CHAPTER 12

POLICING IN A DIVERSE SOCIETY

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

1. Identify the characteristics of a democratic and multiethnic society that impact police—multicultural relations
2. Describe the historical origins of the current problems associated with multicultural relations and the police
3. Discuss the strategies that can be implemented by both the police and the public to improve the perception of police
4. Identify strategies that may be implemented to mitigate acts of discrimination and improve police officers’ understanding of racial and ethnic diversity in the communities they serve
5. Explain the historical and current roles and challenges that women have in policing
6. Discuss the evolution of the treatment experienced by minority group members in policing and whether or not you believe the current treatment of these groups is fair and impartial
In a democratic society, community relations are the cornerstone of good policing. Without public support, the police are uninformed about most crimes, are likely to receive inadequate resources, are not able to collect information needed to solve cases and apprehend offenders, and are challenged in recruiting quality employees. The police are, or should be, protectors of civil liberties and civil rights as well as of life and property. If the police are to serve the community effectively and in a manner acceptable to citizens, they must demonstrate their effectiveness in these areas and establish a fruitful working relationship with the public.

POLICING IN A MULTICULTURAL AND MULTIETHNIC SOCIETY

The term police–community relations can be misleading. There is not a single, large, homogeneous group that is the public but many diverse publics, that is, groups that are identifiable by geography, race, gender, age, social class, respect for law and order, and degree of law-abiding behavior. These different publics have unique interests and concerns that distinguish them from one another in many ways. The police, as public servants, must serve everyone. However, because the expectations of members of these different publics are often dissimilar, providing effective service is often difficult.

These different, sometimes conflicting, expectations point out that good police–community relations are not easy to achieve. In a large, industrialized, multiethnic society based on values such as democratic decision-making, individual freedom, and tolerance for diversity, to some extent, conflict between the police and other citizens is inevitable and perhaps even healthy, within limits. However, conflict with specific subgroups that becomes chronic or habitual is a serious problem.

Even though successful community relations depend on reciprocity, the public cannot be forced to see and understand things from the police perspective. Therefore, the burden of trying to improve police–community relations often rests with the police.

Changing Demographics

Developing positive working relationships in a rapidly changing, multicultural society is difficult. The U.S. population is becoming increasingly diverse (see Figure 12.1). Changes in the demographic proportions of minority groups result from differences in birth and death rates as well as immigration. California, Texas, New York, Florida, and New Jersey have high levels of immigration; Hawaii, Washington, DC, California, New Mexico, and Texas have more than 50% racial and ethnic minority populations; and Nevada is poised to surpass the 50% mark soon.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2010, slightly more than one-third of the population reported their race and ethnicity as something other than non-Hispanic White. The minority population (in terms of race and ethnicity) increased from 86.9 million to 111.9 million between 2000 and 2010, representing a 29% increase. Asians and Hispanics continued to be the two fastest-growing minorities. In 2010, California had the largest minority population in the nation with 22.3 million, followed by Texas (13.7 million), New York (8.1 million), Florida (7.9 million), and Illinois (4.7 million). Time will tell if these trends continue, although many research “think tanks” estimate that they will. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the percentage of non-Hispanic Whites was 76.9% in 2017.

What was recognized decades ago certainly remains the case today.

Our communities are changing quickly—often too quickly for law enforcement to keep up. Failing to understand many of these changes, and still trying...
to conduct business as usual, we find that the tools and rules that worked before
don't work now. For many seasoned officers, their main concern is to make it
through each shift and go home in one piece. Although some claim that this
only serves to reinforce a force-oriented culture that brings officers closer to
each other and further from the community they serve,⁸ many progressive law
enforcement leaders are joining the movement to go beyond mere “diversity
training” to helping their officers develop true cultural competence.⁹

The Asian population grew from about 4% in 2000 to about 5.7% in 2017.¹⁰ More
than half of the 10-year growth in the total U.S. population was due to the increase in
the Hispanic population. There were 57.5 million U.S. Hispanics estimated for 2016¹¹
compared to 49.7 million in 2000. If present trends continue, estimates are that non-
Hispanic Whites will account for no more than 50% of the population by 2044.¹²

At the same time, the national population is aging, and the elderly constitute an increas-
ing proportion of our population. A new type of generation gap is arising with most
people over age 60 being non-Hispanic Whites.

In addition, gays and lesbians, the homeless, the mentally ill, religious minorities, politi-
cal extremists, and refugees from the Middle East, Central and South America, and
island countries all constitute significant minorities.

Many of these diverse groups bring different languages, religious observances, dress,
and lifestyles—and different views of the police. Some immigrants who come from
countries where the police are integrated with the military and police actions are not
regulated by strong constitutional and human rights guarantees have negative images of
the police,¹³ whereas others have more positive images.¹⁴

All create challenges for the police in providing adequate services while dealing with
problems related to language and cultural understanding. Further complicating mat-
ters is the fear that terrorists from abroad may hide among the numerous immigrants,
whereas terrorists from within continue to present real threats as well. All in all, the
police at all levels face ever-changing issues related to the nation's demographics.

Department personnel
should represent the
racial, ethnic, and gender
makeup of the citizens
they serve. Some police
departments actively
outreach to recruit women
and minority residents.
Figure 12.1 /// Racial and Ethnic Minority Population, 2000, 2010, 2013, 2016

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic or Latino</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or African American</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian and Alaska Native</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or More Races</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
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Note: To comprehend the composition of each of the categories and to view a number of cautionary statements related to the use of the data presented in Table 12.1, see the U.S. Census Bureau website. Data presented here represent a general summary of census information.

Immigration

Immigrants and refugees have typically tended to remain in physical and cultural isolation, which can leave them vulnerable to crime victimization both from members of their own ethnic group and from the larger community. Interactions between immigrants and the police often involve social misunderstanding, causing further alienation. Police agencies characterized by ethnic diversity serve the public better—especially with community and problem-solving approaches—by providing sworn officers who can deliver effective services within their own ethnic communities and to the community as a whole.

Community-oriented strategies are particularly challenging in the face of anti-immigration legislation, which is designed to stem the flow of illegal immigrants or to facilitate their removal. Community cooperation is required for effective policing and is enhanced when residents believe that laws are enforced fairly. Cynicism and distrust of the police undermine the public’s willingness to cooperate. Some suggest that recent trends toward strict local enforcement of immigration laws might undercut police efforts by creating fear and cynicism in immigrant neighborhoods.15 The constitutionality of these laws is being tested in the courts.

Further complicating this issue, in addition to enforcement at the border, which is primarily carried out by federal agents, local law enforcement agencies now have the ability to identify suspected immigration violators through partnership programs. Examples
such as the Criminal Alien Program (CAP), and 287(g) agreements, which upon signing a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), grants local law enforcement officers the ability to enforce federal immigration laws within their jurisdictions, are viewed by proponents to enhance public safety by removing criminal aliens. Contrarily, opponents are concerned that these programs will encourage discriminatory policing, including racial profiling, and damage public trust. As such, several top police administrators have spoken out against these policies, calling them irresponsible, and many have chosen not to participate in these types of enforcement programs.

Last, many immigrants entering the United States come from countries where the police are corrupt, brutal, unreliable, and insensitive. For members of these groups who have been subject to both prejudice and discrimination in their home countries, learning to trust the police and accept them as public servants rather than as a group of armed and dangerous thugs is not easy and takes time.

Mentally Ill
Another population that has increasingly involved the police and that the police do not fully understand is individuals who are mentally ill or mentally disturbed. Mental health systems around the country continue to be affected by budgetary concerns, and police officers are often forced to step in to provide emergency services to those with mental illness. In doing so, the police encounter a variety of problems. For example, some facilities may only accept patients who agree to treatment, and persons who are mentally ill often refuse help. Further, dealing with those who have mental illness is frustrating because the police often find they have few options, yet the public expects the police to “do something.” In some instances, the police transport persons with mental illness to receiving centers (perhaps over and over again). If the receiving center refuses to accept the individual who is mentally ill, jail may be the only alternative, and most officers would agree that is not a long-term solution. In response to this need, many departments have specially trained crisis intervention personnel; some departments have an entire team or teams dedicated to a more skilled and knowledgeable response to this vulnerable population.

In major U.S. cities, such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, jails have become de facto mental institutions because there are so many people with mental illness on the streets. Their acting-out behavior often lands them behind bars, where the options for treatment are few and the conditions of confinement are far from therapeutic. In fact, jail or prison conditions often make mental conditions worse.

THE PROBLEM AND PROMISE OF DIVERSITY
Many other subgroups in our complex society have characteristics that can make it hard for the police to understand and respond effectively. There are differences of age, culture, religion, geography, sexual orientation, and gender status. It would be an enormous task for anyone to completely understand the customs and norms of every subgroup of U.S. society. Partly for this reason, the police must rely on community partnerships and a positive public image to become more effective in communities that are more opaque to them.

The millions of day-to-day encounters involving the police and the public that take place are the foundation of human relations, good or bad. These encounters do not occur in a vacuum. Most people have preconceived notions and deep misconceptions about members of different racial, religious, age, or ethnic groups. The constructs of media attention and coverage of crime have also provided added fodder to the general public’s perceptions of African Americans as criminals, with a disproportionate amount
of media coverage being devoted to crimes for which African Americans are more likely to be arrested, further demonizing them and reinforcing the perceptions of African Americans as nothing more than violent criminals.²⁰

The public also has preconceived notions about police officers. Such stereotypes may be based on prior experience, rumor, and media images. These notions may be partially accurate or entirely inaccurate. Either way, stereotypes influence the nature of the interaction. This is most problematic when the assumptions are completely erroneous.

