

NINTH EDITION



# THE POLICE IN AMERICA

AN INTRODUCTION

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SAMUEL WALKER | CHARLES M. KATZ

NINTH EDITION

# **THE POLICE IN AMERICA**

AN INTRODUCTION

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## THE POLICE IN AMERICA: AN INTRODUCTION, NINTH EDITION

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# Preface

*The Police in America: An Introduction* provides a comprehensive introduction to the foundations of policing in the United States today. Descriptive and analytical, the text is designed to offer undergraduate students a balanced and up-to-date overview of who the police are and what they do, the problems they face, and the many reforms and innovations that have taken place in policing. The book is designed primarily for undergraduates enrolled in their first police or law enforcement course—such as an introduction to policing, police and society, or law enforcement systems.

## Changes in the Ninth Edition

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The ninth edition of *The Police in America: An Introduction* has undergone extensive revision. In response to reviewer feedback, we have not only updated all of the statistical information but also provided new examples of several important issues throughout the book. We have also included coverage of the latest research and practices in policing. Some of the most important changes we have made for the ninth edition are as follows:

- Chapter 1, “Police and Society” has been completely revised to use the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing as a framework for understanding the police in America.
- Chapter 2, “The History of the American Police,” has been expanded to include discussion of the national police crisis of 2014–2016 and its impact.
- Chapter 3, “The Contemporary Law Enforcement Industry,” has been revised and updated to include the most current data of law enforcement organizations.
- Chapter 4, “Police Organizations,” has been revised to include the most important new research on law enforcement organizations.
- Chapter 5, “Recruitment and Training for a Changing Society,” has been completely revised to incorporate the important new developments related to police training.
- Chapter 6, “Police Officers II: On the Job,” includes a completely revised discussion of the police officer subculture and its impact on police officer behavior.
- Chapter 7, “Patrol: The Backbone of Policing,” was revised to include the latest research on innovations in police patrol.
- Chapter 8, “Peacekeeping and Order Maintenance,” has been expanded to include the latest research on policing traffic, domestic violence, and other social problems.
- Chapter 9, “The Police and Crime,” has been extensively revised to include the latest research on policing gangs, drugs, and terrorism.

- Chapter 10, “Advances in Police Strategy” has been revised to include new perspectives on the goals and effectiveness of recent police innovations.
- Chapter 11, “Police Discretion,” was revised to include new perspectives on the complexity of officer exercise of discretion.
- Chapter 12, “Legitimacy and Police-Community Relations,” has been revised to incorporate the new interest in and reforms related to legitimacy because of the national police crisis, 2014–2016.
- Chapter 13, “Police Corruption,” has been revised to incorporate new perspectives and research on police corruption.
- Chapter 14, “Accountability of the Police,” has been extensively revised to include material and the full range of both internal and external accountability mechanisms.
- Chapter 15, “The Future of Policing in America,” has been updated to include discussions of the latest developments related to technology, employment, police research and terrorism.

## Overview of the Contents

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Part I, “Foundations,” provides students with an introduction to policing in America. It explains the role of the police in the United States, along with the realities of police work and the many factors that shape policing. It also traces the history of the police from the creation of the first modern police department through the many new developments that can be found in policing today. The section concludes with a discussion of the characteristics of the contemporary law enforcement industry, including a section on the Department of Homeland Security.

Part II, “Officers and Organizations,” begins with an explanation of the characteristics of police organization, the role and influence of police unions, and a discussion of the theoretical rationales for why police organizations behave the way they do. It also includes an explanation of police recruitment, selection, and training practices, as well as a discussion of the characteristics of American police officers. The section covers the reality shock that officers encounter when beginning their job, the concept of police culture, and the relationship between the attitudes of the police and the behavior of the police.

Part III, “Police Work,” includes explanations of what the police do and how they do it. Among the subjects covered are the functions of patrol, the delivery of services, and the effectiveness of traditional policing strategies. This section also discusses the various problems that the police face while on the job and the strategies they use to respond to these problems. The section closes with a discussion of advances in police strategy, such as community policing, problem-oriented policing, and zero-tolerance policing.

