Challenges for a New Century

Chapter 15

The Future of Policing in America
The Future of Policing in America

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Previous chapters have discussed various innovations and reforms that have taken place in many agencies across the United States. In this chapter we discuss what Maguire and King refer to as large-scale macro-level trends. These are changes that have the potential to transform the landscape of policing in the future.\(^1\) As you have probably discovered by now, there is a lot left to learn about policing today, and much more if we’re to make predictions about its future. With this caveat, we discuss five areas of policing in which we believe current trends will have a profound and longstanding impact on police agencies in the future: (1) police technology, (2) employment practices in law enforcement, (3) police research, (4) demographic change, and (5) the war on terrorism.

### Police Technology

Perhaps one of the most influential changes taking place in policing today is related to information technology. Many police agencies use the Internet to convey information to the public, use cell phones to communicate with others while in the field, and use mobile computers to instantly retrieve information. However, it is clear that this is just the beginning and that advances in information technology will have a broad and powerful impact on policing in the future. For example, Tom Steele, founder of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Law Enforcement Information Managers Section, stated:

> We are just beginning to realize the significance of what is happening. There is not one—I repeat not one—area of the enforcement culture that will go untouched. The very essence of how we do business has been impacted through greater communications and information sharing. Over the next 15 to 20 years you will see the greatest redirection, reorganization, and modification of policing since Sir Robert Peel and the Metropolitan Police.\(^2\)

### Major Technology Applications

Jim Chu, a police manager with the Vancouver, Canada, police department and a leading expert in police-related information technology, notes that there are four major applications that are of consequence to police agencies of the future: (1) database and information technology, (2) computer-aided dispatch, (3) records management systems, and (4) mobile computing.\(^3\)

### Database and Information Technology

In the past, police agencies relied on card file indexes, with cards containing such basic information on suspects as their name, date of birth, case number, and criminal history record. This system was particularly helpful to specialized units such as burglary, forgery, and vice to assist them with identifying potential suspects in an area where a crime had occurred.
Most police departments today have either developed relational databases or are on their way to doing so. Computerized relational databases operate much like a card file index, but are much more powerful. They allow the police to store and retrieve large amounts of information obtained from a variety of sources. For example, if a police officer is investigating a suspect in a crime, the officer can use a relational database to gather information from the department’s criminal history records system, the gang unit’s intelligence system, and the state’s department of motor vehicles—all at one time.

Relational databases are not only useful for gathering and storing information on suspects and criminals, but they are also used for management purposes. They have the capacity to identify areas that need greater levels of police service and can provide trend information on criminal activity in specific neighborhoods. Relational databases can also be used to evaluate officers by tracking the number of arrests that they make, the types of arrests that they make, and the number of complaints against an officer.4

**Computer-Aided Dispatch**

Computer-aided dispatch (CAD) was first used in the 1970s as a method of more effectively and efficiently managing calls for service from the public. It was quickly realized that this system of service delivery had many advantages. First, it offered police departments a faster and more effective method of communicating with police officers in the field. Much like instant text messages, CAD systems allowed dispatchers to input relevant information into the system and send it instantaneously to officers’ mobile computers. Unlike radio dispatch, the uniformity and clarity of the graphic display reduced officer confusion. Second, CAD systems enhance safety by monitoring officer status. If officers do not update their “field status” after they have responded to a call, the CAD system will automatically alert a dispatcher to contact someone to check on their safety. Third, CAD systems help dispatchers and officers prioritize calls for service. Various types of calls are precoded according to their seriousness and guide dispatchers and officers on appropriate action.

**Records Management Systems**

In the past, one of the most time-consuming activities engaged in by police agencies was the management of paperwork. In large police organizations it was a hopeless effort that often resulted in frustration and loss of information. This was largely the consequence of complex processes in place for collecting, organizing, storing, and disseminating paper reports. All of the paper shuffling taking place in organizations led to too many opportunities for “lost paperwork” and resulted in administrators and officers rarely having all of the relevant information at their disposal.

The advent of records management systems (RMS) has solved many of the problems associated with the “paper tiger.” Records management systems are used to input and organize information from different types of reports in one easy-to-access format. For example, officers who work in agencies that have adopted this technology often are not required to file written reports. Instead, all information is input into a mobile terminal and is transmitted to appropriate personnel. As such, records management systems (RMS) have not only reduced the amount of time that officers
spend on paper work, but they have also improved the accuracy of the information collected by the police. This is because the computer programs in place in mobile terminals have quality-control features that prompt officers for certain types of information and ensure that the data entered is consistent and accurate.

RMS programs also allow for easy access to information. Some RMS programs allow numerous types of reports, such as crime reports, field interview contacts, traffic citations, booking reports, criminal history reports, and investigation reports, to be displayed at any time, on any computer terminal—permitting officers to access information faster and more easily. 5

**Mobile Computing**

Two to three decades ago the only way for a supervisor or dispatcher to communicate with a police officer was through a call box or by mobile radio. It was even more difficult for a citizen to get a hold of a particular officer while he or she was in the field. Today, (and more so in the future) there are a number of different methods (see Exhibit 15–1) for communicating with an officer, with each having its own strengths and weaknesses.