The misunderstanding and prejudice between the police and social subgroups lead to avoidable strife and spiraling polarization. The consequences of this disconnect are many and significant. Police morale suffers under the weight of public outrage and scorn; the public mistrusts the police to do their job in a professional and just manner. A reluctance to call for help makes it more difficult for the police to gather information from reliable community sources, which in turn, creates barriers to preventing or solving crime and protecting victims, especially in the roughest neighborhoods.

In a diverse society, these problems are perhaps inevitable to some extent as we divide the world into us and them groups, interact with and tend to support members of the us group, and distrust members of the them group. In addition, as the global nature of crime and policing continues to expand, the importance of understanding and operating in multicultural and multiethnic settings becomes increasingly significant.

**POLICE–COMMUNITY CONFLICT**

Conflict between the police and other citizens continues to widen the gap that separates the police from other citizens. Police are often referred to as if they are not part of society, but, of course, they are citizens too—legally, historically, and traditionally.

In many respects, the police are viewed as adversaries not only by those involved in criminal activities but also by basically law-abiding citizens who occasionally violate speed limits, or drive when they have had too many drinks, or fail to go through proper channels to obtain a permit.

Residents of the inner-city ghetto or barrio may perceive the presence of the patrol car as police harassment, whereas the police may believe they are acting in the best interests of these minority groups by providing as many personnel as possible in those areas where citizens are most likely to commit or be victims of crime. Police may regard the slang, dress, and behavior of Black and Latino youth as a challenge to their personal and professional authority.

Imagine an encounter between a uniformed police officer and another citizen. The officer is easily identifiable because of the uniform, badge, baton, handcuffs, and gun; and all of these help identify his or her role in the encounter. The officer’s trappings indicate power and authority and that the officer’s definition of the situation will be the prevailing one—that is, that the officer is in control or will gain control.

The other side of the equation is that the other party will defer to the officer’s authority, treat the officer with some degree of respect, and comply with directions. To do otherwise is to challenge the officer’s authority and risk provoking the officer to more drastic actions. Some officers are extremely sensitive to such challenges and to losing face and so may feel compelled to respond quickly and forcefully to maintain control. This kind of spiraling encounter is even more likely when negative or erroneous stereotypical assumptions are at play. When the police or the other parties are primed for a negative confrontation, reason suggests that it is more likely to occur than not occur.
Although most encounters with police are civil and are characterized by some degree of mutual concern, understanding, and respect,\textsuperscript{21} there is no denying that some are likely to be more problematic than others, depending on a number of factors. These include the impressions brought to the encounter, the setting in which the encounter occurs (private or public, familiar or unfamiliar), the number and types of participants involved, the degree of control exercised by the participants, and what actually happens during the encounter. For example, the mere sight of a police officer puts some people on guard. They drive more slowly and more carefully; if they are involved in illegal activities, they may try to appear innocent, and they may treat other persons more civilly. For their part, police officers are trained to be suspicious of everyone, especially when past experience or present knowledge leads them to believe an offense may be involved.

In every situation, police officers have to make sense out of all sorts of information, sometimes with split-second timing. When they have the wrong idea about the meaning of behavior or language or signals from a person whose culture they do not understand, it is that much more difficult to analyze and react appropriately, and conflicts often arise.

**Police–Minority Encounters**

Because of history, stereotypes, and cultural illiteracy, police encounters with minority individuals are emotionally charged beyond the position of authority the police already hold. One of the most controversial areas of police–community relations is encompassed by these encounters, particularly those with Blacks and Hispanics, but also with other racial and ethnic minorities, and more recently with Middle Easterners.

Negative impressions also often exist when the police are called into a domestic violence situation in which they regard the offender with suspicion, and the offender believes that police intervention into his or her home and into an essentially private matter is improper. This may be doubly true when there are also cultural prohibitions against involving outsiders in intimate family matters, making the officer’s intervention even more problematic. This may be especially pronounced in domestic situations that involve individuals from Latin American countries or from the Middle East, for example.

Sadly, our country has a long history of conflict between the police and minority communities. Certainly, for the African American community, slavery, segregation, and discriminatory laws have shaped the troubled relationship with both the police and Blacks. Cincinnati Police Chief Jeffrey Blackwell, who is black, explained:

“Throughout slavery, Jim Crow, the civil rights era, to today, police officers have been right in the middle of a lot of bad things that have been happening in our country. The history of police brutality has left generations of black communities wary of police.”\textsuperscript{22} His message to White police officers is “Don’t take it personally when you get met with aggression and mistrust. It’s not personal. It’s generational.” In short, generations of blacks have come to expect the worst—and this apprehension will change only slowly as police conduct changes.\textsuperscript{23}

Segregation and sexual orientation laws in the United States were long enforced by the police, who treated Blacks, Native Americans, gays and lesbians, and others as second-class citizens (in terms of existing laws, they were). Morally and ethically objectionable as these laws were, police officers were legally obligated to obey them. Officers who agreed with the laws may have done so with pleasure. When the laws changed as a result of civil rights activism, some police were slow to adapt, and community members were slow to believe the police could change, even if the law had.
Exhibit 12.1

Prejudice and Discrimination

There is a difference between *prejudice* (a feeling about a person or persons based on faulty generalizations) and *discrimination* (which involves behavior that in its negative form, excludes all members of a certain group from some rights, opportunities, or privileges). We all have prejudices that may or may not result in discrimination. Prejudice undoubtedly exists among police officers (as it does among all other occupational groups), and although race relations have advanced (changes in civil rights legislation, hiring practices of police agencies, the election of an African American president, the appointment of Black and Hispanic Supreme Court justices, and the appointment of numerous minorities to cabinet-level and other important governmental positions), there is still a long way to go.

There are few ways to measure the existence of prejudice except to ask police officers and other citizens about their feelings. Further, whatever these feelings may be, they are not themselves illegal. However, when these feelings carry over into behavior (discrimination), serious problems may result, and community relations suffer.

Prejudice and discrimination are not limited to the police, and therefore, the police alone cannot ensure good community relations.

Just in the last six decades, patterns of heightened tensions between minority communities and the police have flared and subsided. To touch on the subject, during the 1960s, five years of riots involved Blacks and the police.

In the 1990s, the highly publicized Rodney King beating by Los Angeles police officers ignited serious clashes and waves of violent protest, especially in major urban areas. More recently, a number of police shootings of young, unarmed Black men has focused attention on what appears to many both inside and outside the African American community to be a tragic and troubling pattern of police behavior. These and countless similar incidents are some of the reasons that members of minority groups that are based on race, ethnicity, or sexual orientation are hostile or wary of the police.

Although minority group members often regard the numbers of police in their neighborhoods as excessive and as a form of harassment, the police argue that minority neighborhoods typically have high crime rates and therefore require police presence. In fact, some have argued that race is totally irrelevant to the police in most high-crime neighborhoods because nearly all of the residents are minorities. Researchers have found some support for the idea that where people live and how they perceive that environment shapes their attitudes toward police, regardless of race/ethnicity. For example, victims of crime are more likely to report unfavorable attitudes toward the police, often feeling the police failed to protect them or their family members.

Some may argue that police presence contributes to high crime rates (the more police, the more crimes they discover); however, it is equally true that the number of victims and offenders found in such neighborhoods compels the police to respond. Regardless, there is no justification for the use of discriminatory tactics in minority neighborhoods.

**Peer Pressure**

Many police officers who might not otherwise be involved in discriminatory practices fall victim to **occupational discrimination**. That is, even though an individual officer

*Occupational Discrimination: Discrimination that results, in part at least, from being a member of a particular work group*
may not believe in acting in a discriminatory fashion, his or her colleagues may exhibit such behavior. To be included as a part of the subculture described earlier, the officer may emulate the behavior of his or her peers, thus harassing or abusing minority group members—not because he or she believes it is right but because he or she wishes to be perceived as a member of the “in-group.”

**Forms of Discrimination**

The most common form of discrimination is psychological harassment, such as the use of racial slurs and other attempts to embarrass or humiliate people. Failure to use proper forms of address (e.g., use of first name rather than *Mr.* or *Ms.* and last name) has been and remains a major complaint of minority group members.28

Verbal abuse by police officers continues to be one of the most common complaints about the police expressed by citizens. Racial or ethnic slurs not only demean citizens but also deny them equal treatment. They, too, may respond by harassing and verbally abusing the police for assumed or perceived injustices. In general, in an atmosphere of mistrust, situations that might be defused with cooler heads often escalate and end up requiring the use of force.

Failure to respond rapidly to calls in ghetto or barrio areas has also been an issue. And unreasonable use of stop-and-question and stop-and-frisk tactics alarms minority group members. Further, the relatively infrequent but totally unacceptable use of excessive force on the part of the police in dealing with members of minorities (or, for that matter, the dominant group) is of major concern.29 Such incidents become legend in minority neighborhoods and further damage the already negative image of the police. (See Chapter 11.)

**Profiling**

Minority group members believe that the police single them out for harassment and abuse.