Part IV, “Issues in Policing,” covers the various problems that police officers and police organizations encounter. The chapter on police discretion explains the nature of police discretion, sources of discretion, and how police organizations have attempted to control discretion. The section also includes a chapter on legitimacy and police–community relations. Attention is placed on citizen perceptions of the police, police perceptions of citizens, and sources of police–community relations problems.

Special emphasis is placed on race and ethnicity and its implications for policing in the United States. This section includes chapters on police corruption and police accountability, which discuss different types of police misbehavior and the strategies used to hold the police accountable.

Part V, “Challenges for a New Century,” concludes the book with a chapter on the future of policing in America.

## Pedagogy

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A number of learning devices are included to make the text easier to teach and, for students, easier to learn, enlivening the material with practical, concrete examples and applications:

- Boxes called “Police in Focus” discuss a series of important issues in policing. This feature is designed to highlight particularly important points and can serve as the basis for class discussion. In each case, references are provided for students who want to pursue the issue further.
- Sidebars throughout the book expound on important concepts and feature contemporary issues related to the chapter.
- Cross-reference icons direct students to material elsewhere in the text that can further illuminate chapter topics.
- Chapter-opening outlines guide students through each chapter.
- Key terms are highlighted in the margins, boldfaced in the text, listed at the end of the chapter, and defined in a comprehensive glossary at the end of the book.
- End-of-chapter case studies—real-world examples that highlight major concepts or ideas from each chapter—enable students to begin to apply what they have learned.
- “Internet Exercises” at the end of each chapter can be used by students for further web-based study.
- “For Discussion” questions at the end of each chapter can be used to stimulate classroom discussion.

## connect

The ninth edition of *The Police in America: An Introduction* is now available online with Connect, McGraw-Hill Education's integrated assignment and assessment platform. Connect also offers SmartBook for the new edition, which is the first adaptive reading experience proven to improve grades and help students study more effectively. All of the title's website and ancillary content is also available through Connect, including:

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- A full Test Bank of multiple choice questions that test students on central concepts and ideas in each chapter.
- Lecture Slides for instructor use in class.



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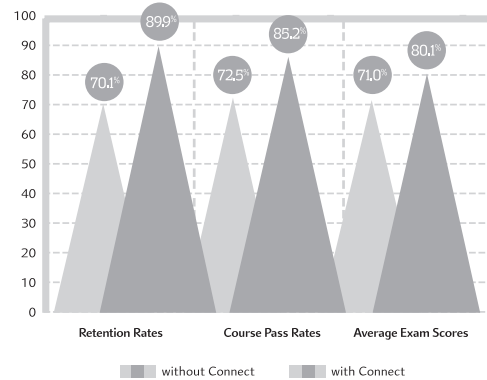
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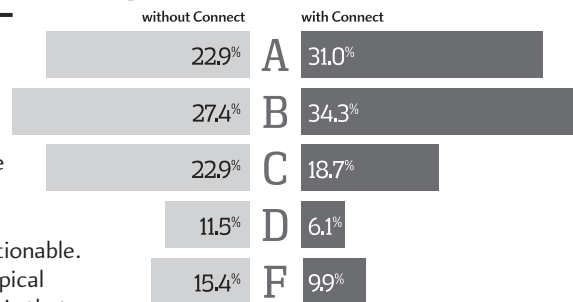
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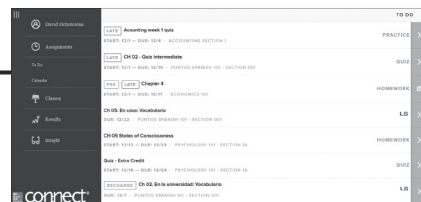
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## Acknowledgments

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Samuel Walker would like to thank his colleagues and friends in the world of policing and police accountability in particular. Special thanks go to former student and now friend and professional colleague Charles Katz for being a great coauthor. Charles did the bulk of the work on this, the ninth edition, and Sam is very appreciative of that.

