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BLACK SHIELDS: A HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE SURVEY
OF BLACKS IN AMERICAN POLICE FORCES

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BLACK SHIELDS: A HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF BLACKS IN AMERICAN POLICE FORCES

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

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PREFACE

As a young boy growing up in Alliance, Ohio I dreamed about becoming a police officer. I liked the black and white cars with the emblems on the side, the uniforms and the gun. As I grew older I learned that my dream was totally inappropriate for a young black male. Blacks did not become police officers and my friends taught me that the police were the enemy. The police themselves substantiated this impression as they constantly harassed my friends and I by stopping us on the street, searching us and trying to pin on us crimes that had occurred in our neighborhood. These incidents of harassment happened too frequently to my friends and I for us to have any particular love for the police.

The experience of the one black officer in Alliance also influenced my negative impression of police. The Alliance Police Department only allowed one black man to serve as a police officer. Many blacks in Alliance ridiculed this officer to his face as an "Uncle Tom." The young people in Alliance nicknamed him "Blue Jesus." He worked primarily in the black section of Alliance, handling the Saturday night bar fights, the drunks, and any other disturbance that occurred on the festive Saturday nights in our neighborhood. He did his job well, but no one respected him. By the time I left Alliance for college, Blue Jesus's career and the public

ridicule that he received had definitely persuaded me to pursue a career in another area.

I had forgotten about Blue Jesus by the time that I saw Renault Robinson on the "Phil Donahue Show" in April, 1971. At the time Robinson served as a police officer in Chicago and he was also president of the Afro-American Patrolman's League, the black police organization in Chicago. Robinson joined Andrew Young, then a minister in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Johnny Sample, an ex-football player with the New York Jets; and the reigning Miss Black America of 1971 for a special two-part program on the "problems of black America." Robinson became the center of attention because of his uncompromising assertion that "Black Nationalism" would solve the problems of black Americans.[1] By taking this position Robinson differed with all the other blacks on the show (who proposed no solutions) and incurred their wrath against himself.

The show became a verbal free-for-all with Robinson defending his position and his occupation against the other blacks and Phil Donahue. In one particular exchange between Robinson and Johnny Sample, Sample inferred that Robinson had to be an "Uncle Tom" because he was a Chicago police officer. Robinson retorted that he had indeed played the "Tom" role when he first became a police officer because he did not know any better. But he also added that he had learned that his own welfare was linked to the support he received from the black community instead of the police department. As a result, he said that he had learned to speak out against the

brutality accorded other blacks by police and to challenge other police officers who practiced brutality. Finally, he challenged Johnny Sample to show how he had made any commitment to anyone other than himself through his career as a football player.[2]

Robinson's rhetoric and performance on the Phil Donahue Show intrigued me and piqued my interest. I had never heard a black police officer discuss or advocate "Black Nationalism;" nor had I ever heard a black police officer speak out against police brutality. Based on my own experience and observation, all police were the same regardless of color. I had seen too many police officers -- both black and white -- harass and abuse demonstrators in the civil rights and anti-war movements in the 1960s. I had read and heard about too many black "agent provocateurs" who were black police officers assigned to infiltrate and disrupt organizations such as the Black Panthers and nonviolent student organizations.[3] At that time I believed that all police served to repress freedom and dissent, regardless of their color. Moreover, I knew that black police were basically "pawns of the power structure" assigned to control other blacks -- just as the black officer in Alliance had done. Robinson's strong statements about black police serving their communities made me re-evaluate my assumptions about black police and change my opinion. Robinson, himself, served as positive proof that a new breed of black police had emerged in American police departments. I wanted to learn more about them.

Two years later, while I was attending graduate school at The Ohio State University, I chose to write my Master's Thesis on the

history of black police in Columbus, Ohio. The topic fulfilled both my interests in law enforcement and Afro-American history. In one sense, it was a utilitarian topic. The topic allowed me to concentrate on an area that concerned me and to pursue research on a relevant social issue. My choice of the topic also stemmed from my reading numerous periodical articles chronicling the black police movement of the 1960s and early 1970s and from my knowledge that few histories of American policing acknowledged the presence of black police.[4]

My research on black police in Columbus made my own learning at Ohio State more valuable. I learned more about the nature of urban political machines by discovering how blacks obtained police jobs in Columbus through the political patronage system. I learned more about the various reform movements of the early twentieth century by examining the impact of civil service reform on black appointments to the Columbus Police Department. I also began to understand the real nature of the "justice system" because it gave black police in Columbus a uniform, a badge and a gun and then denied them the right to enforce the law with some criminals because of their race. Most importantly, my research revealed that the "merit system" of the reformers denied blacks their fair share of police jobs just as the urban political machines had under the system of political patronage and corruption.[5]

My research on Columbus motivated me to examine the experiences of black police in other cities. I read the available secondary sources on black police in cities such as New York, Philadelphia and

Chicago. But none of those sources provided the historical analysis I needed to compare the black police in those cities with Columbus.[6] I felt that I needed to go to those cities, do my own research, interview officers on the police force (as I had done in Columbus), and survey all the officers in each department on their backgrounds and experiences as police officers. As a result, I wrote a proposal for a research fellowship from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (L.E.A.A.) of the United States Department of Justice to do this type of research in eleven American police departments. I received the L.E.A.A. fellowship in 1977 and it enabled me to travel to all of the cities that I selected as target cities for my research project: Atlanta, Houston, Miami, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Cleveland, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis and New York City. I was able to do original research with primary sources in each city, interview many officers in each city that I visited, and attend several conferences sponsored by the national black police associations.