Minorities are arrested, stopped and questioned and shot and killed by the police out of all proportion to their representation in the population. . . . The police play a far more visible role in minority group neighborhoods compared with white neighborhoods. . . . An African-American or Hispanic American is much more likely than a white American to see or have personal contact with a police officer.30

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**Exhibit 12.2**

**Arrest Rates by Race, by Crime**

Police use arrests as a strategy for resolving a variety of problems (many of which are noncriminal in nature) in the ghettos. In some instances, the probability of a Black man being arrested during his lifetime approaches 90%.31 The distribution of arrests for 2016 can be seen in Figure 12.2a. According to the census, African Americans made up 13.3% of the total U.S. population in 2017.32 The graph clearly indicates that Blacks were disproportionately arrested for most types of crimes in 2016.33 (See Figures 12.2b and 12.2c.)
Figure 12.2a /// Arrests by Race, 2016

Curtin and loitering law violations
Suspicion
All other offenses (except traffic)
Vagrancy
Disorderly conduct
Drunkenness
Liquor laws
Driving under the influence
Offenses against the family
Gambling
Drug abuse violations
Sex offenses
Prostitution and commercialized vice
Weapons; carrying, possessing, etc.
Vandalism
Stolen property; buying, receiving, possessing
Embezzlement
Fraud
Forgery and counterfeiting
Other assaults
Property crime
Violent crime
Arson
Motor vehicle theft
Larceny-theft
Burglary
Aggravated assault
Robbery
Rape
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter
Total

Percent distribution

White
Black or African American
American Indian or Alaska Native
Asian
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

1Because of rounding, the percentages may not add to 100.0.
2The rape figures in this table are aggregate totals of the data submitted based on both the legacy and revised Uniform Crime Reporting definitions.
3Violent crimes are offenses of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Property crimes are offenses of burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson.
Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation (2016), Crime in the United States (Table 21A).
Human relations problems involving the police and minority group members persist. One recent study, for example, found that more than 27% of all black, Hispanic, and Asian men reported they have been victims of racial profiling and/or unlawfully stopped by law enforcement. Conversely, an earlier study found that roughly 4 in 10 blacks and 3 in 10 Hispanics believe they have been unfairly stopped by the police simply because of their race or ethnicity.

Perceptions are grounded in contextual factors that could account for some of these differences, but it is clear that these data indicate there is an unfortunate and persistent issue that requires attention from law enforcement leaders and their ranks.

During the mid-1990s, Stop-Question-and Frisk (SQF) emerged as a primary strategy employed by the New York City Police Department (NYPD) to combat crime and disorder. The NYPD’s reliance on SQF continued to increase over time, peaking at 685,000 stops in 2011. At the same time, serious questions had begun to emerge over the disproportionate impact of this program in minority neighborhoods. The Center for Constitutional Rights filed a federal lawsuit against the NYPD, Daniels v. City of New York, alleging widespread racial profiling. As a result of the settlement of this lawsuit, NYPD was required to fully document all SQF incidents in the future.

A second lawsuit was filed in 2008, Floyd v. City of New York, alleging that the NYPD had violated the earlier settlement and was continuing to “engage in racial profiling and suspicionless stops of law abiding New York City residents.” The controversy came to a head in August 2013, when a federal district court judge in Manhattan ruled that the NYPD’s SQF program was unconstitutional, with a disproportionate harmful impact in New York’s low-income, high-crime neighborhoods.
Profiling the Muslim Community

Following the events of 9/11, federal agents swept through Arab, Muslim, and South Asian neighborhoods throughout the country, apprehending men on the street as well as from their homes, workplaces, and mosques.39

It soon became clear that most, if not all, of the several thousand detainees picked up by federal agents in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 were guilty of little more than being Arab, Muslim, or South Asian and were in the wrong place at the wrong time. . . . Of the thousands of men who were detained and questioned, not one has been publicly charged with terrorism.40

It was not surprising that law enforcement agents focused on men of Middle Eastern origin, given the terrorists involved in the 9/11 attacks were of Middle Eastern origin. However, lengthy incarceration of innocent individuals, coupled with verbal and physical abuse, did little to encourage the cooperation of the Middle Eastern community in preventing future acts of terrorism.41 In fact, if police authorities want the intelligence that can only be provided by members of the Middle Eastern community, they must first treat that community with respect while protecting their civil rights and dignity. A controversy over this in the NYPD centered on a group of New Jersey residents, mosques, and organizations who filed a federal lawsuit against the City of New York, accusing the NYPD of violating their constitutional rights by targeting them for surveillance on the basis of their religion—outside of mosques, in Muslim student group meetings, and at religious schools. The lawsuit could help define how far investigators can go in the name of national security.42

The NYPD responded that their actions are necessary to safeguard against future terrorism.

Legislation on Profiling

The controversy over biased enforcement by some police officers has reached a critical point. As one attempt to control this form of police misconduct, most states have passed legislation referred to as mandatory data collection, which requires police to record detailed information on the race or ethnicity of persons they encounter and to attend sensitivity training.

As mentioned, in the effort to determine how much racial profiling exists, communities and states have introduced legislation mandating that officers record race and ethnicity. The concern with confronting racial profiling where it exists is easy to understand and appropriate. However, as often happens, the legislation may have numerous unintended consequences.

Such legislation may cause officers (including all those who do not participate in racial profiling) to focus on exactly the characteristics they should ignore as a basis for making stops or arrests. Such reporting clearly causes officers to focus on racial and ethnic characteristics precisely because they have to record them. Officers must learn to note racial and ethnic data once the stop has occurred, not as a reason for the stop.

Officers may feel pressure to come up with the right numbers by the end of their shifts. Emphasis on the numbers can lead to intentional misreporting. If officers feel the numbers are more important than the quality of their interactions with the public, they may develop their own quota systems. On the one hand, this may lead to false reporting or motivate officers to not make stops or arrests that they would normally make because they fear being reprimanded for stopping too many persons of a particular race.
or ethnicity. On the other hand, data collection and analysis can be an excellent defense against allegations of biased enforcement when the analysis shows no evidence of such enforcement styles.

Solving such dilemmas is difficult precisely because discrimination in law enforcement can occur in a variety of contexts, ranging from traffic stops, to airport screenings, to field interrogations, to complaints of providing shabby services.

Driving or Walking While Black
Police officers frequently respond to calls from the public concerning “suspicious persons.” In some cases, the only thing “suspicious” about the person is his or her race. In a far-too-common scenario, Whites observing young Blacks in predominantly White neighborhoods may regard them as suspicious persons. They call the police and then watch to see what happens.

No matter how obvious the racial bias of the caller, the police still have to decide what to do. If the officer does not respond, he or she may be criticized for failing to do his or her duty, especially if a problem does occur. And common sense suggests to the officer that something should be done. Taking no action goes against the training the officer has received. If the officer does respond, the manner in which this occurs makes all the difference. The officer’s assumptions about what constitutes “suspicious” conduct, as well as the law, influence the manner of the response.

If the officer takes a low-key approach and has some competence and skill in questioning members of the public, the situation may resolve without incident. Further, when the police respond, members of the public are less compelled to take matters into their own hands.

If the stop or questioning becomes harassing in nature, this tends to inflame the situation and feeds the individual’s and the public’s belief that the police routinely act with racial bias. If an officer tells the young Black man to “move along” or to “go back to your own neighborhood” or threatens to take (unjustified) official action, this tends to be seen as biased enforcement.

Public perception that the police engage in profiling is not limited to minority communities. The Gallup organization conducted numerous national polls to gauge these issues, and the results are summarized as follows.

- When racial profiling was defined as “police officers stop motorists of certain racial or ethnic groups because the officers believe that these groups are more likely than others to commit certain types of crimes,” 59% of the adults surveyed believed this practice to be widespread, regardless of the respondent’s race or ethnicity. In addition, 81% of the respondents disapproved of this practice.

- More than four out of 10 African American respondents believed they had been stopped by the police because of their race at some time. Moreover, of those, six out of 10 said they had been stopped three or more times. The responses varied significantly by age and gender within the African American community: “it is black men, and especially young black men, aged 18 [to] 34, who are most likely to report having been stopped because of their race.”

- When respondents were asked to give their opinions of both their local and state police, among Whites there was barely a difference, with 85% giving favorable opinions of their local police and 87% giving favorable opinions of their state police. Researchers stated that Blacks had a less favorable opinion of both, with 58% having a favorable opinion of their local police, and 64% of state troopers. Once again, age was a significant factor. More than 50% of young Black men, age 18 to 34, had unfavorable opinions of both groups of police. Unfavorable
opinions of the police dropped to 36% among the respondents in the age group of 35- to 49-year-olds.44

- When respondents were asked during interactions with their local and state police if they felt they were treated unfairly, race, age, and gender seemed to account for the most pronounced differences. For Whites, the number of those who reported being treated unfairly was small—7% for local police and 4% for state police. Black respondents reported quite differently—27% for local police, and 17% for state police. When age was factored in, 53% of Black men, age 18 to 34, reported being treated unfairly by local police, and 29% reported being treated unfairly by state police.45

- A comprehensive plan involving policy reform, officer training, and voluntary data collection may help in this regard.46 Ultimately, however, the issue of racism must be dealt with by the larger society if biased enforcement and racial profiling are to be alleviated.

- The practice of profiling by race, ethnicity, religion, or national origin runs counter to what is arguably the core principle of U.S. democracy: that humans are created equal and are entitled to be treated equally by the government, irrespective of immutable characteristics like skin color, faith, and ethnic or national origin.47 (See Chapter 11.)