Call boxes, first installed in 1877, were inefficient and ineffective compared with today’s communication devices. Officers could only access call boxes at specific locations, and when they did have access to a call box, officers could only obtain or convey certain types of information—such as the location of a particular problem or the need for assistance. Mobile radios, which became popular in the 1930s, allowed officers to access communication at almost any geographic location, and permitted communication among officers, supervisors, and dispatchers at almost any time. Cellular phones further enhanced the ability of officers to communicate with those outside of the police department who do not have access to a two-way radio. For example, officers responsible for particular areas or who work closely with businesses or neighborhood groups are now able to easily communicate with members of the community. While the progression from the call box to the two-way radio and the cellular phone has substantially enhanced the capacity of police officials to communicate with each other and the community, the content of the information exchanged over these forms of media have changed

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### EXHIBIT 15–1

**Communication Devices**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Timely</th>
<th>Access to All Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Call box</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Not good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile radio</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Not good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cellular phone</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Not good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile data terminal</td>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>Better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile workstation</td>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>Very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal digital assistant</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Very good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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## Current and Cutting-Edge Applications in Law Enforcement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Current</th>
<th>Cutting Edge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capture</td>
<td>An officer relays information verbally to a dispatcher who types the information into a terminal.</td>
<td>A bar code on a driver’s license is scanned and the details are automatically recorded into predefined fields on a mobile computer deployed in the police vehicle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transmit</td>
<td>Information is sent from the dispatcher terminal, over a local network, to the state or city switch that is connected to local databases.</td>
<td>The information is automatically sent from the vehicle through a wireless connection. Results (registered owner of vehicle) are returned and the results are used to spawn new queries. The location of the stop is determined from an automatic vehicle location system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store</td>
<td>The traffic stop details are recorded in the computer-aided dispatch (CAD).</td>
<td>The offender details are sent to a regional data warehouse that serves as a multijurisdictional investigative information repository.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retrieve</td>
<td>Users from the same agency access the data stored in the CAD system.</td>
<td>The “islands of information” that exist in many areas are eliminated as investigators quickly access city, state, and federal databases to narrow the search for suspects to a crime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulate</td>
<td>A query is made to find all traffic stops that fit a user-specified criterion.</td>
<td>Data mining techniques correlate CAD data with other sources (traffic flow, accident locations) to help identify patterns and areas requiring targeted enforcement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Display</td>
<td>Lists of CAD incidents are printed and passed around.</td>
<td>Electronic presentations, including maps and other graphics, are assembled for high-level executive briefings, and the material is also posted to an agency intranet for comments by others.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

only slightly. Typically, it is restricted to specific incidents or particular pieces of information.

Mobile computers and workstations have revolutionized the type and amount of information that patrol officers have at their disposal. In some of the most technologically advanced police departments, mobile computers and workstations are the primary mechanism that officers use to deposit and access information. For example, officers can input information that was formerly in written form directly into the computer. This not only eliminates all of the paper generated by reports but makes the information available to all other police officials almost instantaneously. Mobile computing also permits anytime, anyplace access to the department’s CAD and RMS systems, which can assist officers with stops and crime scene investigations. For example, if an officer pulls a suspect over for a traffic violation, he or she can instantly access the department’s CAD and RMS system by mobile computer and query information about the person who was pulled over. Officers, for example, can check the driver’s criminal record, verify if the driver is the owner of the car, and determine if the person has any outstanding arrest warrants. Additionally, mobile computers facilitate investigations and information gathering by allowing officers to perform online text searches for needed information when they are in the field.⁶

The Use of Technology in the Field

**COMPSTAT**

One of the most important innovations in police crime fighting is COMPSTAT (see Chapter 4). Using computerized data management, COMPSTAT provides timely data on crime and disorder by neighborhood. In most programs, police commanders meet weekly or monthly to analyze and discuss the data. At these meetings, precinct commanders are expected to have analyzed the data, identified problems, and have already developed responses that will address new or changing patterns of crime and disorder in the areas under their command (e.g., a series of residential burglaries on one block; a sharp increase in drug arrests in one area).⁷

Through COMPSTAT, computer technology offers the opportunity for greater police effectiveness than previously. First, the data are very current. Some programs provide data on a twenty-four-hour basis. Second, computer technology facilitates analysis of trends and changes in crime and disorder. Third, the system facilitates crime mapping, allowing a focus on particular neighborhoods or even streets. Fourth, the system heightens the ability of the chief of police to hold precinct commanders accountable for crime and disorder in their areas.

**Early Intervention Systems**

Early intervention (EI) systems are an application of personnel records management for the purpose of increasing the accountability of police officers (see Chapter 14). An EI system is a computerized database with performance data on each officer. Systems vary, but most include data on officer use of force, citizen complaints, commendations, and officer involvement in civil suits against the department. Some EI systems contain as many as 18 or 20 performance indicators.⁸ The data permit commanders to analyze officer performance and to identify those officers who appear to
have performance problems. The department can then refer these officers to some kind of intervention—informal counseling, retraining, professional counseling—designed to correct their performance problems.  