My research has produced this dissertation. This dissertation culminates over 18,000 miles of travel over eight months, over 100 hours of taped interviews with police officers in eleven cities, and over seven years of reading in the field of police history. This dissertation has the following objectives: to examine the history of blacks in American police forces; to compare the experiences of blacks in a number of American police departments; to trace the development of black police organizations; and to compare and contrast the demographic backgrounds, police careers and attitudes of

a sample of black and white police officers. The specific details of the research design for this dissertation and its importance to American history and social science are outlined in the following chapter.

This dissertation will repeatedly use the term "the black community" in its text. This term describes the geographic areas in which most black Americans live. That is, most black Americans in the United States live in areas of neighborhoods inhabited primarily by other blacks.[7] The term legitimately describes Watts in Los Angeles, Harlem in New York City, the Southside of Chicago, the Third Ward of Houston, the Liberty City area of Miami, North St. Louis, the Hough and Glenville areas of Cleveland, North Philadelphia, Hunter's Point in San Francisco, and the East Side in Columbus. The term does not describe black Americans as a monolithic group embodying the same political and economic philosophies or social standing. The term "the black community" only recognizes that black Americans have lived in segregated communities throughout their history in the United States and as a result have shared some common problems -- especially in the area of law enforcement.

I am indebted to a number of individuals for their support of my research for this dissertation. I must thank Arthur Rundle and Richard Hill of The Ohio State University Research Foundation for their assistance with the original proposal. I have especially appreciated the support of a number of black police officers involved in the National Black Police Association: Bossie Mack and Mrs. Jean Clayton of Cleveland; Wilbert K. Battle of San Francisco;

Chief Robert Ingram of Opa-Locka, Florida; Otis Davis and George Adams of Miami; Chief Tyree Broomfield of Dayton; Robert Bowser and Johnny Sparks of Atlanta; Howard Saffold and Renault Robinson of Chicago; James Buchanan, Eugene Reece and Atkins Warren of St. Louis; Joyce Pomares and A. V. Young of Houston; William Johnson, Harold Respass and Jimmy Hargrove of New York City; Harold James of Philadelphia; Homer Broome and Marion Johnson of Los Angeles; and Jesse Brant, James Jackson and Richard Hopson of Columbus. Their cooperation and support have made completion of this dissertation a fruitful and rewarding experience.

Preface
Footnotes

[1]As defined by Renault Robinson, "Black Nationalism" meant the self determination of black people in America -- the ability to control the politics, the economics and social affairs of black communities. It also meant community control of the police. For a similar definition, see Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), pp. 34-56.

[2]For other reactions to Renault Robinson's appearance on the "Phil Donahue Show," see the Afro-American Patrolman's League's Papers (herafter cited as the AAPL Papers) for a folder of letters from viewers all over the country. The AAPL Papers are at the Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois.

[3]Bobby Seale, Seize The Time (New York: Random House, 1970) and Search and Destroy: A Report by the Commission of Inquiry into the Black Panthers and the Police, Roy Wilkins and Ramsey Clark, Chairmen (New York: Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., 1973).

[4]For articles on black police organizations, see Carol Morton, "Black Cops: Black and Blue Ain't White," Ramparts (May, 1972), pp. 18-20; "The Black Cop," Newsweek, August 4, 1969, p. 4; and Richard Hall, "The Dilemma of the Black Cop," Life, September 18, 1970, pp. 60-70. For police histories that failed to acknowledge the presence of black police, I refer to James F. Richardson, The New York Police: Colonial Times to 1901 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) and Roger Lane, Policing the City, Boston, 1822-1885 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

[5]W. M. Dulaney, "Black and Blue in America; The Black Policemen of Columbus, Ohio, 1895-1974" (M.A. Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1974).

[6]Harold F. Gosnell, Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935); Nicholas Alex, Black in Blue: A Study of Negro Policemen (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1969); and William M. Kephart, Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957).

[7]Andrew Hacker, Editor, U/S: A Statistical Portrait of the American People (New York: The Viking Press, 1983), p. 40.

Chapter I

Introduction

The racial composition of American police forces has become a key issue in the history of American policing and race relations. The issue of race has always existed in the history of American policing, as it has elsewhere in American society. The recent conflict between black Americans and the police, however, has made the issue a national concern in American race relations. An important part of the issue has involved the recruitment and employment of blacks as police officers in American police departments. This part of the issue forms the basis of this dissertation.

For the past century, American police departments have not employed a significant number of blacks as police officers. On the contrary, American police departments have limited the number of blacks employed as police officers and restricted the blacks who were employed as police officers to a limited number of assignments and opportunities. This policy toward blacks by American police departments has persisted in spite of the reforms that police have achieved in other areas. In the twentieth century, American police departments have progressed considerably in manpower deployment, crime detection and the usage of technology for police work.[1] But, in terms or recruiting and employing blacks as police officers, most

American police departments have continued the policies of the politically-controlled police departments of the nineteenth century.