Research on Police Discrimination

Combined data from Gallup’s annual update on confidence in institutions for the three years of 2014, 2015, and 2016 showed a 29 percentage point gap in the percentage of Blacks and Whites who have a great deal or quite a lot of confidence in the police. Fifty-eight percent of Whites have confidence in the police, compared with 29% of Blacks.48 Neighborhood crime conditions, direct experiences with police, and mass media representations of police have all been found to impact residents’ attitudes toward police.49 Hispanics and African Americans hold more critical views of police based on their disproportionate adverse experiences with police, exposure to negative media depictions of police, and residence in high-crime neighborhoods where policing practices may be contentious. However, a 2011 analysis involving an anonymous mailed survey of more than 16,000 residents of a large Western city (focusing on individual and community-level relationships between race or ethnicity and willingness to cooperate with the police in a community anti-crime initiative) found that contrary to previous research, African Americans who responded to the survey reported a greater willingness to work with the police than did White respondents.50 The results, in part, rely on the specific survey questions about a willingness to work with the police. There were other limitations to the study as well. Still, both the nature of prior experiences with police and perceptions of the police based on encounters detailed by others appear to be important in determining a person’s willingness to work with the police.51 Citizens’ perceived procedural justice during personal contacts with the police is related to their evaluations of the ability of police to keep their communities safe from serious violence.52

Preexisting impressions of neighborhoods harbored by police must also be taken into account. In one study of three different demographic neighborhoods in a large Midwestern city, police perceived that a predominantly White neighborhood with a strong community group was safer than two other more ethnically diverse neighborhoods. A survey of the three neighborhood residents revealed that there was little difference in the actual fear of crime residents felt in all three neighborhoods.53
Police Stories 12.1

Connie Koski, Author, Professor, and Former Police Officer

It wasn’t until I retired and took the time to study the history of the mistreatment of minorities at the hands of law enforcement officers that I fully understood the root causes of minority mistrust and conflict with the police.

This became clear to me one evening when I was working the night shift without a partner or nearby backup, and I attempted to arrest an African American man on the street who had multiple felony warrants. He began to resist, assaulting me in an attempt to get away. A crowd began to gather around us, and both the man and the crowd began to chant, “Rodney King, Rodney King!” I was concerned for my safety as the crowd grew more adamant, shouting that I was a racist and was unnecessarily harassing this man because he was Black. This was a common occurrence in the city in which I worked, and I, a White female from a middle-class background, would always become enraged that people seemed to continuously “pull the race card.” I deeply resented being accused of being racist and was often angry about it.

What I did not understand at the time was the significance of the historical context surrounding the long-standing mistreatment of African Americans and other minorities across this country, including similar past practices by former officers of my own department. Looking back, I believe that this significantly impeded my ability to understand many of the citizens I dealt with on a daily basis.

Historical context is rarely taught in police in-service “multicultural human relations” classes, and students often rush through chapters to get to what they perceive to be the real “nuts and bolts” of policing. Upon reflection, I wish I had paid more attention to the relevance of history and how the past affects today. Arguably, a fuller understanding of U.S. police history would assist officers in serving the minority members of their communities more empathetically and help them more fully understand the potential consequences of their actions.

Legal cynicism (a cultural orientation in which the law and the agents of its enforcement are viewed as illegitimate, unresponsive, and ill equipped to ensure public safety) often exists in high-crime neighborhoods. In neighborhoods characterized by high levels of legal cynicism, crimes are much less likely to lead to an arrest than in neighborhoods where citizens view the police more favorably.

One survey of youths enrolled in public high school found race to be one of the most powerful variables in explaining public attitudes toward the police. The researchers found that in this specific sample, “both African Americans and Latinos who had been stopped and disrespected by the police were less willing to assist them and less likely to believe that the police care about their neighborhoods.” They suggested that adverse contact between police officers and such youths might have an additive effect on juveniles’ reactions to the police. The authors concluded that youth are more inclined to cooperate with the police if they have been treated fairly and with respect. It is important to measure the impact of accumulated negative experiences to better understand police–minority relations.

Responses from a Gallup poll taken in 2015, concerning the honesty and ethical standards and amount of confidence expressed with respect to the police by different racial and ethnic groups, address this issue and are shown in Figure 12.4.

In Connecticut, the first state to require the police to report all Taser deployments, data indicated that persons of color were more likely to be shocked. More specifically, in a total of 650 Taser-related incidents involving 610 people found that whereas White males received a shock 60% of the time, Hispanic males were shocked 66% of the time, and Black males were shocked 83% of the time. Additionally, “white males involved
in reported Taser incidents were about as likely to be warned as to be shocked, black and Hispanic males were more likely to be shocked than to be warned.\textsuperscript{57} Similarly, another study examined police officer decision-making during automobile stops to determine whether Black and Hispanic drivers were searched as frequently as non-minorities, and the researchers found that Blacks are overrepresented among searches overall and among searches involving greater officer discretion to search.\textsuperscript{58} However, after introducing other explanatory variables, researchers concluded that factors other than minority status may provide explanations for the searches. Specifically, minorities are differentially involved in searches because police frequently engage minorities under circumstances consistent with searches, suggesting that it is the social context of the stop—rather than the race or ethnicity of the driver—that primarily influences searches. A study of some 36,000 traffic stops found that perceived culpability is the primary reason that searches are performed for the entire sample of traffic stops as well as those for Black and White subsamples.\textsuperscript{59} Of course, what constitutes culpability is subjective and could be influenced by stereotype.

A 2003 study suggested that race and ethnicity may be more important in citizens' assessments of police officer demeanor than in performance assessment and that the media had little effect on assessments of either performance or demeanor.\textsuperscript{60} The study concluded that the police can improve public opinion by increasing informal contacts with citizens and can increase approval of their job performance by "participating in community meetings, increasing officers' visibility in neighborhoods, and talking with citizens," at least in what they refer to as disorderly neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{61} However, more recent research found that attitudes about the prevalence of racial profiling are susceptible to the manner in which the media construct incidents of police misconduct.\textsuperscript{62}

Negative stereotypes are often inaccurate or based on fear, or worse, and their persistence makes sharing a definition of the situation or mutual understanding difficult, if not impossible. Young Arab Americans became a focus of police attention following the events of 9/11. As might be expected, encounters between the police and Arab Americans have increased since then. One study examined how the terrorist attacks affected relationships between the police and residents in Arab American neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{63} Among the difficulties noted were mutual distrust between Arab American
communities and law enforcement, lack of cultural awareness among law enforcement officers, language barriers, and residents' concerns about immigration status. Residents of some Arab American communities indicated that they feared law enforcement agencies, “especially federal ones, more than acts of hate or violence, despite an increase in hate crimes. They specifically cited immigration enforcement, surveillance, and racial profiling”\(^{64}\) as the source of fear, which is concerning because more than 80% of hate crimes involve serious behaviors, including violent crimes such as rape or other sexual assault, robbery, or assault.\(^{65}\) Even though minorities may be fearful of crime, they are...
often hesitant to report even serious crimes to the police, making it difficult, if not impossible, for the police to solve such crimes.

There are an estimated 5 to 7 million Muslims in the United States representing a number of different nationalities and ethnicities. These U.S. Muslims likely represent the best source of information regarding those who have been dangerously radicalized within their communities, and it is critical to gather such information for counterterrorism efforts. It would be much easier to gather such information if police officers had accurate perceptions and understandings of the Muslim population. A relatively small study of the knowledge and stereotypes held by police commanders concerning Muslims found that a majority did not hold negative stereotypes of Muslims; this was especially true with respect to police personnel who had participated in a residential program with Muslims. Still, some officers were not eager to learn from or about Muslims. And a study based on interviews with Muslim Americans found support for the notion that perceived procedural justice of police activities is important in establishing cooperation with the police. The researchers found room for improvement among police commanders in understanding both Muslims and Islam.

Case in Point 12.1

Use “Terrorist” Label Carefully

An article in USA Today describes an analysis by Professor Tung Yin, who found that race and religion impact views of terrorism to the extent that similar crimes tend to be viewed differently in the United States when the perpetrators are Muslim or of Arab descent. Ideas about what constitutes terrorism and who is likely to commit it may have an effect on both the police and the courts.

Stereotyping all Muslims as terrorists is clearly unfair, and those investigating alleged terrorism cases run the risk of failing to consider non-Muslims as suspects. Or, in an attempt not to stereotype Muslims as terrorists, authorities may ignore warnings that might otherwise point to Muslims as suspects. “Those who defend American Muslims are tempted at times to obscure the religious and terrorist angles when Muslims do perpetrate violence; this to protect Muslims from reprisals.”

“If the religious dimension helps identify a suspect, and if the t-word helps law enforcement and the public understand the nature of an act of mass violence, its use is justified. If the label fits, apply it. But fairly, please.”

1. Using labels like “terrorist” is a slippery slope. Under what circumstances should law enforcement use the label, and under what circumstances should the label not be used?
2. Members of the Arab and Muslim communities are especially sensitive to labels like “terrorist.” How can law enforcement investigate and prevent terrorist acts, some of which are perpetrated by persons of Arab and Muslim descent, without unfairly labeling law-abiding members of the Arab and Muslim communities?
3. In what ways can the Arab and Muslim communities assist law enforcement in identifying, preventing, and investigating terrorist acts?

programs of police departments can certainly affect the impression of the police in the minds of other citizens.

Department outreach, such as police literature, public-speaking engagements, websites, and department-sponsored programs, are all parts of police public relations efforts, as are policy and procedure and media relationships. The uniform of the officer, the symbol on the squad car, and the response of the dispatcher or receptionist at police headquarters all create an impression of the police and also fall within the public relations domain. Police are experimenting with social media to directly engage citizens. To the extent that social media provides the opportunity for continuous engagement and dialogue, and blur the distinction between content producer and consumer, they may enhance the ability of officers, administrators, and citizens to understand each other better. It also enables police to build social capital and thereby better facilitate a shared sense of purpose and shared understanding of problems and solutions. In general, social media may enhance the collaborative and community engagement efforts of community policing.

Policy consists of decisions, statements, and plans made by management in an attempt to influence public opinion. Ill-conceived policies, policies formulated but not acted on, or policies formulated but not explained or understood can hardly be expected to result in sound practice. The second component, practice, is the process of putting policies into action. In most police agencies, policies are formulated by the chief in consultation with staff and city manager, mayor, and councilpersons, whereas putting the policies into operation is typically a task of rank-and-file officers.