License Plate Readers

Local police agencies across the country are beginning to use automated license plate readers, otherwise known as LPRs or tag readers. License plate readers are installed on police vehicles and fixed sites such as traffic intersections and highway entrances and exits. License plate readers became popular in the 1990s as a strategy used by the British military to deter Irish Republican Army attacks. The United States later adopted them to identify stolen cars and illegally parked cars. For example, in Mesa, Arizona, LPRs are placed in patrol vehicles and on street corners to immediately alert patrol officers when a vehicle has been identified as stolen. Currently, there are five potential uses for license plate readers: (1) crime analysis, (2) alerts and hot lists, (3) tracking individuals, (4) identifying previously undetected crimes, and (5) revenue generation.

Some police departments may choose to use LPRs for tactical crime analysis. For example, an agency might have an LPR near a local bank that could help them identify vehicles that have been in an area when a robbery occurred. Police agencies can also use license plate readers to identify vehicles owned by persons of interest, or those who pose a threat to law enforcement. These lists are referred to as “hot lists.” Hot lists can be generated by a variety of sources including patrol officers, the National Insurance Crime Bureau, the Department of Homeland Security, the National Crime Information Center, and Amber Alerts.

License plate readers notify police officers when a license plate on the hot list is observed so that the officer can take appropriate action. Additionally, LPRs are used to track individuals. Some jurisdictions may choose to track the movement of drug smugglers, gang members, fugitives, and those on parole or probation. The Department of Homeland Security might use the information to track the movement of those on terrorist watch lists, and local police departments could use LPRs to determine whether the license plates of registered sex offenders have entered a school or day care parking lot. License plate readers can also be used by the police to detect previously undetected crime. For instance, in many states a person can have their license suspended if he or she is found to be driving without insurance. However, this violation is rarely discovered by the police unless the person is pulled over for another reason. With the appropriate data sharing agreements in place, LPRs have the potential to be used to detect those vehicles on the road that have not been insured and could be used to identify vehicles that are associated with persons who have had their license suspended. Last, and related, some states revoke license plates and drivers’ licenses because drivers failed to pay a fine or owe taxes. LPRs could be used to bring those who owe the government money to the attention of the police.

There has been no research examining the effectiveness of LPRs, but preliminary evidence suggests that police officials are excited about its prospects. Some, however, question whether privacy rights are violated as a consequence of the
implementation of the technology. To date there have been no legal precedents to address privacy rights issues raised by LPRs, however, police advocacy groups claim that analogous cases have been seen before the courts in the past and suggest that LPRs do not violate constitutional privacy protections.  

The Future of Police Information Technology

Since 9/11, there has been increased priority placed upon building the necessary infrastructure for law enforcement agencies to share information with one another. In most agencies today the police have limited capacity to share information. One of the few exceptions is the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) run by the FBI. NCIC is a computerized database project that permits local agencies to report a limited amount of information pertaining to criminal record history, fugitives, stolen property, and missing persons to the FBI, and in turn provides the information to other agencies upon demand. The program, while valued by police, permits only a very small amount of information to be shared. As a consequence, a small number of police agencies across the country are beginning to develop technology that permits sharing more detailed information.

One major innovation has been the development of the Global Justice XML Data Model (GJXDM). GJXDM allows criminal justice agencies to maintain their information in a standardized language providing for increased opportunities for data sharing in a consistent format with partners across the criminal justice field. Unfortunately, information-sharing initiatives are generally complex, which greatly increases the risk of failure. One problem is that many police agencies do not have personnel with the required skills to facilitate data integration and information-sharing projects. This requires police agencies to hire outside consultants to develop and implement information-sharing capacities, expending a substantial amount of financial resources that the police do not often have. Another problem is that these projects require a great amount of trust and a willingness to share. Police agencies are highly fragmented organizations that often do not work well with one another and are very protective about releasing information that has been gathered by their people, on their “turf.” Last, researchers from COPLINK, a fairly well known company that specializes in information sharing, pointed out that agencies must see an immediate gain or benefit in order to be motivated to share information. Because information-sharing projects typically take years to plan and implement, there are almost no immediate rewards for police agencies.

While information sharing is difficult to implement, there is evidence regarding its benefits to the police. For example, Zaworski examined the impact of the Automated Regional Justice Information System (ARJIS) on the performance of officers and investigators in the San Diego sheriff’s department. The findings indicated that information-sharing technology in general increases effectiveness and job performance. More specifically, Zaworski reported that information-sharing technology increased arrest rates for patrol officers and improved case clearance rates for detectives. Additionally, the report indicated that officers were more satisfied with the data that they had available to them to perform their job and believed that it enhanced officer safety due to increased officer knowledge in the field.
Technologically Advanced Weapons

New technologically advanced forms of nonlethal weaponry are being developed to assist the police to subdue dangerous suspects. One rapidly emerging technology is the Thomas A. Swift electrical rifle (Taser). A Taser is a battery-powered electromuscular device (EMD) that fires two metal prongs, which are attached to a wire that delivers approximately 26 watts of electricity at more than 50,000 volts. The electricity causes substantial muscular pain and typically results in the immobilization of the suspect. A short time after the electrical charges are stopped there are reportedly few lasting effects other than irritation where the probes were located.\(^{16}\) (Note: The word “Taser” is trademarked by TASER International.)