Charles Katz would like to thank the many people who have contributed to the completion of this edition and to acknowledge his colleagues at Arizona State University, who have always been supportive and who have been willing to lend a helpful hand when asked. Special thanks, too, to four people in particular: to Charles's parents and his wife Keri, who have always been loving and supportive (this book, and his other work, is just as much a result of their dedication and efforts as his own), and to his coauthor Sam Walker. Sam has always been supportive, whether it be professionally or personally, and his insights continue to influence Charles today.

**Samuel Walker**

**Charles M. Katz**



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# Foundations

- CHAPTER **1** Police and Society
- CHAPTER **2** The History of the American Police
- CHAPTER **3** The Contemporary Law Enforcement Industry





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CHAPTER

# 1

## Police and Society

### CHAPTER OUTLINE

*The Goals of This Book*

#### **Why Do We Have Police?**

#### **A Framework for Understanding the Police and Policing**

A Democratic Police  
Democracy and Accountability

#### **A Legitimate Police**

Procedural Justice  
Practices That Build Legitimacy  
Legitimacy and Police—Public Interactions  
Legitimacy, Trust, and Race Relations

#### **An Open and Transparent Police**

Practices That Create Openness and Transparency

#### **An Accountable Police**

Police Accountability: Goals and Methods  
Accountability on Police Use of Force  
Collecting and Analyzing Data on Use of Force  
Accountability in Routine Police—Public Contacts  
Training to Prevent Bias in Police Activities  
Independent Investigations and Review of Critical Incidents

#### **An Effective Police**

The Complex Responsibilities of the Police

Ineffective Strategies for Controlling Crime and Disorder  
Effective Strategies for Controlling Crime and Disorder  
Partnerships with the Public

A Special Case: The Police and the Mentally Ill  
A Special Case: The Police and Juveniles  
Research and Policing: Evidence-Based Programs

**Summary**  
**Key Terms**  
**For Discussion**  
**Internet Exercises**

## The Goals of This Book

*The Police in America* provides a comprehensive picture of policing in the America. It describes what police do (see Chapter 7); the different problems that arise; the decisions that officers make; and who those officers are, including who applies to be police officers and how they are selected. It also covers important issues in day-to-day policing, such as police patrol and how it has changed over the years (Chapter 7), police officer exercise of discretion (Chapter 11), and legitimacy and community relations (Chapter 12). Police personnel issues include how police officers are selected, the demographic profile of police officers today (Chapter 5), the factors that shape officer behavior (Chapter 6), and how police organizations operate (Chapter 4). Chapter 2 examines the history of policing in America and how traditions that were created many decades ago continue to influence policing today.

Before we begin, in this chapter we provide a framework for understanding the police in America. The framework that follows is adapted from the *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing*. The Task Force was the first-ever presidential commission or task force devoted exclusively to the police. The *Final Report* brought together all the best current thinking about the police in America today.


## Why Do We Have Police?

Why do we have police? What purpose do they serve? What do we want them to do? What do they do that other government agencies do not do? How do we want them to do these things? How do we make sure they do what we want? What do we do if they engage in misconduct?

These are all basic questions related to the role of police in society. Most Americans think they know what the police are: They are the officers who patrol the street where they live. Why do we have them? Most people would answer that they are there to fight crime and protect us.

Unfortunately, the answers most people give are too vague and simplistic. Policing is extremely complex.<sup>1</sup> The police have multiple responsibilities involving controlling crime, maintaining order, and providing miscellaneous services to the public. Even the idea of “fighting crime” is complex. Which crimes? There is an old cliché that says, “if the police enforced all the laws on the books, we would all be in jail.”

The police solve this dilemma by using their discretion not to enforce all the laws all the time. People stopped by an officer while driving are often let go with a warning, even though they were speeding. But do the police make good decisions when not enforcing the law? There are no easy answers to this question. We examine police discretion in detail in Chapter 11.