As in most areas of police operations, good communication is essential, perhaps in particular in the area of public relations. Policies developed without communication and input from those they will affect or those who will eventually be responsible for putting them into action are often of little value. Many police administrators fail at implementing effective community relations programs. Some administrators recognize the importance of policy making and work hard at developing policies with appropriate input. Some recognize the importance of human relations and emphasize to every officer the importance of encounters with other citizens. Far fewer appear to recognize that policy making and practice are intimately intertwined and that policy makers and those who implement the policies must be in constant communication to allow for feedback and evaluation on a routine basis. Such feedback and evaluation should focus in an ongoing way on measuring and evaluating public opinion concerning the police and on developing and implementing policies to maintain favorable public opinion or to improve it. Public relations is a continuous process as conditions and opinions change. Public relations programs will maintain or lead to a favorable image only if they accurately reflect practices that are acceptable to the public.

As in most areas of police operations, good communication is essential, perhaps in particular in the area of public relations.

POLICE IN THE COMMUNITY

The police sometimes feel separate from and in conflict with other citizens, but they are still members of the community in which they serve. Both groups are controlled by the same government, both pay taxes to support the police and other public service agencies, the children of both groups attend the same schools, and both share in the fate of the community. By and large, the police are recruited from, hired by, and sworn to serve this same community. Further, the functions of the police are essential to the community.

Emphasizing this common community membership is a key to improving relations. A department that reflects the racial and ethnic composition of that community sends a message of willingness to participate as partners in the community. It shows a mentality
of appreciation for the many benefits of having a diverse populace and representative workforce. These benefits include additional skills among the workforce, such as language, a familiarity with the locals, and more avenues for investigation, to name a few. Active efforts to recruit qualified minorities into policing are essential in this regard, as are promotions based strictly on merit. A multietnic police department will not be problem free, but it has a definite advantage in developing good community relations. In some California departments, White officers are already in the minority. Innovative, regular training in human and public relations skills is an important requirement for police officers, as is training in cultural diversity. Cultural diversity or awareness programs are designed to familiarize police officers with people and customs that are different from those they are used to. Assigning an officer to police a ghetto or barrio without such an introduction virtually guarantees that he or she will have problems. Programs should be designed to provide officers with some structure and preparation, to anticipate the types of crises that might arise in the community, and to help alert officers to the potential possibilities that might occur.

The types of multicultural issues discussed in this chapter are not unique to the United States or U.S. policing but occur in all societies where diverse populations exist.

**Cultural Diversity and Awareness Training**

Training in cultural diversity typically focuses on improving communication skills, recognizing signs of prejudice and bias, understanding the perspectives of people of different backgrounds, and appreciating the benefits of diversity. Before being assigned to a beat, officers should receive orientation on the groups residing in the area. In Cincinnati, new officers participate in a weeklong service immersion program. As part of service immersion, cops feed the homeless and volunteer in schools, soup kitchens, and nursing homes.

Further, as police agencies become more culturally diverse, internal problems may develop, so training should address hate crimes, racial profiling, derogatory language, racial and ethnic slurs, and ethnic jokes in the context of the police organization. The development of action plans that serve diverse communities and training sessions that
include active participation and establishment of a meaningful context are equally important components of diversity training.\textsuperscript{73}

Training programs require police administrators to recognize that multicultural relations require effort on behalf of every individual officer and the police management team. The former determine the nature of human relations in daily encounters; the latter, in consultation with these officers and the various publics in the jurisdiction, determine and evaluate the policies to be implemented and their effectiveness in practice.

**Police Responsiveness**

Two key terms related to police success in multicultural relations are \textit{responsiveness} and \textit{accountability}. \textbf{Responsiveness} refers to the provision of appropriate police services promptly and competently and referrals to appropriate services outside of police jurisdiction. This requires that police administrators recognize and convey to the public that it may be impossible or inappropriate for the police to respond to all citizen requests for service.

Departments must use available resources according to established priorities and strategies in partnership with the community. They must communicate those strategies clearly and assure the public that they take requests seriously.

Tulsa, Oklahoma, serves as an example of such efforts. Tulsa has seen a dramatic increase in the number of people whose primary language is Spanish and who may have limited proficiency in English. To overcome language barriers and cultural misunderstandings, the Tulsa Police Department (TPD) developed a strategic plan to improve services to these individuals.\textsuperscript{74} The plan included information gathering, education, police–Hispanic liaisons, media relations, help lines with Spanish speakers, and a Spanish interpreters’ ride-along program. The TPD has seen “substantial gains in law enforcement’s positive influence within the Hispanic community and has enjoyed a healthy start to improving the trust and cooperation of those citizens.”\textsuperscript{75}

\textbf{Accountability} is the second key to police efforts to establish and maintain positive relationships with all segments of the community. As employees of the community they serve, police officers are accountable to their employers for their actions. Accountability may be accomplished in a variety of ways, ranging from periodic reports to the public on police activities, to annual reports, to developing and using an internal affairs unit, to cooperation in developing a civilian review board, to hearing complaints concerning the police, to establishing informative websites, to developing and implementing outreach programs for diverse segments of the community. (See Chapter 10.)

**The Community Role in Multicultural Relations**

Aware or unaware, the community plays an important role in policing. Fully accepting this role allows the public more equality in working with the police. The police may be required to take the lead in developing community-relations efforts, but the public is an important part of the team necessary for the success of such efforts. If the community does not engage in open dialog and building positive relationships, police-initiated programs cannot be as effective as possible. To demonstrate good faith, community residents and civic action groups can develop programs to support police efforts and recognize police performance, such as informing the police during investigations and serving as witnesses in court.

Citizen oversight of the police was an established fact of life in U.S. law enforcement by the end of the 20th century. It existed in many large cities and steadily spread to smaller communities. The spread of oversight marked a momentous change since the tumultuous 1960s. Most important, citizen involvement in the complaint process was increasingly recognized as an important means for achieving police accountability.\textsuperscript{76} (See Chapter 10.)
Citizen Complaints

Good community relations require that citizens feel free to discuss with appropriate authorities their complaints about police officer behavior. Systematic efforts to determine what those served by the police think of the services they receive should be an integral part of police management. Such efforts may be conducted by department personnel, by university personnel, or by private consultants and should attempt to establish a baseline of public opinion and then compare those opinions with related data that the department collects on a regular basis. A part of this process should include the developing and publicizing of policies related to citizen complaints. Citizens should know whom to contact and what to expect when they make such contact. Further, complainants should be kept advised of the efforts made to investigate their complaints and the final disposition of the complaint.

According to the 2003 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) report, state and local law enforcement agencies with 100 or more sworn officers received more than 26,000 citizen complaints about officer use of force for the year 2002. This figure breaks down to rates of 33 complaints per agency or 6.6 complaints per 100 full-time sworn personnel. About 8% of use-of-force complaints were sustained, meaning there was sufficient evidence to justify disciplinary action against the officer(s) involved. The misuse of force is among the more serious complaints filed against police officers and represents a small minority of all citizen complaints, most of which are never brought to the attention of the authorities. Prior research indicates that a few police officers are often responsible for a disproportionate number of citizen complaints within a given agency.

One relevant study examined citizen complaints filed against police officers in Florida, Illinois, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and Washington. Approximately 50% of all the complaints focused on the verbal conduct and overall demeanor of the officers. An additional quarter of the total complaints involved a wide variety of nonviolent, illegal conduct committed by officers on and off duty. The remaining quarter of complaints dealt with excessive force issues, once again by officers on and off duty.

In an attempt to better understand police contacts with other citizens by investigating perceptions and behaviors during encounters that result in physical resistance and force, researchers used interviews with citizens who resisted or were accused of resisting lawful police commands and the officers who used force to control them. The research results indicated that officers and other citizens might focus on different issues when interacting. Police officers frequently used force to maintain their authority and in response to perceived threats. Individuals with whom the police interacted often admitted partial culpability and claimed they failed to acquiesce due to perceived procedural injustices.

Many citizens who feel they have been abused or harassed by the police do not know how to file a complaint or fear retaliation from the officer involved or his or her colleagues if they do complain. Public relations messages indicating the desire of police administrators to know about such complaints, coupled with prompt, fair action when such complaints are received, can only help improve community relations. Recognizing this fact, the Denver Police Department developed a community-police mediation program to address the challenges of resolving complaints in a timely manner and in a way that attempts to satisfy officers and community members. This process of determining the validity of allegations of misconduct has the potential to strengthen (or weaken) police-community relations.

Mediation is a voluntary process in which community members and officers sit down in a neutral and confidential setting facilitated by a professional mediator to discuss their differences. This alternative to the traditional complaint-handling process provides an opportunity for each party to be heard and to consider the other’s perspective about an incident. The intent is to promote mutual understanding so that similar situations can be prevented.
Although efforts to improve the citizen complaint process are worthwhile, most citizens who have complaints about the police may never voice them directly to the police. Some citizens who strongly support the police file complaints in the hope of helping the police improve.

A Representative Workforce

Over the past 40 years, police departments have attempted to recruit more women and minorities into policing to more accurately reflect the community’s demographics. Hiring minority officers legitimizes the department and helps the police overcome obstacles to effective partnerships. Although there is no doubt of the large presence of African American officers working in areas such as New York, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Washington, DC, it may be safe to presume that their numbers are relatively small in those agencies that seem to make up the mainstream of the nation’s law enforcement community. Nearly one-half of the nation’s police agencies employ fewer than 10 officers.