Today, approximately 8,000 police agencies have purchased Tasers for departmental use.\(^ {17}\) The Phoenix police department has the largest number of Tasers. A departmental study of their use suggested that the implementation and use of Tasers successfully reduced injuries to suspects and officers. In one year the Phoenix police department reported that among 475 incidents where a Taser could have been employed, it was actually used 128 times. Only 9 percent of suspects Tasered were injured, compared to 33 percent of those who were not. Likewise, 2 percent of officers who used the Taser were injured, compared to 9 percent of officers who did not use the weapon.\(^ {18}\)

Several organizations, however, have condemned the use of Tasers. They argue that the weapon is more dangerous than the police admit or may be aware of. One report found that the weapon is 39 times more powerful than company officials claim, explaining that the Taser generated 704 watts of power compared to the 18 watts specified by the manufacturer. From 2001 through December 2008, 334 people have died after Taser use in the United States.\(^ {19}\) Unfortunately, to date, there has been little independent research that has examined the medical ramifications of its use. The independent research that has examined Taser use, however, has determined that only 0.3 percent of incidents involving Tasers result in moderate or serious injuries such as broken bones, loss of eye, or serious head injury.\(^ {20}\)

Crime Analysis

Related to the shift in the use of technology is the employment of crime analysis by police departments. Crime analysis allows police agencies to make organizational and strategic decisions based on evidence rather than on guesswork. It allows agencies to make data-driven decisions with regard to the allocation of resources and predicting future criminal activity, and supports patrol officers and investigators in their technical decisions.

O’Shea and Nicholls state that crime analysis consists of three functions:

1. To assess the nature, extent, and distribution of crime in order to efficiently and effectively allocate resources and deploy personnel.
2. To identify crime–suspect correlations to assist investigations.
3. To identify the conditions that facilitate crime and incivility so that policymakers may make informed decisions about prevention approaches.\(^ {21}\)
To accomplish these functions, crime analysts are responsible for a number of activities related to the collection, analysis, and dissemination of crime-related data. First, crime analysts are responsible for gathering, and sometimes entering, information that comes to the police. This information is typically collected through crime reports, calls for service, arrest reports, and field interview cards. Second, crime analysts are responsible for analyzing the data to determine patterns and trends in crime. This is often accomplished through the use of databases, complex statistical packages, and mapping software that require substantial training to use. Third, after a crime analyst has identified a pattern, the information is presented to the appropriate personnel, who use it to develop a response. 

Today, about 75 percent of police departments having more than 100 sworn officers have assigned at least one person to conduct crime analysis. These positions are usually staffed by a civilian because of the specialized training needed for the assignment and because civilians are less costly to employ when compared to sworn officers. About 72 percent of those agencies that do have a crime analyst have placed them in a separate unit. This unit falls typically under an administrative division (44 percent), but may also fall under a detective division (27 percent) or patrol division (8 percent).

Types of Crime Analysis

Deborah Osborne and Susan Wernicke describe three of the most common types of crime analysis used by police agencies, or potentially available to them.

**Tactical Crime Analysis**

Tactical crime analysis typically involves the identification of specific crime problems in particular geographic areas. The goal of this type of analysis is to provide patrol officers and detectives with timely information that allows them to respond to crimes that are currently taking place. For example, a crime analyst might identify a trend of auto burglaries, determining the typical location, time, and dates of the criminal activity. This information would provide patrol officers with information about where to direct their patrol activities and the time that this strategy might be most effective in capturing or deterring the offender(s).

**Strategic Crime Analysis**

Strategic crime analysis focuses on long-term crime trends. This information is used to develop strategic plans to address particular problems. Strategic crime analysis is different from tactical crime analysis in that the focus is on long-term planning and larger, more complex projects. A project conducted in Scottsdale, Arizona, provides an illustration. The Scottsdale police department Crime Analysis Unit discovered that over a course of years, open-garage-door burglaries were increasing. The crime analyst coordinated with patrol, community watch groups, and neighborhood associations to develop a strategic plan to prevent open-garage-door burglaries. The plan was implemented, and the strategy employed was repeated over the course of several years.
Administrative Crime Analysis

Administrative crime analysis focuses on providing summary statistics and data to police managers. This information is often used by managers to better understand crime and disorder problems. For example, a chief of police might use the Uniform Crime Report data collected by the agency to compare the amount of crime in his community with that of similar jurisdictions. Similarly, a district commander might request a daily crime report to examine the amount and type of crime occurring in their district to stay better informed about crime in their area of responsibility.

Crime Mapping

Over the past twenty years police experts have come to recognize that some geographic areas have more crime than others. These areas have become known as “hot spots”. This has led some police departments’ crime analysts to specialize in what has become known as crime mapping. Crime mapping permits analysts to identify spatial patterns and hot spots for different types of crimes. Today, about 13 percent of police departments engage in computerized crime mapping. About one-third of large police departments (with 100 or more sworn officers) currently use computer crime mapping, compared to 3 percent of smaller departments. One Arizona study found that even among those departments that use crime mapping, only half have crime analysts that are proficient it its use. As such, the use of computerized crime mapping is still in its infancy and will take some time to be fully institutionalized within police agencies across the country.