 We examine the police and crime in detail in Chapter 9.

The task of maintaining order is just as complex. What exactly do we mean by “order”? One person’s idea of disorder is their neighbor’s idea of a fun party. One group’s idea of an offensive protest march is another group’s idea of freedom of speech and assembly, protected by the First Amendment. When does a protest cross the line? When it blocks the entrance to a building? Day-in and day-out, the police make difficult decisions about these problems. We discuss order maintenance in detail in Chapter 8.

What do we want the police to do to accomplish their tasks? When asked, most people say they want more police patrols in their neighborhood. But is that the most effective way to control crime? As we will learn in this book, adding more police patrols to what already exists does not reduce crime.<sup>2</sup> There are other alternatives, innovations that have developed in recent years that are effective and represent “smart policing.”

What should we do when police officers do things that are improper? What is the proper remedy to a fatal officer-involved shooting that appears unjustified? Many people think we should leave the investigation and discipline of such incidents to the police. After all, don’t they know best? Many other people disagree strongly with that view. They don’t believe the police are capable of fairly investigating themselves, and they want independent external review of officer conduct. As we will learn in this book, this is a bitterly contested political issue, and the debate over it continues today. We cover police accountability in detail in Chapter 14.

Finally, it is difficult to define the kind of organization that a police department or law enforcement agency represents. The answer may seem obvious, but it is not. There are literally thousands of police departments in the United States, including 15,388 local departments.<sup>3</sup> City police and county sheriff’s departments have different roles and responsibilities, and significant differences exist in the responsibilities of county sheriff’s departments. State law enforcement agencies, meanwhile, also vary in many important respects. Some are limited entirely to highway patrol. Others have general law enforcement responsibilities. Some are independent state agencies, while some others are branches of the state attorney general’s office. Federal agencies all have very specific missions, defined by federal law. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is the principal federal law enforcement agency, but the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) have specific responsibilities, as well.



For a discussion of the different local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies, see Chapter 3.

## **A Framework for Understanding the Police and Policing**

The issues surrounding policing are extremely complex. To make sense of them, we use the 2015 report of the **President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing** as a useful framework for understanding the basic principles of good policing. In a series of public hearings around the country, the Task Force learned about all the best new ideas in policing and incorporated them into its final report.<sup>4</sup>

The Task Force’s framework addressed the following issues: a democratic police, a legitimate police, an open and transparent police, an accountable police, and an effective police. These key principles are closely linked and reinforce each other.

## A Democratic Police

The United States is a democracy, which means that the people ultimately control the agencies of government. This includes the police. In totalitarian societies, the people have no control over law enforcement agencies. If they are not happy with what the police are doing, there is nothing they can do about it. Police in totalitarian societies are also not governed by the rule of law; they only follow the dictates of the supreme ruler. **Democracy and the police** means that the police are both answerable to the people and accountable to the rule of law.

In the United States, mayors appoint police chiefs, and city councils provide the budget. Governors appoint the head of state police agencies, and state legislators appropriate their budgets. The president of the United States appoints the directors of federal law enforcement agencies: the directors of the FBI and the DEA, and all the other federal agencies. Congress appropriates their budgets.

The political control of the police, while an essential part of democracy, raises a number of difficult problems. For many years in history, elected officials used the police for personal or political benefit, appointing their friends as police officers and using the police to protect illegal drinking and gambling (see Chapter 2). We call that “politics.”<sup>5</sup> Making sure that the police are responsive to the public but are not used for improper purposes is a major challenge for the American police.

The President’s Task Force made a number of recommendations to ensure that the police are responsive to the people they serve. These recommendations include holding regular public meetings with residents of the community (Recommendation 4.5.1); conducting surveys of the public they serve (Recommendation 1.7); making official policies and procedures publicly available, on their websites; and establishing some form of civilian (citizen) oversight of the police (Recommendation 2.8).