In discussing women and minorities in policing, it is important to acknowledge the impact of “tokenism.” “Tokens” (members who comprise less than 15% of a group’s total) may experience a variety of hardships in the workplace, ranging from feelings of heightened visibility, to isolation, to limited opportunities for advancement. Although most of the policing literature on tokens defines the concept in terms of gender, researchers examined tokenism as a function of gender, ethnicity, and race, paying particular attention to Latino officers. Research revealed that for the most part, token police officers do experience the effects of tokenism. All minorities experienced some level of tokenism; however, Black males and Black females experienced greater levels of tokenism than Latino officers.

WOMEN IN POLICING

As indicated earlier, when women enter a male-dominated workplace, they are often viewed as “tokens,” at least initially. They are subjected to enhanced scrutiny and polarization from men, stereotyped, and passed over for promotions, resulting in added stress on the job.

Background

When police departments began hiring women in the 1800s, they sometimes hired widows of deceased officers as a kind of death benefit. Women were hired to guard other women or to protect the “moral safety” of young women. The first women in policing, thus, were charged with duties more akin to social work than law enforcement or order maintenance and were paid less than men.

During World War I, the task of policewomen was to keep prostitutes away from military camps and to assist in the return of runaway women and girls. The “women’s bureau” was a separate division; policewomen did not wear uniforms, nor were they armed. They typically received less pay than their male counterparts, although they were considerably better educated.

During the Great Depression, most jobs were saved for men; during World War II, many women went to work for the police as dispatchers or clerical workers or to assist men. The 1950s and 1960s saw increasing numbers of women going into the field of policing and working toward more responsibility.

Not until the 1960s did opportunities for policewomen begin to improve. The President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967) found that policewomen could be an invaluable asset to modern law enforcement and
recommended that their role be broadened to include patrol and investigative duties as well as administrative responsibilities. It was during this time that women were first given regular patrol duties. In 1972, Congress amended Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to prohibit discrimination by both private and public employers based on the sex of the applicant. At the same time, the FBI and the Secret Service appointed their first female field agents. A number of cities (St. Louis, Washington, DC, and New York City) placed uniformed female officers in patrol positions and conducted studies to evaluate their performance. Throughout the remainder of the 20th century, women made some gains, albeit often hard won, in being hired in greater numbers and being promoted to positions of authority.  

Nationwide in 2016, as shown in Figure 12.5, 26.5% of full-time law enforcement officers were females, and 60% of full-time civilian law enforcement employees were females. Cities with populations of more than 1 million inhabitants employed the highest percentage (17.8%) of female officers, whereas cities with populations of 10 to 25,000 employed the lowest percentage (8.3%) of full-time female officers. Cities with populations of 100,000 to 249,999 inhabitants had the highest percentage (73.6%) of female civilian law enforcement employees. 

A smaller, yet more recent study of the federal law enforcement components of the U.S. Department of Justice noted similar findings. According to the report, “Women accounted for only 16 percent of the criminal investigators in DOJ’s law enforcement components and held few law enforcement executive leadership positions, and components have taken limited actions to increase the number of women in these positions.” (See Figure 12.6.)

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**Figure 12.5 /// Full-Time Law Enforcement Employees, Women, 2016**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Population</th>
<th>Sworn Officer</th>
<th>Law Enforcement Employee</th>
<th>Percentage of Employees Who Are Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 1,000,000</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>66.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000 to 999,999</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>60.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 to 249,999</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>73.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 to 24,999</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>72.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 10,000</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A well-rounded and diversified police department should include an adequate share of women officers and administrators as well as civilians. A 2010 study demonstrated that female candidates are more likely to be college educated and less likely to receive citizen complaints, misconduct charges, or claims of excessive force than male officers. With rapidly evolving gender roles, women bring unique skills and competencies to enhance departments’ service delivery strategies. By focusing efforts on attracting female candidates, agencies are likely to identify a valuable untapped resource.

Women of Color

In 2006, researchers concluded that several factors contributed to a significant proportion of Black women in municipal policing. First, Black women often see policing as an attractive option compared to the narrow ranges of occupations that are often open to them. Black women have been leaders in their communities, and serving as a police officer enables a Black woman to “wield power in the African American community and to work to alter an organization often viewed as oppressive.”

Some use the term double marginality in discussing the stresses experienced by Black police officers, referring to the fact that Black officers were not fully accepted by their White coworkers and were also distrusted by other Blacks. The same term may be applied to women in police work who are not fully accepted as equals by their male coworkers and who often find other women (especially male officers’ wives) somewhat suspect of their motives for entering police work. Based on these considerations, we might expect that policewomen would have relatively high turnover rates, and this appears to be the case in at least some departments. Such turnover may be due to discrimination on behalf of male officers, lack of equal promotional opportunities, and the constant pressure to prove themselves.
As might be expected, African American policewomen are even more likely to be viewed as outsiders within their own departments. There is evidence that they are often isolated from both White women and Black men on the force.96

**Challenges for Women Police Officers**

Even though significant changes have occurred over the past decades with respect to integration of occupations by gender, some occupational groups have been slow to accept such changes. This is perhaps particularly true in occupations such as policing, which are imbued with traditional conceptions of masculinity as a required trait. The presence of women in what has typically been referred to as the police fraternity may undermine the sense of masculine identity that accompanies that subculture.

Studies of supervisors’ attitudes toward policewomen are scarce, and those that do exist are conflicting. A Washington, DC, study, for example, indicated predominantly negative attitudes toward women officers on the part of supervisors, whereas studies in St. Louis and New York showed supervisors to be more positive.97 One chief put it in these terms: “I could see all kinds of problems . . . jealous wives, injuries. . . . It was a headache I didn’t want.”98

With changes brought on by movements for equal rights for women, by hiring better-educated officers, and as a result of competent performance of women in the police role, these sex role stereotypes continue to change. One study, for example, found that there has been a small shift toward more favorable attitudes concerning female officers, but about 20% of male officers still did not want to work with female officers on patrol.99 “Perhaps the problem is that some hard-liners persist in the argument that such changes [more female officers] represent a feminization of policing; that real policing was, and still is, the so-called masculine image of crime-fighting.”100

The negative attitudes of policemen toward policewomen are most often based on personal belief, not actual experience: “No research has shown that strength is related to an individual’s ability to manage successfully a dangerous situation. . . . There are no reports in the literature of bad outcomes because a policewoman did not have enough strength or aggression.”101 In spite of the defenses of policewomen, many male police officers continue to be highly critical of them.
These sentiments often spill over into how female officers experience the workplace environment, despite protections put in place. For example, the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) is responsible for enforcing federal laws that make it illegal to discriminate against a job applicant or an employee because of the person's race, color, religion, sex (including pregnancy, gender identity, and sexual orientation), national origin, age (40 or older), disability or genetic information. It is also illegal to discriminate against a person because the person complained about discrimination, filed a charge of discrimination, or participated in an employment discrimination investigation or lawsuit. However, one study of the law enforcement agencies within the U.S. Department of Justice recently noted that 22% of all women, and full 43% of female criminal investigators, reported having been discriminated against based on their gender at some point during their career. Moreover, only 40% of all female employees generally, and only 33% of female criminal investigators specifically, perceived that their agency was gender equitable; yet 63% of men reported that their agency had a gender-equitable culture. Finally, when female employees within these agencies attempted to report, as allowed to by the EEO process, many were hesitant to do so due to the perceived stigma of filing an EEO complaint (such as being labeled a “troublemaker” or that they would be seen as doing so to detract from poor performance), fear of retaliation, lack of confidence or trust in an EEO office or the EEO process, and the significant time commitment involved in the EEO process. Figure 12.7 illustrates that unfortunately, fear of reprisals are not unfounded. These numbers are but one indicator that despite decades of progress, women in policing still have a number of barriers to overcome.

Others have noted that agility, a cool head, and good communication skills may be more important than strength in dangerous situations. Some suggest that the presence of a policewoman may actually help defuse a potentially violent situation. Some studies found that, whereas citizens generally believed policemen were preferable in violent situations, they also generally approved of policewomen.

Police work requires thinking and courage. It can be a physical job, yes, but it’s first and foremost a mental exercise. As big and strong as I am, I’ve been tossed around like a rag doll—and any idiot with a gun and a will to do so can easily

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Figure 12.7 Percentage of Sex-based EEO Cases That Included Repraisal as Another Basis, 2011–2016

![Percentage of Sex-based EEO Cases That Included Repraisal as Another Basis, 2011–2016](source)


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Do not copy, post, or distribute
shoot me dead. We survive and get the job done by using our heads. I would sooner work with a female cop with brains and guts than any male cop who’s stupid or timid, regardless of the size of his biceps.\textsuperscript{108}

In spite of these concerns, in some communities, policewomen have been accepted by male coworkers and the public alike. Further, there is evidence that minorities and better-educated officers are more likely to accept women, and their numbers are increasing. Because women account for about 51\% of the population, and because the evidence is clear that they are capable of performing a wide variety of police functions, they should be viewed as a valuable asset in the struggle to make police departments more representative of the communities they serve and, ultimately, in the effort to reintegrate police and community. The presence of female officers diversifies views on policy and practice in policing and demonstrates that women can successfully perform policing tasks.\textsuperscript{109}

\begin{quote}
\textbf{Police Stories 12.2}

\textit{Connie Koski, Author, Professor, and Former Police Officer}

Women in federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies have, in many ways, overcome numerous obstacles in employment and promotion. Additionally, the research on women in policing has generally transitioned from assessing whether they “can they do the job” to “how they do the job differently” (and, occasionally, more effectively than their male counterparts). Women in law enforcement have come a long way. Yet, scholarly research shows that women in law enforcement still have a long way to go.