The exclusionary and discriminatory policies of American police departments have fostered a general lack of trust and faith between police and black citizens. In two recent studies on black attitudes toward police and crime, blacks mistrusted police and blamed them for excessive street crime in black neighborhoods.[2] The 1968 Kerner Report also cited the predominantly white composition of the police as an irritant to black citizens and a symbol to them of white oppression. The Report went on to cite discriminatory police practices as one of the major causes of the 1967 civil disorders.[3] Several other writers have also characterized the police as occupying armies in black neighborhoods assigned there to keep blacks in line and to protect white interests.[4]

As a solution to the poor relationship between blacks and the police, many blacks have proposed the employment of black police officers proportionate to the percentage of blacks in the general population and their assignment to black neighborhoods and communities. As this dissertation will show, blacks have offered this proposal as a solution to police abuse and crime repeatedly throughout the past century. Black citizens have advanced this proposal because of their belief that police officers of their own race would provide fairer law enforcement and a more diligent effort in preventing crime.[5]

Despite this repeated appeal for black police officers by black Americans, American police departments have remained largely

unresponsive to the proposal of employing black police to work in black neighborhoods. Before the 1960s, all black police worked in black communities as a matter of policy. But no American police department ever employed enough blacks for them to be a significant factor in crime prevention in black communities. Only a few of the police reformers and progressive police administrators considered the usage of black police in black communities as a crime prevention measure.[6]

In 1968, the Kerner Report recommended the employment and promotion of black police as a means of alleviating racial conflict between blacks and police.[7] The recommendation did not motivate many police departments to increase the recruitment of black police officers. Most police departments continued to provide excuses for not employing blacks and to maintain the status quo in selection procedures.[8] The problem of excluding blacks has continued in many police departments and it reflects much of the history that this dissertation will examine.

This dissertation will examine the history of blacks in American police departments because previous scholarship has failed to include a comprehensive analysis of the roles of black police officers. Despite the recent proliferation of historical works on the police, few have examined the historical relationship of black police with American police departments. Only two recent, major historical works even discussed black police. Walker mentioned the problems that blacks had integrating the police forces in Philadelphia, New York and Chicago.[9] Fogelson proposed that blacks could not obtain police

jobs because blacks were "newcomers" who could not pass the new entrance exams set-up by the reformers to "professionalize" the police.[10] In chapter II, this dissertation will expand on Walker's analysis and provide evidence to challenge Fogelson's thesis.

Other than the works of Walker and Fogelson, only a handful of other authors have attempted to include black police in the scholarship on American policing. These authors have generally focused on the black police in one city and not on a comprehensive analysis of black police in general. Watts wrote one of the best of this group of works on black police in St. Louis. He traced the origins of blacks in the St. Louis Police Department through their fight for equality in promotions and assignments. Watts also noted the impact of the St. Louis black community on police appointments in the city.[11] Many of Watts' observations and conclusions on black police in St. Louis concur with the author's own original research on black police in the city. The author will cite Watts' findings throughout the dissertation.

Four other black police histories lacked Watts' analysis, but provided valuable information about black police in Miami, St. Paul, Minnesota, Los Angeles, and New York City. A black police officer of each of the cities wrote these accounts. As a result, these histories offered excellent information from the officers' own personal observations and included some period photographs and historical documents. Sometimes the strengths of these histories became their weaknesses when the authors detailed every black police appointment and promotion for every year and repeated information

given in one chapter in the next.[12] Overall, these histories resembled the promotional histories published by many police departments at the turn of the twentieth century.[13]

In addition to the histories above, several black officers have also completed survey research projects. They are important to this dissertation because these previous projects provide a point of comparison for the survey research project that is part of this dissertation. The author will compare the data gathered on police officers in nine cities with the surveys completed by black police on their fellow officers in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, San Francisco and Chicago.[14]

Researchers in other fields have done much of the work on the role of black police in American police departments. Sociologists and criminologists have completed a number of works on black police officers. In some instances, they have asked the questions about black police recruitment and black involvement in law enforcement that historians have failed to ask. Two of these works by sociologists and criminologists are pertinent to the survey research project included in this dissertation.

Michael Wubnig and Nicholas Alex both did their research with New York's Black Guardians Association. They interviewed its members, and in the case of Wubnig, distributed a questionnaire. Their research produced some important oral history and Wubnig's provided an important demographic profile of black police in New York City comparable to the demographic profile of the officers in this

dissertation.[15] The author will refer to both of these works in later chapters of the dissertation.

This review of the police literature pertinent to this dissertation has shown that historians have written very little about blacks in American policing. When historians have written about blacks in American policing, they have focused on the number of blacks on certain departments and when blacks entered the departments in given cities. No historian has written a comprehensive history of blacks in American policing. Only a few historical accounts exist on black police in cities such as New York, Los Angeles, St. Paul and Miami. Those accounts generally highlight the outstanding black officers and discuss the obvious discrimination that they have encountered. In terms of historical analysis, only one historian has posed the historical questions needed to examine the issue of blacks in American policing.[16]

To begin to make a comprehensive examination of blacks in american policing, the author poses the following questions.

(1) Why did blacks fail to receive their share of police jobs in spite of their participation in urban political machines? The author will examine this question by comparing the origins of black police in several cities and noting the impact of race on the patronage system.

(2) Why did police reformers allow quotas to exist for black police officers? The author will describe how the merit system failed to reform the quota policies of a number of American police departments in both the North and the South.

(3) Why did black police officers establish separate police organizations? The author will trace the development of black police organizations in several major cities to show the division between black and white police officers.

(4) Are black police any different -- in attitudes and demography than white police? The author will analyze a survey research project which includes a sample of black and white police officers from nine major cities.