## Democracy and Accountability

Public control of the police has its dangers, however, and there have been many instances in our history when those dangers became tragic realities. The worst case involves policing in the southeastern United States, during both the slave era and Reconstruction, when the police and the entire criminal justice system were used to maintain a racial caste system, put in place by duly elected white majorities.<sup>6</sup> That system was formally dismantled during the civil rights era, through a combination of court rulings upholding the Fourteenth Amendment’s guarantee of Equal Protection of the Law and federal civil rights laws.

In the rest of the country, local majorities supported “get tough on crime” practices by the police that violated standards of due process. The Supreme Court curtailed these practices with decisions affirming constitutional guarantees against unreasonable searches and seizures (*Mapp v. Ohio*) and the right to an attorney during police investigations (*Miranda v. Arizona*). In the wake of the events in Ferguson, Missouri, in 2014, a federal investigation found that elected city officials were using the police to generate revenue to support the city’s budget.<sup>7</sup> The result was a pattern of heavy-handed law enforcement, particularly with regard to traffic tickets, that violated the Fourteenth Amendment and created a serious problem with police–community relations, which erupted in riots in August 2014.

**democracy and the police**



For a discussion of the history of politics and the police, see Chapter 2.



For a discussion of the Supreme Court and the police, see Chapter 14.



## POLICE in FOCUS

### Justice Department Investigations of Local Police Departments

Since 1997, the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Justice Department has investigated and reached settlements with about 25 local police departments. The settlements are in the form of a “consent decree” or a “settlement agreement.” There has been great controversy over this program. Community activists argue that it is a necessary and effective means of correcting systemic police misconduct. Critics charge that the federal government is overstepping its authority. Others argue that the resulting consent decrees or settlement agreements are too expensive. Finally, the police and local authorities argue that there were no systemic patterns of police abuse in the first place.

Let’s take a look at the Justice Department program. Both the initial investigations and the resulting settlements are available on the website of the Special Litigation Section (visit <http://www.justice.gov/crt/conduct-law-enforcement-agencies>; scroll down and click on “Cases and Matters”; look for the state and then the case name or police department). Some of the important settlements involve Seattle, New Orleans, Cleveland, and Ferguson, Missouri. Let’s examine these documents in terms of the following issues:

- What legal authority does the Justice Department have to investigate a local police department? The rationale is always stated in the first pages of the investigation letter or the settlement agreement. Does the Justice Department have the authority to investigate a police department because it has failed to control crime? To put it another way, is incompetence and mismanagement a violation of federal law?
- What policies or practices by a police department constitute violation of federal civil rights law? What kind of police conduct constitutes a “pattern or practice” of the violation of the rights of local residents? Pick one or more settlements and review the document quickly. Does the Justice Department make a persuasive case that a *pattern or practice* of police misconduct exists?
- What kinds of reforms do the settlements or consent decrees require? What reforms are intended in terms of how a police department controls its officers’ use of force? Are there any changes in the responsibilities for sergeants? If so, what are they now supposed to do?
- What aspects of the consent decrees or settlements are consistent with the elements of the framework discussed in this chapter? Is there anything that is likely to promote legitimacy? Or achieve greater openness and transparency? What reforms are likely to enhance the accountability of officers?
- Many of the settlements require police departments to establish an early intervention system (EIS). What exactly is an EIS? How is it supposed to hold police officers accountable for their actions?
- What kinds of changes to a police department’s training program are required by settlements or consent decrees?
- How long does a consent decree or settlement last? In your opinion, is this too long, and unfair to the local department, or is it not long enough to accomplish the necessary reforms?
- In your opinion, are the reforms required by federal consent decrees or settlement agreements likely to increase the department’s effectiveness in responding to crime and disorder? Or are they likely to interfere with effective crime-fighting and the control of disorder? Explain.

## A Legitimate Police

### legitimacy

The police in a democracy need to be legitimate.<sup>8</sup> **Legitimacy** means more than just the police following the rule of law. It means that the people they serve have trust and confidence in them: trust that comes from respectful treatment; trust that the police are conducting themselves in a lawful manner; and confidence that they are controlling

crime and disorder effectively. The President's Task Force recommended that “[l]aw enforcement culture should embrace a guardian mindset to build public trust and legitimacy. Toward that end, police and sheriff's departments should adopt procedural justice as the guiding principle for internal and external policies and practices to guide their interactions with citizens they serve” (Recommendation 1.1).