One of my graduate school professors told a kind of story that is rarely heard anymore. She became the first woman officer in her precinct in a large metropolitan police department in the Southwest in the late 1970s. Because she was the only woman, they had no locker room for her, so they assigned her to the janitor’s closet within the precinct. She would come to work to find her uniform tied in knots or covered in fecal matter or was locked in the closet while preparing for her shift while her male counterparts stood outside mocking her.

I began my career in the early 1990s, and prior to employment, I had been a police explorer with an agency that not only readily accepted me and the other women in my group but was extremely supportive of my decision to pursue a career in law enforcement. I knew there would still be some difficulties but assumed these would be few. Shortly after I and another woman were hired, we attended a retirement party for a male officer who had served the department for 30 years. Many of our department’s senior officers, administrators, and recent retirees were there; one of them approached me and my coworker and began to fervently explain why women did not belong in law enforcement. This enraged my coworker, and she began to argue her case as to why he was incorrect. A very tall man with large hands, he held up his right hand and said to her, “Put your hand on my hand.” Perplexed, my female coworker, a woman of approximately 5’7” who was in excellent physical shape, placed her hand on his hand, as requested. To our surprise, her hand was amazingly smaller than this man’s hand. He smiled wryly and simply stated, “That, ladies, is why women should not be police officers!” With a wink, he smugly walked away and left us fuming while all of the male officers who had gathered around laughed and toasted this fellow with their drinks.

In fact, I had a male training officer who had been trained by an officer with similar attitudes and who outwardly exhibited his disapproval of women as police officers. He told me to sit in the passenger seat of the patrol car and keep my mouth shut because I had nothing of value to say. As time went on, my female coworker and I worked extremely hard to prove ourselves to our male coworkers in the face of much resistance. We eventually gained the respect of the\textit{(Continued)}
vast majority of them. By the time we became field training officers (FTOs) ourselves, many of the incoming male officers looked up to us and our knowledge and experience. We watched as our agency began promoting many of the women within the ranks, and eventually one of our female coworkers even became chief of police.

Success stories such as these exist all across the country today. Although barriers to employment for women in law enforcement are far fewer than just a decade ago, there are still many obstacles to acceptance. As recently as 2014, in fact, I was having a conversation with a young male officer who worked for a university police department in the South. When I asked if his department had any female officers on the force, he rolled his eyes and smugly stated, “No, thank God. Female officers are basically useless!”

As a retired female officer and now college professor, I make it a point to enhance both my male and my female students’ understanding of just how far women in law enforcement have come. I also make sure to highlight the unique attributes women bring to the job. Whenever possible, I also seek out opportunities for them to explore female officers’ perspectives and personal experiences through the use of speakers, ride-alongs, and case studies. I would argue that college professors, dedicated academy instructors, top administrators, and effective FTOs could be the greatest agents of social change with regard to the future of women in law enforcement.

MINORITY POLICE OFFICERS

Some of the most problematic encounters involving the police occur between White police officers and minority citizens. In a sense, the police are a reflection of the society and its dysfunctions. Encounters between the police and Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, Asians, and Middle Easterners indicate that significant hostility remains in the larger social context as a result of racist attitudes, historical distrust, and past discrimination. (See Figure 12.8.)

Because the police are a reflection of society, it is not surprising that they sometimes have poor working relationships with minority group members. As previously mentioned, the national debate about policing and race has reignited in the wake of the shootings of unarmed Black men. The Ferguson Police Department in Missouri had 50 White officers and three Black officers. The town of Ferguson is 67% Black. Diversifying the police department is viewed as a potential solution to the lack of trust between communities of color and the police. The U.S. Department of Justice considers increased police diversity to be one of a series of reforms that include new training practices, new hiring practices, and a shift in departmental culture.

Some researchers are delving into the question of precisely what effect greater diversity may have on policing practices and police effectiveness. A 2015 study measured police effectiveness from the perspective of both the department and the community. For the police, effectiveness is measured by the clearance rate of crimes, which is how often crimes are solved. For the community, the measure of effectiveness is the level of community complaints.

African American Police Officers

Background

During slavery, it was, of course, unthinkable that a Black man could have authority over any White man. Indeed, White police officers, especially (but not exclusively) in the southern states where the majority of African Americans lived, enforced racist laws.
Early “slave patrols” protected the economic order of the South and ensured that no rebellions were able to form and that runaway slaves were apprehended and returned to their owners.¹¹⁰ Even after the Civil War and Emancipation, violence against Blacks persisted or grew worse, and vigilantism took hold, most infamously in the form of the Ku Klux Klan. The legal order has changed over time, but it has its roots in slavery, segregation, and discrimination, all of which the police were responsible for upholding.

Some would argue that the full potential of police professionalism first envisioned during the Reform Era did not even begin to include Blacks or other minorities until the civil rights era of the 1960s, which led to a more progressive political climate and the election of African American mayors in some cities.¹¹¹ (See Chapter 2.)

It was that movement, led primarily by black Americans, and that political empowerment that finally began to produce the putative benefits of professional policing: a fairer distribution of police services, less use of deadly force, greater respect for individual rights, and equal opportunity for minorities within the Nation’s police departments. Without that movement, the promise of professional policing would have remained hollow.¹¹²

**Why Become Police?**

Research noted some time ago that police work is attractive to Blacks for the same reasons it is attractive to Whites—reasonable salary, job security, and reasonable pension.¹¹³ This idea was supported in 2008:

Despite the passage of time, many ... conclusions remain valid: a dislike of police in general is still present in many minority communities; despite social differences between black and white police officers, the job is seen as a basis for cooperation that overrides race; overt appeals from suspects for racial solidarity fall on deaf ears; and African Americans are more likely to become police officers because of the benefits in a civil service job rather than wanting to be a police officer *per se.*¹¹⁴
Department Benefits

Police departments have a good deal to gain by hiring African Americans in terms of protective coloration. Black police officers can often gather information that would be extremely difficult for White officers to gather; having Black police officers on the force may make charges of racial brutality against the police less likely; and federal funding is partly dependent on equal employment opportunity and affirmative action programs. Nonetheless, the general premise behind the effort to increase the number of Black police officers involves improving police–community relations while decreasing biased police behavior.

It is also obvious that White police officers, whether undercover or not, will arouse suspicion in predominantly Black groups. And with respect to police brutality toward minority groups, it is apparent that when Black police officers resort to the use of force in dealing with Black citizens, the issue of interracial brutality is avoided (although the issue of police brutality remains).

The best reason for hiring and promoting qualified Black applicants is the fact that a tremendous amount of talent is wasted if they are excluded from police work. Because there is no evidence that White officers perform the policing function better than Black officers, it is ethically and morally appropriate to hire applicants who are Black. Further, integrated police departments are more representative, and Black officers may serve as much-needed role models in the community. In addition, Black leadership may account for movement toward more progressive and effective strategies overall.

Challenges for African American Police Officers

Black police officers confront a number of problems in addition to those confronted by their White counterparts. Although many Black officers are assigned to police the ghettos in hopes of alleviating racial tensions, not all Black citizens prefer Black officers to White. Black officers sometimes have more trouble dealing with Black citizens than do White officers. As mentioned previously, Black police officers suffer from double marginality resulting from the fact that they are sometimes distrusted by their White counterparts and are often viewed as traitors by other members of the African American community. Black officers may be perceived as more Black than blue (i.e., police oriented) by White officers and more blue than Black by others in the Black community. When researchers examined whether racial variation in public evaluations of police behavior is moderated by the race of the officer, they found that officer race may be an important factor in shaping citizen perceptions of police stops, particularly among Black citizens. This finding provides some evidence that increasing the number of minority officers may be one viable option for improving citizen–officer relations.

Black police officers, like their White colleagues, must arrest unwilling suspects, intervene in domestic squabbles, and keep order on the streets. They represent the interests of order, property, and the status quo in some neighborhoods where large numbers of unemployed minority youth, among others, do not share a commitment to the same values.

A 2006 study found that a police officer’s race has a direct influence on arrest outcomes and that differences exist between White and Black officers concerning the decision to arrest. They found that “white officers were more likely to arrest suspects than black officers, but black suspects were more likely to be arrested when the decision maker was a black officer.”120 Encounters between Black officers and White citizens do not always proceed smoothly either. Black officers report being subjected to racial slurs, mistrust, and avoidance. Some Whites are also concerned about whether Black officers will respond first as members of their race or as police officers when dealing with interracial situations. In some parts of the country, Blacks in positions of authority are uncommon, and Whites are apprehensive about recognizing the authority of an African American man or woman.
Black police officers have typically reported that their relationships with White officers, at least while on duty, are satisfactory. They appear to be confident that White officers will back them up in emergency situations, and they indicate that they would do the same for White officers. However, "despite an outward emphasis on the unity of blue over any division between black and white, black and white police officers remain two distinct shades of blue, with distinct attitudes toward each other and the community they serve." In some instances, Black officers have formed their own associations in police departments, with agendas different from, and sometimes in sharp contrast to, those of White officers.

**Hispanic Police Officers**

There is little information about Hispanic police officers, in part because their numbers have been small until recently. In the last few years, the number of Hispanic officers—especially in large departments—has greatly increased. The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has more than 50% Hispanic officers.

Police contacts with Hispanics are already frequent and are likely to increase dramatically as this community increases in size. Without a Spanish-speaking workforce, these contacts are likely to be somewhat problematic because of language and culture differences. In addition to whatever immediate reason the police have for initiating contact with Hispanics, they may also be dealing with illegal immigrants, who can be deported if detected and reported to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Fears about this scenario run high in immigrant communities.

