon citizens for assistance.

Research evaluating the effectiveness of foot patrol has found that it generally produces positive results.⁵⁵ If a department has the resources to utilize both foot and automobile patrol, then the positives far outweigh the negatives. Unfortunately, most law enforcement agencies today do not find themselves in the position of having an abundance of resources. While foot patrol may be more likely to reduce citizens' fear of crime, its widespread implementation is too costly for most cities.

Automobile Patrol

Today, motor vehicles are the most widely used method of patrol, for of the following reasons:

- Police can respond to calls more quickly
- Police can patrol a larger physical area, even patrolling more than one beat
- Cars protect officers from inclement weather
- Cars provide police with a shield from bullets and thrown objects
- Officers in cars may be fully equipped with a radio, first-aid kit, report forms, weapons, a dog, and other necessary tools and supplies
- Cars can be used to confine and transport criminals

Today, patrol vehicles have been enhanced by technology including the *global positioning system* (GPS), a satellite-based radio navigation system developed and operated by the U.S. Department of Defense. GPS makes it easier for police to track suspects and determine the whereabouts of undercover surveillance officers during emergency situations and search-and-rescue missions. In addition, in rare instances prosecutors have asked judges to place GPS tracking devices on criminal suspects who have been released on bail to ensure they do not disappear before trial.⁵⁶

Police Patrol Strategies

It is common for a police agency to assign more than 60 percent of its personnel to patrol work.⁵⁷ Most officers are assigned a particular geographic area, called a **beat**. The entire collection of beats in a specific geographic area is called a **precinct**. These are generic terms, and in some departments other terminology is used to describe the geographic area patrolled by police agencies. As an example, in Philadelphia the geographic areas patrolled are called "districts" and the Pennsylvania State Police call the areas they patrol "zones." Nevertheless, in small departments, usually one precinct serves as the department's headquarters or station house for the entire agency. Regardless of their size, police departments generally adopt one of two patrolling strategies: preventive patrol or directed patrol.

Preventive Patrol

Preventive patrol was introduced in the 1950s by Orland W. Wilson, who was then superintendent of the Chicago Police Department. Wilson believed that if the police established an omnipresence in a neighborhood by driving conspicuously marked cars randomly through the city's streets, giving special attention to **hot spots of crime** (i.e., areas with high crime rates), they would deter criminal activity and alleviate the public's fears.⁵⁸

This idea dominated police patrol operations for two decades, until 1972. In that year George Kelling and his associates launched the Kansas City Prevention Experiment, in which they gathered crime data from 15 patrol beats, each of which they had assigned to one of three levels of patrol:

1. *Reactive beats*: Police did not patrol and only responded to citizen calls for service
2. *Proactive beats*: Police regularly patrolled in vehicles at a higher rate than usual (two or three cars per beat)
3. *Control beats*: Police patrolled at regular rates (one car per beat)

Kelling and his colleagues found that increasing or decreasing patrol activity in an area had no measurable impact on crime rates, citizens' fear of crime, public attitudes toward police effectiveness, police response time, or the number of traffic accidents.⁵⁹ Follow-up studies in Houston, New York, San Diego, and Syracuse produced similar results. Criminologists concluded that preventive patrol made about as much sense as firemen driving their trucks around city streets looking for fires to put out.⁶⁰ Taken collectively, these findings caused police administrators to conclude that "random patrol produced random results" and prompted them to reevaluate police operations.⁶¹

Directed Patrol

The Kansas City Prevention Experiment changed the way police administrators viewed the effectiveness of patrol. Initially, they responded to the study's findings by developing alternative methods of patrol. One strategy introduced was *directed patrol*, in which police patrol is focused on high-crime areas. Another strategy involved the application of *geographic information systems* (GIS)—that is, systems for capturing, storing, analyzing, and managing data and associated attributes that are spatially referenced to the Earth. With this technology, police are able to see a visual map of the times, offenses, and places where crime most frequently occurs. Armed with this knowledge, police dispatchers know the best time to saturate the neighborhoods with officers, making them highly visible, and to establish decoy units to catch potential offenders, conduct sting operations, and assign special units to track offenders.⁶² Even so, this tactic may not produce the desired outcome, as in many instances saturation of an area with police merely drives drug dealers, for example, to another area of the city.

When thinking about crime mapping, it is best to think of it as being only a means to identify where crimes and criminal activity occur. Usually this practice identifies a crackhouse, prostitution ring, illegal gambling site, or gang hangout, for example. If a crime has not occurred in the past at a crackhouse, for instance, then it will not show up on the department's crime map.