The “guardian” mindset is the opposite of the “warrior” mindset, in which police officers see their work as combat and too often view members of the public as the “enemy.” When the police view people as the enemy, they are less likely to be responsive to their needs and more likely to use force when it is not necessary. Sue Rahr, a member of the President's Task Force, explained that in 2012 her staff at the Washington State Criminal Justice Training Commission “began asking the question, ‘Why are we training police officers like soldiers?’” Even though police officers wear uniforms and are authorized to use firearms, they have very different roles. Rahr further explained that “[t]he soldier's mission is that of a warrior: to conquer. The rules of engagement are decided before the battle. The police officer's mission is that of a guardian: to protect. The rules of engagement evolve as the incident unfolds. Soldiers must follow orders. Police officers must make independent decisions. Soldiers come into communities as an outside, occupying force. Guardians are members of the community, protecting from within.”<sup>9</sup>

Rahr's observation touches on all of the issues we discuss in this chapter. A guardian mindset involves cultivating trust and legitimacy in the police, being open and transparent about police activities, holding both the organization and individual officers accountable, and, finally, adopting the recognized best practices from around the country in order to be effective in controlling crime and maintaining order.

## Procedural Justice

**Procedural justice** is now recognized as an essential guiding principle for good policing. The theory of procedural justice developed out of the field of social psychology. It holds that, for example, in dealing with an organization, people are concerned not just with what happens to them but also with how they are treated. In policing, this means the difference between getting a traffic ticket (the substantive outcome) and how the officer acted: for example, being rude, being polite, not answering the person's questions, explaining the reason for the stop, and so on. Research consistently finds that people notice how they are treated by police officers and that it makes a difference to them. In Chicago, Wesley Skogan found that 80 percent of whites expressed a “favorable” attitude about whether the police “clearly explained why they wanted to talk with them,” but only 48 percent of African Americans and 63 percent of English-speaking Hispanics expressed a similar attitude.<sup>10</sup> Not only do people notice and remember how the police treat them, but there are large racial and ethnic gaps in those perceptions. We examine the legitimacy of the police further in Chapter 12.

procedural justice

Tom Tyler's research has found that when people have a sense of procedural justice, they are more likely to obey the law.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, the President's Task Force concluded that “[d]ecades of research and practice support the premise that people are more likely to obey the law when they believe that those who are enforcing it have authority that is perceived as legitimate by those subject to the authority.



*The public confers legitimacy only on those whom they believe are acting in procedurally just ways. In addition, law enforcement cannot build community trust if it is seen as an occupying force coming in from outside to impose control on the community.”<sup>12</sup>*

What procedural justice teaches us, then, is not only that the police have the responsibility for controlling crime but also that their activities, when done properly, can have the effect of promoting law-abiding behavior. The police don’t just keep the peace; they build the peace in our communities.

## Practices That Build Legitimacy

There are many ways in which the police can build trust and legitimacy. These steps, moreover, do not interfere with crime control efforts, and in fact, as we will explain, they can help to enhance effective crime control.

The President’s Task Force recommended that “[i]n order to achieve external legitimacy, law enforcement agencies should involve the community in the process of developing and evaluating policies and procedures” (Action Item 1.5.1). When community residents understand a police department’s policies on the handling of domestic violence incidents, the treatment of homeless people, and the use of officer body-worn cameras, they will feel more confident that the police are handling each of these situations properly, and this will help to build greater trust in the police. As we will see shortly, many steps designed to build trust and legitimacy include the department’s taking steps to provide greater openness and transparency regarding its operations.