In one study, just under half (46%) of Hispanics expressed confidence that police officers would not use excessive force on suspects, and 45% were confident the police would treat Hispanics fairly.

**Challenges for Hispanic Police Officers**

There are some community-specific barriers to diversifying the workforce and creating a more representative police agency. Education is one such barrier. A study by the Pew Hispanic Center discovered that only 16% of Latino high school graduates earn four-year college degrees by age 29, compared with 37% of non-Hispanic Whites and 21% of African Americans. Others concluded that college education is still disproportionately inaccessible to both Blacks and Hispanics, raising the possibility that a college-degree requirement for entry-level officers may be discriminatory in its effect.

The language barrier, physical size requirements, the general belief that Hispanics are not highly sought after by police departments, and the belief that other occupations or professions are more highly prized by Hispanics probably account for the relatively small number of Hispanic officers in the past.

**Asian Police Officers**

Although the highest concentrations of Asian Americans are in Hawaii and California, Asian immigrants and refugees have developed large and growing populations throughout the country. Still, either a small fraction or none of the police officers in most departments are Asian American. One of the reasons may be that Asian parents—many of whom endured the upheaval of immigration—have high educational ambitions for their children and do not value police work. Many Asian families consider police work to be too dangerous an occupation for their sons and daughters. Furthermore, Asian experiences with corrupt police officers in their countries have resulted in many mature Asians expecting that U.S. police officers are also corrupt, unhelpful to citizens, and untrustworthy. Another study concluded that the majority of Chinese immigrants rated police positively in overall performance and specific areas of effectiveness, integrity, and demeanor.
As the Asian American population increases, along with crime rates in some Asian American communities, and as Asian Americans become more organized in pursuit of equality, the need for Asian American police officers increases as well. Although there is little information about Asian American police officers, one study of Chinese American officers in 1987 indicated that Chinese American police officers share many of the same problems as other minority officers.

It appeared to researchers that Chinese American officers tend to distance themselves from other Chinese Americans in some ways, much as some officers who represent other minority groups tend to distance themselves from their racial or ethnic groups. It appears, also as with others, that they prefer to be viewed first and foremost as police officers, at least while on duty.

The Asian American force has grown significantly in New York City, from 200 officers in 1990 to more than 2,100 in 2015, which represents 6% of the force’s total, still below the city’s 15% Asian American population. About half of these officers are Chinese American. Given their numbers, Asian American officers are assigned to all New York precincts, not just Asian neighborhoods.

Other Asian minorities also require the attention of the police. Refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos have formed enclaves in many urban areas, establishing their communities as their numbers increase. Numerous officers have reported difficulties communicating with and understanding the culture of such refugees. Korean and Japanese neighborhoods also exist in cities around the United States, and residents of these areas may also present difficulties in terms of providing (or requesting) police services. Further, once thought to be crime-free areas, Asian neighborhoods are no longer viewed as such. Many have entrenched gang problems that are difficult for police to address if the community members mistrust them.

**LGBTQ Police Officers**

Less is known about other minorities in policing, although the body of research is growing. What we know about lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning (LGBTQ) people in policing suggests that successful integration of this population into law enforcement is yet to be achieved. As a result, most LGBTQ police officers do not openly admit their sexual orientation for fear that fellow officers will view them negatively. Those officers who openly admit their sexuality frequently find themselves ostracized and the target of jokes. Whether a bias against LGBTQ officers emerges on the job due to unfavorable contact with this population or whether discrimination is based on pre-employment conceptions is unknown.

In the past, being an LGBTQ police officer was grounds for dismissal, but this type of employment discrimination is no longer officially condoned. Still, harassment of
LGBTQs became such a widespread issue that some police departments were compelled to enact a zero tolerance policy toward homophobic actions. In fact, LGBTQs have filed lawsuits against police departments claiming denial of employment based on their same-sex preference (see, e.g., *Childers v. Dallas Police Department*). In recent years, some metropolitan police departments, such as those in Los Angeles, New York, and Seattle, have actively recruited officers from the LGBTQ community. In what may well be an unusual circumstance, one smaller department in South Carolina was embroiled in a political and controversial dismissal of an openly lesbian chief of the department in the town of Latta (population 1,400). Crystal Moore came to be highly regarded as chief but was fired by the mayor, who claimed her sexual orientation was not a factor in the dismissal. The city council was attempting to have Moore reinstated.

Some urban police departments have gone so far as to create LGBTQ liaison units, staffed by openly LGBTQ officers, to provide police response to the community. Others, such as the Indianapolis Metropolitan Police Department, have participated in gay pride parades.

One study in 2003 explored how police officers manage a homosexual orientation in a “potentially hostile environment.” The findings suggest that these officers support a more humane approach to policing and see themselves as particularly qualified to work within marginal communities. Despite the structural barriers of homophobia and sexism that tempered these officers’ full acceptance and access to the police subculture, LGBTQ officers struggled to balance job demands with their sexual orientation, their gender, their race/ethnicity, and other dimensions of their identities.

### Recruiting and Retaining Minorities as Police Officers

Inside and outside of police departments, equal treatment—regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, or gender—is the foundation for a truly democratic society. The recruitment and promotion of qualified minority group members are essential. Understanding and communicating with men and women and different racial and ethnic groups that are characterized by different cultural values, attitudes, and beliefs are essential for any public servant in a multicultural, multiethnic society. In addition, minority group...
members who become police officers may serve as living proof that it is possible to “get up and get out” for minority youngsters who need such role models.

However, simply diversifying the workforce is not a complete solution to racism within or from the police department. And diversification can be handled badly, which can be counterproductive, especially if a department recruits and hires candidates for reasons other than their ability and competency. Whether qualified or not, minority group members are in the spotlight in many police organizations. Their behavior is critically scrutinized at every turn, making them feel as if they are on trial, increasing the stress under which they operate, which in turn, may make it more difficult for them to perform well.

The solution to this dilemma is obvious but difficult to achieve. In simple terms, race, ethnicity, and gender should not be considerations when hiring or promoting police personnel. There is no evidence to support the belief that any of these factors directly determines success or lack of success in policing.

Eliminating gender and racial factors in the hiring and promotional process means developing tests that are not inherently biased in terms of such factors.

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### CHAPTER SUMMARY

Policing in a multicultural and multiethnic society is fraught with problems. Successful policing requires both knowledge and understanding of cultures, races, ethnic groups, sexual orientation, age, mental stability, and gender. Police–community relations are all critical to effective policing. Avoiding practices such as biased enforcement and racial profiling and promoting proper handling of citizen complaints are also necessary if the public is to believe in the legitimacy of the police.

Prejudice and stereotyping are influences across all of society, not just among the police. The police cannot solve the problem of diversity by themselves. They can and do develop and implement community programs and training oriented toward improving relationships with a wide variety of groups, but public cooperation is needed if these programs are to prove successful. Police responsiveness and accountability are prerequisites to obtaining such support.

Judging by the numbers, minority officers have made progress in achieving representation commensurate with their proportion of the general population. Although they have the same legal rights and responsibilities as other police officers, they may still face discrimination in regard to duty assignments and promotions, for example. Numerous agencies have attempted to eliminate discrimination in hiring and promoting practices. However, this has proven to be a difficult and complex task as there are educational and cultural barriers that hinder minority recruitment efforts.

As a result of these factors, court decisions, and civil rights legislation, the police entry-level and promotional requirements have changed in some departments. Some fear that police agencies are lowering their standards; others maintain that unbiased recruiting without sacrificing standards is possible.

Simply inserting women and minorities into the existing culture of a department is not the answer to addressing public mistrust, officer morale, and litigation against the police. Departments that voluntarily diversify their personnel perhaps have a more progressive and inclusive culture all around so that the stereotype has no place or relevance, either within the department or in encounters with the public.

### KEY TERMS

- Police–community relations 293
- Stereotypes 297
- Occupational discrimination 299
- Psychological harassment 300
- Mandatory data collection 303
- Legal cynicism 306
- Public relations 310
- Responsiveness 312
- Accountability 312
- Community–Police Mediation Program 313
- Double marginality 316
- Protective coloration 322

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Review key terms with eFlashcards.
/// DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the historical origins of some of the current problems in police relations with racial or ethnic minority groups.
2. What characteristics of a multiethnic, industrial, democratic society make police–community relations particularly problematic?
3. As reflected in public opinion surveys, what is the general perception of the police? What are some of the important factors in determining these perceptions?
4. List and discuss some specific steps the police can take to help improve relations with diverse communities. List and discuss the same thing from the public perspective.
5. What is the impact of biased law enforcement on police–community relations?
6. Why and how have women been excluded from police work over the years?
7. Based on the research relating to the performance of policewomen on patrol, are you convinced that policewomen are as capable as policemen? Why or why not?
8. Why and how have members of racial and ethnic minority groups been excluded from police work?
9. What are the basic advantages to police departments in hiring members of racial or ethnic minorities?
10. What stresses do minority officers experience in addition to those experienced by White police officers?
11. What steps can police departments take to address occupational discrimination and to improve understanding among police officers of different racial or ethnic groups?

/// INTERNET EXERCISES

1. Based on your own experience, estimate the percentages of individuals living in your home city or county who belong to racial groups. Use the website for the U.S. Census Bureau (www.census.gov) to find official data for the same area. Compare your estimates to census data. Did you find any surprises? If so, what were they?
2. Locate two articles that deal with police–minority relations in other countries. What countries did you select? Describe the nature of police–minority relations in each of the countries you researched. How do such relations compare with police–minority relations in the United States?

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