Advocates of directed patrol contend that crime decreases when departments aggressively enforce the law by being vigilant and intrusive, and by adopting a "zero tolerance" stance, which is a full-scale strategic attack on all crimes and disorder in a city. In particular, this approach focuses on the enforcement of "quality of life" offenses such as drinking alcoholic beverages in the street, urinating in public, panhandling, playing loud radios, graffiti, and disorderly conduct. By quickly addressing and correcting these minor problems, presumably a message is being sent to the public that more serious crime will not be tolerated.⁶³ Research supports these claims. In an analysis of 171 cities,

Robert Sampson and Jacqueline Cohen found that aggressive policing reduced both the incidence (the number of offenses committed) and the prevalence (the number of people committing the crime) of robbery.⁶⁴ Other studies have reported that directed patrol has substantially reduced crime rates when it targeted a specific crime in a particular location, such as firearms-related crimes in areas with high rates of violent crime.⁶⁵

Whether a strategy of directed patrol is effective depends in part on *response time* (how long it takes for an officer to arrive at the scene) and *reporting time* (the amount of time that passes between when a crime was committed and when the police are called). Reducing response time has been found to only slightly increase the likelihood of arrest for serious crimes, because most crimes are reported to police after the offender has left the scene. If a crime is not reported within 60 seconds of being committed, police generally cannot respond quickly enough to apprehend the suspect.⁶⁶ For *involvement* crimes—that is, crimes in which an offender directly confronts the victim (such as a sexual assault or mugging)—a fast response time has a greater effect.

To help reduce reporting time, the 9-1-1 telephone dispatch system was developed in Alabama in 1973. Unfortunately, it has not had a large effect in decreasing reporting time, making a difference of only about 10 seconds. In some instances, the 9-1-1 system has actually increased reporting time because some citizens—particularly elders—may delay contacting authorities for fear of using the system in an improper situation and angering the police.⁶⁷

■ Criminal Investigations

During a *criminal investigation*, a goal of the police investigator is to obtain enough evidence to establish probable cause to make an arrest in an investigation. Typically investigators cannot uncover sufficient evidence to hand over to a prosecutor to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the suspect committed the crime. An examination of crime clearance rates, for instance, shows this to be the case; on average, only 20 percent of all crimes committed are cleared, although the rate is higher for some crimes than others (see **TABLE 4-3**). In 2007, for example, the crime clearance rate for murder was 61 percent, while for burglary and motor vehicle theft it was less than 13 percent.⁶⁸ Although police are only moderately successful at producing evidence leading to convictions,

TABLE 4-3 Crime Clearance Rates, 2007

Offense Known to Police	Crime Clearance Rate
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	61.2
Forcible rape	40.0
Robbery	25.9
Aggravated assault	54.1
Violent Crime	44.5
Burglary	12.4
Larceny—theft	18.6
Motor vehicle theft	12.6
Arson	18.0
Property Crime	16.5
Total Clearance Rate	20.0

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, 2007* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 2008).

emerging innovations, such as *iris scans* (see page 112), may generate stronger evidence for prosecutors to take to trial.

When responding to a call, the first officer on the scene conducts a preliminary investigation that may include arresting a suspect, assisting victims, securing the crime scene, collecting physical evidence, and writing an initial report. If the crime cannot be solved immediately, a detective is assigned to the case for a follow-up investigation.⁶⁹

The *detective division* includes investigative officers and, depending on the size of the department, may have forensic laboratories or specialized units that focus on specific types of crimes (i.e., homicide, narcotics). Because crime labs are expensive to operate and maintain, only federal and state governments and big-city police departments have forensic labs; smaller agencies typically send their forensic evidence to state-run or regional crime centers for analysis.