This dissertation will examine the issues raised by these questions by organizing its discussion of them in the following manner. Chapter II will examine the history of blacks in American policing by focusing on how several cities employed black police and what policies they established for them. This chapter will also note the careers of some individual officers. Chapter III will discuss how black police organizations developed and highlight their purposes and philosophies. Chapter IV will summarize the research methodology for the survey research project and analyze the demography of the officers in the sample. Chapter V will analyze the police careers and attitudes of the sample and relate the attitudes to contemporary issues in law enforcement. Chapter VI will summarize the findings of the dissertation and propose recommendations for change.

Chapter 1
Footnotes

[1] Robert M. Fogelson, Big-City Police (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 181-183 and Samuel Walker, A Critical History of Police Reform (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1977), pp.165-167.

[2] Elsie Scott, "Black Attitudes Toward Crime and Crime Prevention," in Lawrence E. Gary and Lee P. Brown, Editors, Crime and Its Impact on the Black Community (Washington, D.C.; Howard University Institute for Urban Affairs and Research, 1975), pp. 21-23 and Robert F. Wintersmith, Police and the Black Community (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1974), pp. 92-100.

[3] Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Otto J. Kerner, Chairman (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 5 and 165.

[4] C. E. Wilson, "The System of Police Brutality," Freedomways, VIII (Winter, 1968), pp. 47-56; Edward Palmer, "Black Police in America," The Black Scholar, V (October, 1973), p. 20; Terry Jones, "The Police in America: A Black Viewpoint," The Black Scholar, X (October, 1977), p. 22; and Wintersmith, Police and the Black Community, pp. 2 and 45.

[5] Lee P. Brown, "New Directions in Law Enforcement," and Lenwood Davis, "Historical Overview of Crime and Blacks Since 1876," in Brown and Gary, Crime and Its Impact on the Black Community, pp. 143-153 and 3-11, respectively.

[6] William J. Bopp, "O.W."; O. W. Wilson and the Search for A Police Profession, (Port Washington, N.Y.; Kennikat Press, 1977), p. 96 and Patrick V. Murphy and Thomas Plate, Commissioner (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977), p. 247.

[7] Report of the Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 166.

[8] Richard J. Margolis, Who Will Wear the Badge?; A Study of Minority Recruitment Efforts in Protective Services, A Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 7-14.

[9] Walker, A Critical History of Police Reform, pp. 10-11.

[10] Fogelson, Big City Police, pp. 250-256.

[11] Eugene J. Watts, "Black and Blue: Afro-American Police Officers in Twentieth Century St. Louis", Journal of Urban History, VII (February, 1981), pp. 131-168.

[12]Robert Ingram, "Brother Man," in the Officer Victor Butler Souvenir Program (Miami, 1971), pp. 3-5; Homer F. Broome, LAPD's Black History, 1886-1976 (Los Angeles, 1976); James S. Griffin, "Blacks in the St. Paul Police Department: An Eighty-Year Survey," Minnesota History, XLV (Fall, 1975), pp. 255-265; and James I. Alexander, Blue Coats: Black Skin: The Black Experience in the New York City Police Department Since 1891 (Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1978).

[13]Thomas Knight, A History of the Cleveland Police Department, 1898 (Cleveland, 1898) and John J. Flinn, History of the Chicago Police Department: From the Settlement of the Community to the Present Time (Chicago: The Police Book Fund, 1887).

[14]Lee P. Brown, Eugene Beard and Lawrence E. Gary, Attitudes and Perceptions of Black Police Officers of the District of Columbia Metropolitan Police Department (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Institute of Urban Affairs and Research, 1976); Leroy Jones, "The Black Police Officer: A Study in Re-Education." (M.A. Thesis, San Francisco State College, 1970); Joseph T. Rouzan, "Attitudinal Factors Affecting Recruitment of Blacks in the Los Angeles Police Department," (M.A. Thesis, Pepperdine University, 1973); Carl F. Mays, "An Exploratory Dichotomy of the Black Policeman: Role Perception and Profile," (M.A. Thesis, Pepperdine University, 1974); and Renault Robinson, "Black Police: A Means of Social Change," (M.A. Thesis, Roosevelt University, 1971).

[15]Nicholas Alex, Black in Blue; and Michael Wubnig, "Black Police Attitudes in the New York City Police Department: An Exploratory Study," (Ph.D. dissertation, The City University of New York, 1975).

[16]Watts, "Black and Blue."

Chapter II

Colored Brigades, 'negro specials' and Colored Policemen: A History of Blacks in American Police Departments

> negros ought not be put in a position to discharge constabulary functions which is proper for white men to exercise.[1]

During the nineteenth century black Americans became police officers in spite of the opposition of whites to their obtaining such positions. For most of the nineteenth century, white Americans effectively barred blacks from police positions by eliminating blacks from participation in the political process and by writing laws and codes that also excluded blacks from the constabulary forces. White Americans identified blacks as slaves, runaways, criminals or as part of the "dangerous classes." Most blacks <u>were</u> slaves during this period and white Americans spent considerable time and effort writing laws and developing methods to police black slaves. White Americans also restricted the freedom and civil rights of free blacks by applying some of the slave codes to them.[2] Thus, few white Americans in the antebellum period of American history would have considered it possible or feasible for blacks, the policed, to become the police.

That many blacks would have aspired to become police officers was also very unlikely. Even before the organization of the earliest,

formal police forces in Boston, New York and Chicago, white Americans had established methods to police both slaves and free blacks. These methods usually consisted of the slave patrols or "patterollers" in the rural areas of the South and the watches in the urban areas of the South and the North. These early patrols and watches established the law enforcement methods that blacks would continue to encounter thoughout their history in the United States. In both rural and urban areas the patrols and watches controlled blacks -- both slave and free -- through intimidation, harassment, whippings and the enforcement of Black Codes designed to restrict the mobility of blacks, their access to weapons, and their civil rights.[3] For blacks to have aspired to these watches and patrol positions in the antebellum United States, they would have had to carry out with full knowledge the repression of other blacks mandated by whites.