Currently the Department of Justice (DOJ) is allocating substantial resources to assist police agencies to adopt crime mapping. This is because crime mapping allows the police to allocate resources in areas that have the most crime. In the past this might have been done at the precinct and beat level by simply calculating the number of crimes that take place in each area. However, with crime maps the police are able to allocate resources to specific addresses, street corners, and blocks. Crime mapping can be used for a variety of other purposes as well. For example, it can be combined with other sources of data, such as census data, school boundary data, and property assessment data, to help the police understand the relationship between geographic areas, crime, and community-level characteristics. Some agencies also provide their officers with crime maps to keep them up-to-date on where crime is occurring in their patrol area so that they can engage in proactive enforcement efforts during the time in which they are not responding to calls for service. Likewise, crime maps can be shared with the community to educate people about crime in their neighborhood.

Research funded by the National Institute of Justice reported that of agencies that use computerized crime mapping, 94 percent use it to inform officers and investigators of the location of crime, 56 percent use it to make resource allocation decisions, 49 percent use it to evaluate interventions, 47 percent use it to inform residents about crime activity and changes in their community, and 44 percent use it to identify addresses where there are repeat calls for service.

For an example of what crime mapping looks like, see Exhibit 15–2.
The Outlook for Police Employment

The employment outlook for those interested in a career in law enforcement appears bright. Greater concern about crime and delinquency, increasing threats to homeland security, and the need to replace police officers from the baby boom generation has resulted in an increasing demand for law enforcement officers that should last for years to come. For example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the demand for police officers is projected to increase 11 percent through 2016.30

Opportunities in Local, County, and State Law Enforcement

Most of the job opportunities available in law enforcement exist within city, county, and state agencies. However, it is important to point out that such jobs as a city police officer, county sheriff, or highway patrol officer are not the only job options available to you. There are a host of jobs that are available that might be of greater interest to you or might provide you with an experience you might not have considered. These jobs can not only provide you with the experience and connections that can help you get the law enforcement career that you have always wanted, but they can also offer you a career for a lifetime.
Some of the most overlooked careers in policing are jobs held by civilians. Today, about one-third of all personnel employed by local, county, and state law enforcement agencies are civilians. Many police agencies hire civilians to enforce community physical disorder ordinances, facilitate community crime prevention, and collect evidence. Civilians are also used as crime analysts, strategic planners, and technicians of various kinds.

There are also a number of state agencies that grant individuals police powers to perform various regulatory functions. These jobs range from enforcing laws related to gambling, to inspecting factories for excess pollution, to regulating livestock and other farm animals. For example, an individual who is interested in policing but also has a strong interest in outdoor activities might consider working for a state agency that protects wildlife, such as the state department of agriculture, state department of parks and recreation, or the state department of fish and game. There is an agency to fit almost anyone’s interest. For example, Exhibit 15–3 lists a variety of California state agencies that employ persons who possess police power.

Local, County, and State Salaries

The average annual salary for police and sheriff’s patrol officers was about $47,460 in 2006, the last year for which these figures were available. Detectives make more

**EXHIBIT 15–3**

**California State Agencies That Possess Police Power**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department of Agriculture</th>
<th>Department of Employment</th>
<th>Department of Justice</th>
<th>Department of Fish and Game</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control</td>
<td>Department of Finance</td>
<td>Department of Mental Hygiene</td>
<td>San Francisco Port Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Corrections</td>
<td>California State Police</td>
<td>Department of Motor Vehicles</td>
<td>Harbor Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Youth Authority</td>
<td>Department of Industrial Welfare</td>
<td>Department of Professional and Vocational Standards</td>
<td>Department of Social Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California Disaster Office</td>
<td>Fair Employment Practice Commission</td>
<td>Department of Public Health</td>
<td>State Fire Marshal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of California Highway Patrol</td>
<td>Department of Insurance</td>
<td>Department of Parks and Recreation</td>
<td>Office of Consumer Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Education</td>
<td>Department of Investments</td>
<td>Department of Conservation</td>
<td>Department of Business Taxes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

than patrol officers. In 2006, the median annual income for detectives and criminal investigators was approximately $58,260. In 2006, the International City–County Management Association’s annual Police and Fire Personnel, Salaries, and Expenditures Survey examined the salaries of full-time police personnel in cities across the county. Exhibit 15–4 shows their findings.31

Police officers also receive paid vacation, sick leave, and medical and life insurance—benefits that many other employers do not provide to their employees. Because police officers are usually covered by pension plans, many retire at half-pay after twenty or twenty-five years of service.32

### Opportunities in Federal Law Enforcement

There are also ample opportunities for individuals aspiring to a career in federal law enforcement, particularly since the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. Similar to the variation within state law enforcement agencies, there are a number of federal agencies that fulfill numerous roles—those that are responsible for criminal investigations, intelligence gathering, and law enforcement, as well as those that perform compliance and security functions.33

Most of these agencies require that an applicant have an undergraduate degree. Those agencies that perform investigative functions often require specialized skills, such as legal training or knowledge about taxes and finance. Today, for example, the Drug Enforcement Agency is seeking persons with a background in pharmacy and the Border Patrol is looking for persons who speak Spanish.34