The job of the detective is more specialized than that of the patrol officer and typically includes the following responsibilities:

- Interviewing suspects, witnesses, and informants
- Discussing the case with patrol officers, their peers, and supervisors
- Searching crime scenes for physical evidence
- Attending autopsies
- Reviewing state and federal computer databases for clues

Despite how the popular media portray crime investigations, detective work is often tedious, routine, mundane, and boring. Detectives spend most of their day writing reports and examining computer files, and they solve only a very small percentage of all crimes they investigate.⁷⁰ The majority of cases that are solved rely on information from the interrogation of suspects and witnesses or information provided by informants (often insiders within criminal gangs) rather than on key evidence discovered by detectives. Occasionally detectives solve crimes by gathering forensic evidence, which includes fingerprints, DNA analysis, bloodstains, footprints, tire tracks, and the presence of narcotics. This evidence is sent to crime laboratories, where it is analyzed by scientific experts called **criminalists** or forensic scientists.⁷¹

An alternative to DNA testing that will soon be used in law enforcement identifications of humans is a forensic tool that uses antibody profiles rather than DNA to identify criminal offenders. The test, called *AbP ID*, can produce reliable results within a few hours and can be conducted by police officers at the crime scene, rather than a technician in a laboratory. The antibody test is not a replacement for DNA testing, but rather is a tool for law enforcement agents to use at a crime scene to sort out victims and suspects, which speeds up the process compared to having to submit samples to a crime lab. The *AbP ID* is an aid for criminal investigators in determining which criminal suspects should undergo more extensive and costly DNA testing. The *AbP ID* test has the following advantages over a DNA test:

- It does not require expensive equipment or highly skilled personnel to administer
- Training on how to use the test is relatively simple
- The test results do not have to be sent to a crime lab
- The test does not require large evidence samples

The *AbP ID* test is a tool for getting a case to move faster toward a final legal resolution. For example, an *AbP ID* test using semen, saliva, and perspiration can return reliable human identifications in only five hours. Test kits will be made available to law enforcement agencies beginning in 2009.⁷²

Headline Crime

Solving Crime Using Iris Scans



An increasing number of law enforcement agencies are using iris scans to identify sex offenders, runaways, and abducted children. Departments in 27 states are taking digital pictures of eyes and storing the information in a

database where they later can search for a missing person or identify someone who uses a fake name. Experts believe that iris scans will someday be as common as fingerprinting is today. Iris scans are also much more effective. A central database can make matches within seconds, whereas matches for fingerprints take weeks and DNA matches take months. The most common use of iris scans today is as part of the war on terror: Airports are beginning to use the scans to expedite security checks.

A scan is produced with a camera that uses infrared light to record the

iris's minute ridges and valleys. The camera can detect 235 unique details and differentiate between right and left eyes and eyes of identical twins. By contrast, a fingerprint provides an investigator with about 70 details. In addition, an individual's iris is not affected by age, Lasik eye surgery, or disease, whereas a fingerprint can be changed. Critics of the new technology worry that iris scans are too intrusive and violate personal privacy.

Source: Wendy Koch, "Iris Scans Let Law Enforcement Keep Eye on Criminals," *USA Today*, December 5, 2007, p. 1A.

Traffic Enforcement

Traffic enforcement includes all traffic safety functions, including law enforcement, accident investigation, impoundment of abandoned or stolen vehicles, and roadside sobriety checkpoints. In 2007, 41,059 people died in traffic crashes in the United States, which was the lowest number of traffic deaths in more than a decade. Of those deaths, 12,998 were alcohol-related fatalities.⁷³ To thwart drunken driving, more states are adopting laws requiring first-time offenders to equip their vehicles with high-tech devices that prevent operation by intoxicated people. Today, for instance, Arizona, Illinois, Louisiana, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Washington require alcohol-ignition interlocks for anyone convicted of drunken driving. Other states, including California, Colorado, and Hawaii, also are considering interlocks for first offenders.⁷⁴

Even though enforcing traffic laws consumes a large amount of time and resources, it can be an effective tool for reducing criminal activity, capturing fugitives, and recovering stolen property. Routine traffic enforcement stops have led to significant arrests and apprehensions for other offenses, such as when Oklahoma State Trooper Charles Hanger stopped Timothy McVeigh for having no license plate on his vehicle, following his bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City.



Law enforcement officers have passing drivers pull over to a checkpoint and ask whether they have been drinking. The officers sniff for alcohol fumes and marijuana smoke.

Community Services

As society changes, so do the services the police provide. The *service function* has been an important part of police work for more than 100 years. Typical services include:

- Rendering first aid
- Rescuing animals
- Giving tourists information
- Providing roadside assistance
- Finding lost pets



AROUND THE GLOBE

Ballet and Traffic Control in Romania

In Timisoara, Romania, 20 police officers are taking dance classes from a ballet company to help them direct traffic. The police agency believes that learning dance will help the officers to make their signals clearer and become more noticeable to drivers. As one of the ballet instructors who helped to convince police administrators that teaching the officers to dance was a good idea put it, “Why shouldn’t policemen be pleasant and well guided when they pull drivers over?” “Instead of having robots guiding the traffic, we can have very graceful agents doing the same thing.” Police leaders agreed, and now police officers are taking ballet lessons.