Despite the obvious repressive nature of the patrol and watch positions for blacks, some blacks in antebellum New Orleans accepted them. These blacks or "free persons of color" (mulattos, quadroons and octoroons) identified more with the slaveholder class in the South than with other blacks. These "free persons of color" attempted to show their loyalty to whites by not only participating in the watch and slave patrol, but also by forming a militia and fighting in the Battle of New Orleans with Andrew Jackson in 1815.[4] In 1803, the city of New Orleans cleared the way for black participation in the watch by passing a resolution allowing "free persons of color" to serve as watchmen under white commanding officers.[5] This resolution did not deputize a significant number of

blacks to become watchmen, but it did allow several blacks to become the first black law enforcement officers in a major American city.[6]

In the antebellum period, few cities outside of New Orleans allowed blacks to participate in the watch and slave patrols. From the available evidence only a few cities in New England allowed blacks to participate in law enforcement before the Civil War.[7] Most American cities continued to use the law enforcement agencies, as well as the judicial system, to repress blacks. When several American cities developed formal, uniformed police organizations, they used these organizations to continue the policies of repressing free blacks and capturing and monitoring slaves.[8] If a large number of blacks had been allowed to bear arms and exercise the police function in the antebellum United States, it would have represented to the majority of white Americans a subversion of the social and political order established before the Civil War.[9]

The Civil War changed the social and political order significantly. In fact, the changes in the social and political order must have appeared to be a "revolution" to many whites as the war freed the slaves and allowed blacks to begin participating in the political arena.[10] The disorder caused by the war and the guarantees of freedom, citizenship and the franchise of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments also provided blacks the opportunity to become police officers.

In the South, blacks became police officers almost immediately after the Civil War. Black police appeared in Selma, Alabama in 1867, in Houston in 1870 and in Jackson, Mississippi in 1871.[11]

Blacks served as police officers all over the South as black and white Reconstruction officeholders rewarded their supporters with police jobs. In New Orleans, a police board composed of three black members out of five appointed a police force which consisted of 177 blacks by 1870.[12] No other city rewarded black Republicans as well as New Orleans.

During Reconstruction public officials appointed blacks as police officers to control the violence and disorder that characterized the era. Most of the violence, such as the 1866 race riot in New Orleans, was directed against black citizens by whites. Blacks called upon the federal government and local politicians for protection. Blacks also demanded the appointment of black police officers as a way of obtaining equal law enforcement.[13] Blacks would repeat this demand for the same reason throughout the next century.

Black police often precipitated some of the violence that occurred in the South during Reconstruction. Former slaveholders could not tolerate their former slaves exercising police authority over them. A former slaveholder stated that law enforcement implied domination and the white race was "not in the habit of being dominated by the colored race."[14] Race riots occurred in Jackson and Meridian, Mississippi because black police attempted to use their police authority over whites.[15] In 1868, three black members of the Texas State Police killed a white citizen in Houston without cause and the local authorities failed to try them for the crime. White vigilantes later murdered all three officers.[16]

The appointment of black former slaves as police officers was one of the major issues that led southern whites to attack and eventually, to overthrow the Republican governments in the South.[17] Black police officers became a target of vigilante groups as were other black officials. Vigilantes in Texas boasted that not one black member of the Texas State Police ever died a natural death; vigilantes allegedly murdered them all. After 1877 and the "Redemption" of the South to white Democrat rule, blacks disappeared from almost all of the police departments in the South. In some cases, white Democrats immediately dismissed blacks from police jobs. In other cases, whites gradually forced black officers to resign.[18]

The disappearance of blacks from the police force in New Orleans exemplified how blacks lost police jobs in the South after Reconstruction. From a high of 177 black police officers in 1870, the number dropped to twenty-seven in 1880.[19] The remaining black police officers increasingly faced pressure from whites in the city as well as other police officers in carrying out their duty. In 1889, a white sergeant filed neglect of duty charges against two black police officers and told them that "niggers were not wanted on the force anyhow."[20] By 1900, only five blacks remained on the New Orleans Police Department.[21] These five officers were dropped or forced to resign until only one black officer remained on the force. In 1909, the last black police officer in New Orleans died of diabetes. The city did not appoint another black to the police force until 1950.[22]

While blacks in the South were losing police positions, blacks in some of the northern cities began to exercise political rights gained in 1870 to demand and obtain police jobs. Just as in the South, the amendments passed under Radical Reconstruction to protect the civil and political rights of ex-slaves also had an impact on blacks obtaining police jobs in some of the northern cities. Before the Civil War 93% of the blacks in the North lived in states that denied them the right to vote. As cited above, the northern states also restricted the rights of blacks by barring them from juries, disallowing their testimony against whites and allowing the police and any other white citizen to question their free status.[23] In 1870, the passage of the 15th Amendment changed the political status of blacks in the northern states, although it did not alter significantly their social status. The enfranchisement of blacks made them a minor factor in the local elections in cities such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Columbus and Chicago. This fact often enabled blacks to obtain a few patronage positions such as police jobs. Blacks began to compete for police jobs with other ethnic groups.[24]

Chicago became the first northern city where white politicians gave blacks patronage jobs in the police department to obtain their votes. In 1872, a Republican mayor appointed the first black police officer in the city. This officer served three years until a People's Party mayor replaced him in 1875 with his own black appointee. This second black officer served for two years and then he, in turn, was replaced by a black appointee of another Republican

mayor.[25] This trend of giving blacks patronage jobs in the police department continued through the turn of the century and it slowly increased the number of black police in Chicago.