Persons interested in a career in federal law enforcement should expect to move to a different geographic area of the country. First, if a person is hired by a federal law enforcement agency, they will most likely be sent to the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center in Glynco, Georgia. Second, while most agencies try to relocate you to a geographic area of your interest, the city or state in which you will live and work is not guaranteed. About 50 percent of all federal law enforcement officers were assigned to the five locations listed in Exhibit 15–5.35

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### Exhibit 15–4

Minimum and Maximum Salary for Police Officers by Rank

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Minimum Annual Base Salary</th>
<th>Maximum Annual Base Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police chief</td>
<td>$78,547</td>
<td>$99,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy chief</td>
<td>$68,797</td>
<td>$87,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police captain</td>
<td>$65,408</td>
<td>$81,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police lieutenant</td>
<td>$59,940</td>
<td>$72,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police sergeant</td>
<td>$53,734</td>
<td>$63,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police corporal</td>
<td>$44,160</td>
<td>$55,183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Federal Salaries

The salaries of about 75 percent of federal law enforcement officers are determined by the General Schedule (GS) pay system. The GS system is comprised of 15 grades—GS-1 through GS-15. There is also a salary range of 10 steps within each grade. The entry-level pay that a federal law enforcement officer receives varies by agency. However, some federal agents and inspectors receive law enforcement availability pay (LEAP), which increases the pay of these agents by 25 percent because of the substantial amount of overtime they are expected to work.

Individuals working for the FBI begin with a salary of about $60,199 a year. Agents who are not promoted to a supervisory position can earn as much as $94,268 a year after several years. FBI supervisors, managers, and executives earn between $111,394 and $131,033 per year, depending on their position. As with other law enforcement jobs, federal agents receive excellent benefits, including paid vacation and sick time, medical coverage, and life insurance.  

The Future of Police Research

A generation ago we knew very little about policing. We did not know what patrol officers did during a typical eight-hour shift. We did not know who they arrested, or why they did not arrest some people. Everyone assumed that patrol deterred crime, but there was no scientific evidence to support that belief. We did not know if some tactics were more effective than others in preventing crime.

Today we have a lot of information related to those questions. Since the late 1960s there has been a “research revolution” in policing that has enormously expanded our knowledge base. The National Academy of Sciences concluded that “no other country has made a more concerted effort to harness the rigor of social science to the study of policing.” As previous chapters of this book have described in detail, we can make some informed statements about what works and what does not work in policing. The current body of research on policing is summarized and evaluated in the National Academy of Sciences report *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence.*

Knowledge does not come easily or cheaply. The research revolution in policing is the product of a large investment of funds in scientific research. The primary

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### Exhibit 15–5

**Top Five Jurisdictions Employing Federal Officers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jurisdiction</th>
<th>Number of Federal Officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>10,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>8,836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>6,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>6,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>4,980</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

source of that funding is the federal government, though some additional research funds come from private foundations such as the Ford Foundation. Significant federal funding of research in criminal justice began in 1968 with the creation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Today the federal government supports criminal justice research primarily through the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). Some additional research is supported by the National Science Foundation (NSF) and the COPS Office of the U.S. Justice Department.

Does Research Do Any Good?

Many people ask whether research does any good. Does anyone actually read all of those studies—other than the professors who wrote them and the students who are assigned to read them in class? Does research have any impact on policy? Is social science research on policing worth the investment of our money?

The answer to these questions is yes. People do read research reports, and there are a number of examples of how research has influenced police policy.

One of the best examples of the impact of research on policy is the development of community policing. Often characterized as a “new paradigm” for policing, community policing emerged after research discredited the assumptions of the traditional professional model of policing. Specifically:

- The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment found that increasing the level of patrol did not deter crime more effectively than the normal level of patrol.
- Several studies found that faster response time to calls for service did not result in more arrests.
- The Rand Corporation study of the criminal investigation process found that traditional detective work did not increase the number of crimes solved.

Along with other research, these studies forced policy makers to rethink the role of the police and the goals of basic police operations. In this effort, they built upon some other important research findings.

- The Newark Foot Patrol Study found that increasing the number of foot patrol officers reduced citizen fear of crime (even though crime did not actually go down) and that citizens also had more positive feelings about the police.
- Several studies found that the police are heavily dependent on citizens for reporting crime and providing information about crime and other problems.

Synthesizing these findings, a combination of researchers and policymakers developed the idea of community policing based on research that suggested that (1) traditional police operations have not proven effective and (2) the police cannot effectively respond to crime and disorder by themselves but need good relations and close cooperation with citizens.

The Future of Federal Support for Research

Given the enormous contributions of social science research to our understanding of policing and the reliance of research on federal funds, it is important to consider the future of federal support for police research. The future of federal support for
research is very uncertain, however. The National Academy of Sciences found that even in the past the level of research support has varied considerably from year to year. This has made it difficult to develop a stable and focused research agenda. Even more serious, because of the budget problems of the federal government, support for research through the National Institute of Justice has been reduced and may be reduced even further. Given the important contributions of research in the past, this is a potentially serious problem for the future of the American police.

Demographic Change

American society is experiencing significant demographic change, mainly as a result of immigration. The change in the composition of American society poses new and difficult challenges for law enforcement.