Source: “It Wasn’t All That Bad,” The Week, March 7, 2008, p. 2.

- Checking door locks on vacationers’ homes
- Opening doors for people locked out of their vehicles

Police deliver these services to citizens as part of an overall crime-fighting strategy. Officers provide services to build goodwill with the public, who in turn may be more motivated to help police solve crimes by providing information.

James Q. Wilson disagrees with this line of reasoning. He suggests that police should not provide services, which he believes drain scarce resources, fail to be cost-effective, and help only a few individuals. Instead, Wilson argues, private industry should assume this responsibility.⁷⁵ It is interesting that even proponents of community policing find merit in Wilson’s position. One possible reason why advocates of community policing agree with Wilson is that providing services does drain scarce resources. It also is true that asking officers to provide services along with everything else they do may be asking too much and results in poor job performance on all counts. Yet, it is difficult to predict the impact a reduction of police services would have on community relations. Police agencies across the United States are trying to strike a balance between two positions: They want to streamline the services they offer while offering the services the public wants.

WRAPPING IT UP

Chapter Highlights

- The U.S. police system is based on English models, which evolved from volunteer citizens serving as night watchmen.
- In community policing, police officers work in partnership with neighborhood residents to prevent and respond to crime.
- Intelligence-led policing uses information centers or hubs to coordinate intelligence reports from national, state, and local agencies for more effective crime fighting.
- Law enforcement agencies in the United States work at the local, state, and federal levels. In addition to these public agencies, private security agencies serve both the public and private sectors.
- Police departments have both formal and informal structures that guide the activities of their members.
- The law enforcement function of policing consists of three major activities: patrol, crime investigation, and traffic enforcement.
- Police provide the public with services, including rendering first aid, rescuing animals, and giving tourists information.

Words to Know

beat The largest geographic area that a patrol unit can patrol effectively; an assigned area for police patrol.

broken windows theory A theory that proposes small signs of public disorder set in motion a downward spiral of deterioration, neighborhood decline, and increasing crime.

bureaucracy A model of organization in which strict and precise rules are used as a way of effectively achieving organizational goals.

chain of command A hierarchical system of authority that prescribes who communicates with (and give orders to) whom.

community policing A policing model that was popular in the 1990s, in which police and citizens unite to fight crime.

competency A list of factors that reflect abilities or skills, including qualifications, test scores on promotional exams, and field performance.

criminalists Scientists who work in crime laboratories and examine forensic evidence, which includes fingerprints, DNA analysis, bloodstains, footprints, tire tracks, and the presence of narcotics.

delegation of authority Decision making made through a chain of command in a bureaucracy.

division of labor A system of assigning duties for the routine jobs completed in bureaucracies.

hot spots of crime Locations characterized by high rates of crime.

intelligence-led policing A crime-fighting strategy driven by computer databases, intelligence gathering, and analysis.

jurisdiction The territory over which a law enforcement agency has authority.

operational style Within law enforcement agencies, common patterns or styles of policing emerge.

police subculture Beliefs, values, and patterns of behavior that separate officers from police administrators and the public.

precinct The entire collection of police beats in a specific geographic area.

sheriff The principal law enforcement officer in a county.

specialization The practice of dividing work among employees so that the work will be completed more effectively and efficiently.

sworn officers Officers who are empowered to arrest suspects, serve warrants, carry weapons, and use force.

traffic enforcement Police duties related to highway and traffic safety and accident investigations.

working personality A term that distinguishes an officer's off-the-job persona from his or her on-the-job behavior.

Think and Discuss

1. The United States does not have a centralized national police force, but instead has many separate police agencies. Is this the best approach for controlling crime?
2. The introduction of new technology changed policing in the early part of the twentieth century. What are some of the new technologies being used in the twenty-first century that are once again transforming the U.S. system of policing?
3. Private security officers may not be well trained or always have the best interests of the community in mind. Knowing that, should private agents be permitted to take citizens into custody and detain them?
4. Traditional hiring and promotional practices in police departments have been criticized because they limit opportunities for racial and ethnic minorities and for women. Should quota systems be used to create diversity in police departments?
5. Given the large number of traffic fatalities that occur each year, should a larger percentage of the police budget be allocated to traffic law enforcement and taken from the crime-fighting and service functions?

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