Black police appointments in Chicago became inextricably linked to the political machine. Each party made black police appointments in an effort to obtain black votes. As a result of this patronage system, blacks received 260 police appointments in Chicago between 1872 and 1930, more than in any other city. Several Chicago mayors made the bulk of these appointments in their attempts to use the black vote effectively in their political machines. The most notable, as well as the most successful user of the black vote, was Republican Mayor William "Big Bill" Hale Thompson (1915-1921 and 1927-1931) who appointed 138 of the 260 black officers cited above during his two administrations.[26]

Chicago politicians made some black police appointments (as well as others) by subverting the civil service system instituted in the city in 1895.[27] They subverted the system by making temporary appointments to fill vacancies, bypassing the civil service eligible list, and then making the temporary appointments permanent. In this manner politicians such as Thompson continued to tie the black vote in Chicago to the patronage system. Civil service had no impact on machine politics in Chicago; nor did any of the reform movements. As late as the 1940s Chicago politicians made black appointments to the police department on the basis of how well blacks supported the political machines.[28]

Initially, other cities followed the trend established by Chicago for black police appointments. In 1881, a Democrat Police Board member in Cleveland appointed the first black police officer in the city in an attempt to upstage Republican Police Board members.[29] In 1884, a Democrat mayor in Philadelphia appointed thirty-five black police officers in an attempt to attract black voters from the Republican party. His effort was futile; he lost the election anyway.[30] In 1885 the first black city councilman in Columbus, Ohio supported the appointment of a fellow black Republican to the police force. This officer served for a short time, accepted another position as a deputy sheriff, and then returned to the police department in 1893 as a police secretary.[31] In 1890, black politicians in Detroit secured an appointment of a black police officer in the city after an attempt in 1886 to obtain a black police appointment had failed. The first black police officer in Detroit served for only three months and then the police department dropped him. Black Republicans threatened repeatedly to leave the party until they achieved permanent representation on the police force in 1893.[32] Two blacks in St. Louis passed the police exam in 1899 and neither received police appointments. Both men had failed to join the Democratic party. Two years later, a Democrat mayor appointed two blacks to the police department to secure black support for his successful mayoral campaign.[33]

After the initial appointments, however, all of these cities did not continue the overt political patronage for black police appointments as exemplified by Chicago. In Columbus, the city

adopted civil service in 1900 and an at-large council system in 1912 which reduced substantially the influence previously held by ward councilmen over police appointments. These reform measures also reduced the number of black police appointments in the city and eliminated blacks from the city council for fifty years.[34] In Cleveland, the introduction of civil service in 1904 served to limit police jobs for blacks in the city for thirty years.[35] In St. Louis, after the initial black police appointments in 1901, the city appointed blacks to the department without political patronage serving as a major influence. In one instance, the police department's official journal announced the appointment of three "negro specials" (the St. Louis Police Department's designation for black police) and assured the rest of the department that they had met the normal standards and requirements for appointment.[36]

While political considerations may have declined as a major factor for blacks obtaining police positions in some cities, whites -- inside and outside of American police departments -- made race an issue from the beginning. In Chicago, the police administrators detailed the first black police appointees on the streets in plainclothes to avoid violent white reaction.[37] The action taken in Chicago was justified when whites in Philadelphia attacked the first black police appointees when they appeared on the street.[38] In Cleveland, a Republican-controlled Police Board failed to appoint three blacks to the police department in 1889 even after they scored higher on the police exam than forty of the fifty whites who were appointed.[39] To register their protest of a planned black police

appointment in 1886, the entire Detroit police force threatened to strike. The politicians controlling the police department did not make the appointment.[40] The white police officers in Brooklyn mutinied when that city appointed the first black police officer in 1891.[41] Similarly, the Irish Democrats on the St. Louis Police Department threatened to strike when the mayor named two black appointees to the force. The department assigned both officers to plainclothes duty to make them less conspicuous.[42]

Most of the hostility toward black police officers passed after the initial appointments. The hostility toward black police never reached the levels of repugnance and violence that characterized the reaction of whites to black police in the South. Most departments controlled the hostility by assigning black police to plainclothes, restricting them to beats or assignments in black neighborhoods, prohibiting them from arresting whites, and by having other officers support them against public violence.[43] White police and white citizens came to accept black police for the reasons above and because some of them did a respectable job of policing black communities and neighborhoods.[44]

It was a remarkable phenomenon that blacks obtained police positions at all during the era following Reconstruction and in the first twenty years of the twentieth century. As historian Rayford W. Logan has written, many whites not only regarded blacks as inferior,

Table 2.0

Year of First Black Police Appointments in Selected American Cities

City	Year
New Orleans	1806 (1950)[a]
Selma, Alabama	1867
Houston	1870
Jackson, Mississippi	1871 (1951)[b]
Chicago	1872
Washington, D.C.	1874
Indianapolis	1876
Cleveland	1881
Philadelphia	1884
Boston	1885
Columbus, Ohio	1885
Cincinnati	1886
Los Angeles	1886
Detroit	1890
Brooklyn, New York	1891 (before consolidation)
St. Louis	1901
New York City	1911 (after consolidation)
Louisville	1927
Miami	1944
Atlanta	1948

[a] The early black police officers in New Orleans served as watchmen. After 1911, no blacks served on the police force in New Orleans until 1950.