If people do not feel that their police departments have a sound policy for handling domestic violence incidents, for example, there should be opportunities for them to voice their concerns to the department. To this end, the President’s Task Force recommended that “[l]aw enforcement agencies should schedule regular public forums and meetings where all community members can interact with police and help influence programs and policy” (Recommendation 4.5.1). Such public events give community members a chance to express their concerns and have a constructive dialogue with high-ranking police officials, which helps to build trust and legitimacy.

The effectiveness of community meetings, of course, depends on how they are conducted. If they are completely controlled by police officials in charge of the meeting, with only limited opportunity for members of the public to voice their concerns, then they will likely be counterproductive. In their study of the Chicago community policing effort CAPS (Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy), which had an extensive program of neighborhood meetings with local residents, Wesley Skogan and Susan Hartnett observed that “[m]aking [police] beat meetings work was hard.” The four most commonly discussed issues were drug dealing, “youth problems,” traffic enforcement, and “police disregard for citizens.” In the end, the meetings “created important opportunities for participation” by neighborhood residents.<sup>13</sup>

## Legitimacy and Police–Public Interactions

Trust in the police and legitimacy depend very much on how police officers interact with people in routine encounters: traffic stops, 911 disturbance calls, neighborhood problems, and so on. Procedural justice research has found that it is important for officers to treat people with respect, regardless of who they are or their condition.



For a discussion of the role of legitimacy and police–community relations, see Chapter 12.

**Respectful policing** includes the police introducing themselves, explaining the reason they are there (the reason for a traffic stop, for example), listening to people, and answering their questions.

respectful policing

It is extremely important that police officers speak respectfully to people. There has been a long and unfortunate tradition of rude and offensive language by police officers, including offensive racial and ethnic epithets. Almost 40 years ago, the Kerner Commission, which had been appointed to study the urban riots of the 1960s, found that “verbal discourtesy” occurred in 15 percent of all encounters between officers and community residents.<sup>14</sup> The problem continues today. To address this problem, the President’s Task Force recommended that “[b]ecause offensive or harsh language can escalate a minor situation, law enforcement agencies should underscore the importance of language used and adopt policies directing officers to speak to individuals with respect” (Recommendation 4.4.1).

As we will explain shortly, prohibiting offensive language is also an important accountability measure, a means of holding officers to a high standard of performance when dealing with people in the community. We discuss this subject again in the section on accountability, where we emphasize the point that *all* procedures designed to enhance accountability by controlling officer misconduct have a direct impact on legitimacy.

One police practice that offends the public and undermines trust and legitimacy involves formal or informal department quotas that require officers to write a certain number of traffic tickets or make a certain number of arrests each month or year. Quotas are also wrong in principle since they require officers to write tickets or make arrests they would not otherwise make. The President’s Task Force recommended that the police “*should refrain from practices requiring officers to issue a predetermined number of tickets, citations, arrests or summons, or to initiate investigative contacts with citizens for reasons not directly related to improving public safety, such as generating revenue*” (Recommendation 2.8).

The most serious case of the abuse of quotas was exposed in the 2015 Justice Department report on Ferguson, Missouri, site of the August 2014 shooting of Michael Brown, an unarmed African American, by a white police officer.<sup>15</sup> The city of Ferguson was using the police department as a source of revenue to meet the annual budget, pressuring the department to write traffic tickets, for example, to generate fines. As a result, the massive enforcement of minor offenses had the effect of creating a sense of oppression among African Americans in the community.

## Legitimacy, Trust, and Race Relations

Building trust and legitimacy requires that a police department have a workforce that is representative of the community, in terms of race, ethnicity, and gender. The President’s Task Force recommended that “[l]aw enforcement agencies should strive to create a workforce that contains a broad range of diversity including race, gender, language, life experience, and cultural background to improve understanding and effectiveness in dealing with all communities” (Recommendation 1.8). In the 1960s, the lack of African American officers in major city departments undermined trust and was a contributing factor to the riots of the period. The city of Cleveland, for example, was 34 percent African American, but only 7 percent of the officers were African American.<sup>16</sup>



For a discussion of diversity and the employment of police officers, see Chapter 5.