The biggest change is the growth of the Hispanic/Latino population. Shortly after the 2000 census was completed, Hispanics became the largest racial or ethnic minority group in the country, edging past the African American community, at about 13 percent of the total U.S. population. Many Hispanic immigrants do not speak English or have only a limited facility with English. This creates potential problems in terms of communicating with the police—through 911 systems and in on-the-street encounters. Many immigrants also bring to this country experiences with very brutal police officials, and they assume that American police officers are just as bad. Many of these immigrants are not familiar with American principles of individual rights and the right to protest government actions. They do not know, for example, that citizens can file a complaint against a police officer without having to go to court or obtaining a lawyer.

The recent growth of the Hispanic community poses a challenge for police–community relations. The history of American policing is filled with conflict between the police and racial and ethnic minorities. There is a long history of violence arising from conflict with the African American community. Conflict with the Hispanic community resulted in the Zoot Suit riot in Los Angeles in 1943.

In addition to the Hispanic community, recent immigration trends have resulted in significant African, Asian, and Latin American communities in this country. Differences in language and culture create potential problems and conflicts with the police.

Whether the history of tension and violent conflict between the police and racial and ethnic minority communities is repeated in the years ahead or good relations are established depends on what both the police and community leaders do.

Impact of the War on Terrorism

The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, have had a radical impact on American society. We are all subject to new security measures in airports, government buildings, and other places. The federal government has declared a war on terrorism that has changed our foreign policy. The war on terrorism is also having a profound effect on domestic policy in ways that directly affect state and local police agencies.
Role Expansion

Along with the federal government, state and local law enforcement agencies are increasingly concerned about possible terrorist activities. This includes such efforts as (1) investigating suspected terrorists; (2) preparing for and responding to specific terrorist acts such as the bombing of a building; (3) preparing for possible terrorist acts involving weapons of mass destruction (WMD), including chemical and biological weapons (CBW).

These activities involve a major expansion of the role of state and local police agencies. There is the danger that adding these new roles and responsibilities will divert personnel and effort from current responsibilities. These new responsibilities are also very costly. Training for possible terrorist acts is expensive—just as all forms of training are expensive. Maintaining a special unit or command officer responsible for coordinating antiterrorist efforts means that additional officers will have to be hired or diverted from current assignments.41

Immigration Enforcement

In order to enhance national security against potential threats from immigrants to this country, the Justice Department wants state and local police to assist them in enforcing federal immigration laws. Traditionally, state and local agencies had no authority to enforce federal laws. However, after 9/11 the federal government began to advocate for the position that terrorism and related criminal activity was best responded to through a multi-agency approach that made use of expertise at the federal, state and local levels. Specifically, they articulated that local law enforcement personnel are typically the first to come into contact with criminal aliens who may pose a threat to national security or public safety and are usually the first responders when there is a terrorist attack. Today, agencies that are interested in assisting the federal government in this way can request assistance from Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) through the 287(g) program. The 287(g) agreements permit local police to enforce immigration law after they have received required training from ICE personnel. To date, sixty-three agencies have signed a 287(g) agreement with ICE.42

Many local police departments, however, do not want to become involved in the enforcement of federal immigration laws. In fact, recently many police chiefs, mayors, and city councils are ordering local officers not to assist federal agents in arresting people for entering the country illegally and are developing policies and procedures that limit the potential for illegal immigrants to see local police as a threat to their legal status. For example, in Chicago police officers are not permitted to ask immigrants about their legal status. In Minneapolis the mayor asked federal agents to stop identifying themselves as “police,” so that immigrants would not confuse federal agencies responsible for deportation with the local police department.43

Local police officials and politicians are concerned that assisting federal agencies with identifying and deporting illegal immigrants would alienate them from local immigrant communities with whom they are trying to develop positive relations. They emphasized that illegal immigrants are often the most vulnerable to victimization because they are often afraid to tell the police about the crime for fear of deportation. The Major Cities Chiefs Association, which represents chiefs from fifty-seven
large police departments, warned that local enforcement of immigration laws would undermine trust and cooperation.\footnote{44}

Immigration law is in the midst of potentially sweeping change. In 2006 the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill that would make being an undocumented immigrant (e.g., entering the country illegally, being in the country with an expired visa) a crime. Under current law, violations of immigration law are civil offenses. The House bill also made it a crime to assist undocumented immigrants. The law potentially made it a crime for someone to operate a homeless shelter or a soup kitchen that serves undocumented immigrants. The U.S. Senate, meanwhile, passed an immigration bill that did not contain these provisions.

It is not clear what the future of U.S. immigration law will be. If it became law, the House bill would represent a radical shift in U.S. policy and would create large new categories of crimes that state and local police would be responsible for enforcing.