[b] As in New Orleans, no blacks served in Jackson from 1890-1951.

but also believed that they were less than human. The popular press of the period expressed and compounded these notions about black inferiority constantly. In addition, numerous race riots, lynchings of blacks and judicial decisions restricting black civil rights placed race relations between blacks and whites at an all-time low point.[45] The police, of course, were not unaffected by the racism permeating American society. The 1912 St. Louis Police Journal even carried a humorous, but racist anecdote to entertain its readers (members of the St. Louis Police Department). The Journal described the experience of an obviously, unqualified black candidate for one of the "negro special" positions. The black candidate answered the oral questions in dialect, passed the physical part of the examination, but failed the written test. He then went off trying to find some "quirements" after he was told that he did not meet the department's requirements.[46] With such attitudes permeating police departments and American society in general, blacks who found police jobs probably considered themselves lucky to find steady employment at such a level.

Blacks accepted police positions and the racism that placed restrictions on their police powers and assignments because such positions represented an increase in socio-economic status for most of them. An examination of the previous occupations of black police appointees in Columbus (1890-1910) and St. Louis (1901-1920) supports this conclusion. Of the thirteen black police officers listed in the official record book of the Columbus Police Department, five listed service (waiter, coachman, bartender, porter and saloonkeeper)

occupations and three listed unskilled (laborer, curbsetter and sewer contractor) occupations. Only four of the black officers had skilled occupations before becoming police officers.[47] Of the twenty-three black police appointees listed in the Official Record Book of Officers in St. Louis, thirteen held service positions and three held unskilled occupations before becoming police officers. Table 2.1 also indicates that only one of the officers had a skilled trade as a shoemaker.[48]

Black police also did not differ significantly from the whites who joined police departments in the early twentieth century. A comparison of the thirteen black police appointees in Columbus (1890-1910) with a sample of white police appointees in St. Louis (50 in 1899 and 259 in 1900-1909) indicates that black officers only differed slightly from white officers in the demographic characteristics that they brought to police work. For example, the average age of black police in Columbus at appointment was 31, for St. Louis appointees it was 28. Only three of the black Columbus appointees were born in Columbus, but eleven had lived in Columbus for twelve years or more. Half of the St. Louis appointees were natives of St. Louis and the sample also contained a small proportion of the appointees who were foreign-born. All of the officers had lived in their cities for an average of twenty years. Eleven of the black appointees in Columbus were married. In 1899, 68% of the St. Louis appointees were single, but in the next decade 61% of the appointees in St. Louis were married. Nine of the Columbus black police appointees had at least one child; while 61% of the St. Louis

Table 2.1

Previous Occupations of Black Police Appointees in Columbus (1890-1910) and St. Louis (1901-1920)

Occupational Classification	Columbus Appointees	St. Louis Appointees
Service	5	13
Skilled	4	1
Unskilled	3	3
Other	1	6
Totals	13	23

The "Other" category includes clerks, A. U.S. military officer, an entertainer and a deputy sheriff.

Table 2.2

Age of Black Police Appointees in Columbus (1890-1910) and St. Louis Police Appointees (1899) and (1900-1909)*

Age	Columbus Appointees	St. Louis 1899 Appointees	St. Louis 1900-9 Appointees
21-24	--	32%	6.2%
25-29	5(%)	22	50.2
30 and over	8	46	43.6
	13	100%=50	100.0%=259
Mean ages =	31	28.4	29.4

* Professor Watts divided the St. Louis appointees into these two groups because of the administrative changes that took place in the S.L.P.D. in the year of 1899.

Table 2.3

Birthplace of Black Police Appointees in Columbus (1890-1910) and St. Louis Police Appointees (1899) and (1900-1909)

Birthplace	Columbus Appointees	St. Louis 1899 Appointees	St. Louis 1900-9 Appointees
In city of appointment	3(#)	52%	51.6%
In city within the same state	6	2	1.6
In state bordering	1	—	0.8
Other state	3	14	32.9
Foreign born	—	32	13.3
	13	100%=50	100.0%=256

Table 2.4

Length of City Residence for Black Police Appointees in Columbus (1890-1910) and St. Louis Appointees, (1899) and (1900-1909)

Length of Residence (Yrs.)	Columbus Appointees	St. Louis 1899 Appointees	St. Louis 1900-9 Appointees
0 - 4	1(#)	8%	3.5%
5 - 9	1	20	17.4
10 - 14	2	6	9.3
15 - 19	2	4	7.3
20 or more	7	62	62.5
	13	100%=50	100.0%=259
Mean # of years in respective cities =	22	20.1	20.9

Table 2.5

Marital Status of Black Police Appointees in Columbus (1890-1910) and St. Louis Police Appointees (1899) and (1900-1909)

Marital Status	Columbus Appointees	St. Louis 1899 Appointees	St. Louis 1900-9 Appointees
Single	2(#)	68%	38.6%
Married	11	32	61.4
	13	100%=50	100.0%=259

Table 2.6

Number of Children for Black Police Appointees in Columbus (1890-1910) and St. Louis Police Appointees (1900-1909)*

Number of Children	Columbus Appointees	St. Louis Appointees
None	4(#)	61.1%
1 - 2	7	30.6
3 - 4	1	5.6
5 or more	1	2.8
	13	100.0%=259

*Data was not available for the 1899 St. Louis Police appointees.