**Racial and Ethnic Profiling**

The war on terrorism has resulted in an increase in stereotypes about Arab Americans in the minds of some people. The Arab American Anti-Discrimination Association has reported an increase in acts of discrimination against Arab people. Some of these acts are similar to the racial profiling experienced by African Americans. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (www.civilrights.org) issued a report, *Wrong Then, Wrong Now*, on the illegal profiling of Arab Americans.\footnote{45} To address some of these issues, the Department of Justice created a four-hour cultural competency course to educate local and federal law enforcement officers about Arab and Muslim cultures and customs. So far the program has resulted in about 2,000 law enforcement officers being trained.\footnote{46}

**Personnel Challenges**

Following September 11, 2001, local police agencies have faced several personnel challenges. First, invasions of both Afghanistan and Iraq have resulted in the mobilization of both the National Guard and the military reserves. As a result, almost every police department has lost some personnel to military duty. This creates personnel shortages for large departments, but in small agencies it can create a critical situation. A small rural department with only three or four officers cannot afford to lose one of its officers. In some cases, the chief of police has been mobilized for military duty.

Second, local police agencies are faced with increasing demands to fulfill needs related to homeland security. For example, personnel in many jurisdictions have been diverted away from traditional patrol and investigative activities and are being used to guard critical infrastructures, such as public buildings, nuclear facilities, dams, and bridges. Additionally, they are fulfilling roles in intelligence task forces and supporting federal agencies in providing security to seaports and airports. Rand Corporation conducted a study of how the Long Beach police department has adapted to the changing service demands placed upon it after 9/11 and reported that the changes have been significant. Examples of the study’s findings are presented in Exhibit 15–6.
Case Study

**FBI Futures Working Group**

The Futures Working Group (FWG) is a collaboration between the FBI (http://www.fbi.gov) and the Society of Police Futurists International (PFI). FWG’s purpose is to develop—and encourage others to develop—forecasts and strategies to ethically maximize the effectiveness of local, state, federal, and international law enforcement bodies as they strive to maintain peace and security in the twenty-first century.

In 1991, the FBI Academy hosted the International Symposium on the Future of Law Enforcement. The symposium was attended by 250 criminal justice practitioners and educators from 20 nations. Those present voted to begin a professional association, PFI, dedicated to the future of policing.

PFI and the FBI have enjoyed a close working relationship. Following the tragic events of September 11, 2001, it became clear that law enforcement professionals would need help with the complex and difficult issues that they would be facing. In response to this need, the FBI and PFI agreed to capitalize on their collective organizational strengths by jointly forming the Futures Working Group.

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**EXHIBIT 15–6**

Examples of How the Long Beach Police Department Has Adapted to Post-9/11 Service Demands

- Created counterterrorism unit
- Created terrorist liaison officers
- Reassigned officers to assess and protect critical infrastructures, such as the port, airport, and water treatment facilities
- Sent officers to train in new skills, such as WMD response, and signs of terrorism
- Established port police equipped with small boats
- Redistributed officers to respond to areas with high population growth
- Increased visibility and response times by switching most officers from two- to one-person patrol cars
- Reduced staffing on lower-priority programs such as Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) and Community Reactions Division
- Reduced staffing on narcotics division
- Reduced foot patrols
- Requested additional resources to cover additional demand, both from the city for local needs, and from the government for national needs

In February, 2002, the Futures Working Group had its initial meeting at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia. During that meeting, an organizational framework was crafted and a research agenda was sketched out. The group became a reality on April 2, 2002, when FBI Director Robert Mueller and PFI President Gerald Konkler signed the Futures Working Group Memorandum of Understanding.


Summary

The American police face many challenges in the immediate future. Technology, demographic change, the state of the economy, and the war on terrorism will force many changes on the police. How the police will respond to these challenges and external changes is not clear. The only thing that is certain is that ten years from now—if not sooner—American policing will be different from what it is today.

Key Terms

- computer-aided dispatch, 502
- records management systems, 502
- Taser, 508
- tactical crime analysis, 509
- strategic crime analysis, 509
- administrative crime analysis, 510
- crime mapping, 510
- demographic change, 516
- war on terrorism, 516
- 287(g) program, 517

For Discussion

1. Get into groups and discuss the pros and cons of technology in policing today. Think about technology’s impact on police officers, police agencies, and citizens.
2. As a class, discuss whether you think police officers are paid too little or too much. Are police officers paid more or less than similar occupations? Should police officers be paid more, and if so, why?
3. As a class, discuss what role, if any, local police should have in enforcing immigration laws.

Internet Exercises

**Exercise 1** Go to [http://www.policefuturists.org/futures/fwg.htm](http://www.policefuturists.org/futures/fwg.htm) to learn more about the future of policing.

**Exercise 2** Visit your local police department’s Web site and look for the page describing the qualifications for becoming a police officer. Look at each of the qualifications to determine whether you fit the criteria to become a police officer in that department.

**Exercise 3** Go to [http://www.officer.com/](http://www.officer.com/) to learn about various jobs available in police agencies across the country. Think about whether you would be interested in working for a police agency located in another part of the country. What factors would influence your decision?

**Exercise 4** Go to [http://www.iaca.net/](http://www.iaca.net/), for the International Association of Crime Analysts. The site will provide you with information on how to become a crime analyst.
Notes

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
21. Timothy O’Shea and Keith Nicholls, *Crime Analysis in America* (Center for Public Policy at the University of South Alabama, March 2002).
23. O’Shea and Nicholls, *Crime Analysis in America*.
26. See the National Institute of Justice’s MAPS program at http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/maps/.
32. Ibid.


38. Ibid.


40. For the most recent data, go to the Census Bureau Web site: www.census.gov.


44. Ibid.