Table 2.7

Previous occupations of Columbus Black Police Appointees (1890-1910) and St. Louis Police Appointees (1899) and (1900-1909)

Occupational Classification	Columbus Appointees	St. Louis 1899 Appointees	St. Louis 1900-9 Appointees
Blue Collar	12(#)	80%	81.5%
White Collar	--	20	18.5
Other	1	--	--
	13	100%=50	100.0%=259

appointees had no children. As the occupational classifications in table 2.1 have indicated, most of the Columbus black police appointees had service, skilled or unskilled occupations; positions that are considered blue collar jobs. Similarly, the St. Louis appointees had occupations overwhelmingly (80%) in the blue collar positions before their police appointments.[49] (See tables 2.2 to 2.7 in the following pages.)

Appointment to the police department represented an increase in status for both black and white police officers. Based on the data above, black officers did not differ significantly in socio-economic status from the whites who became police officers 1899-1909 in St. Louis. In every area except country of origin and the number of children that each officer had, the demographic characteristics of black appointees correlated significantly with those of police appointees in St. Louis.[50] This dissertation will make a similar comparison of contemporary black and white police officers in chapter IV.

With such similar backgrounds, did black police have similar experiences in police work as white officers? Most police histories have generally focused on the police administrators who rose to prominence in the field of police work because of their innovative approaches to crime-fighting and police administration.[51] The records of the average police officers are generally unknown. Only recently have some scholars examined the records of individual officers and provided some idea about police careers.[52] But even these sources do not give the detailed information about individual

officers that reveal how police officers actually spent their careers. This dissertation can provide this detailed information on the thirteen black Columbus officers cited above.

The blacks who became police officers in Columbus in the 1890s suffered the instabilities of the political machines as did other police officers. Two black police obtained their first police appointments in the 1890s. Their records indicate that they were appointed under Republican administrations and dropped when the Democrats returned to power. A Republican administration first appointed both officers in 1893.[53] A Democratic administration dropped both officers from the police force in 1895 when that party won the mayor's office. The date of the election concurred with the date that the officers were dropped.[54] In 1899, another Republican administration reappointed both officers. With pressure from a black voting club, this administration appointed six more blacks in the same year.[55]

The enactment of civil service in Columbus in 1900 stabilized the careers of police officers. Civil service, however, did not stabilize the careers of black police officers in Columbus. Of the eight blacks appointed in 1899, only two of them remained on the force long enough to retire. The Columbus Police Department dropped three blacks for disciplinary reasons such as drunkeness on duty and neglect of duty. The department also discharged two for physical disabilities. One black officer died. Of the two remaining officers, one retired in 1907 on a pension and the other served until 1931 before he retired.[56]

Five more blacks obtained police appointments in Columbus between 1900 and 1910 and they also encountered difficulty in maintaining their positions on the force. Two of the five black officers did not remain on the force long enough to retire. One black officer appointed in 1907 died in 1912. Another black officer appointed in 1905 was dismissed in 1906 for sleeping on duty. The three remaining black police officers served on the department long enough to retire, but their discipline records contained numerous suspensions and reprimands. The Department suspended and reprimanded them for incompetency, sleeping on duty, neglect of duty, lack of judgement and failing to make reports to the police operator. One black officer received five suspensions during his first three years on the force for violations ranging from neglect of duty to making late reports to the police operator. Somehow, this officer remained on the force while other black officers were dismissed for a less number of infractions. Some of the charges in his early record also indicate that his superiors may have subjected him to petty harassment for personal reasons. Whatever the case, this officer became a prominent detective and served twenty-six years on the force.[57]

None of these early black officers in Columbus left personal observations or accounts of their experiences as police officers. Such memoirs or recollections would have revealed much about the experiences of black police working in a somewhat hostile situation. Records can only describe part of the experience of blacks in American policing. The police officers themselves can often provide

invaluable information as well as unique insights into the role of blacks in American police departments. The author of this dissertation found one officer in Columbus and another in St. Louis who provided such information.

The career of Benjamin Eddings, a Columbus police officer who had joined the department in 1921, revealed the experiences of blacks in the Columbus Police Department in the 1920s and 1930s.[58] Before becoming a police officer Eddings served in World War I and worked as a mail carrier. He began his police career as a patrolman and traffic cop and served in that capacity for fifteen years. The police department then assigned him to detective duty for ten years in the black areas of Columbus and he retired in 1946.[59] He described the difficulty that he had in becoming a police officer in Columbus:

> I first took the test and passed it in 1920. My veteran's status helped. When I took the physical the doctor told me that I had bad feet and told me to sign a waiver. I refused. There was no way that I had bad feet! I had walked from Paris to Strasbourg with the 351st Field Artillery of the 92nd Division. I did not have bad feet. I took the test again and I got a white doctor, I don't remember his name, to certify that my feet were okay.

Eddings went on to describe what it was like to be a police officer in Columbus in the "early days." After having secured his appointment, his training consisted of "six nights on the streets with an older black officer," and then he was on his own.[60] Working as a downtown traffic officer for ten years, he had the opportunity to work a Ku Klux Klan parade. He observed, "I was surprised at how many of them were white policemen." One of his fellow officers later

admitted to his involvement in the Klan and according to Eddings, stated, "If all colored policemen were like you, I would not belong to the Klan." Just as other black police officers before him had done, Eddings retired without any opportunity for advancement. He stated that, "They (superior officers) would not promote you. They always found a way not to."[61]

The experience of James A. Taylor, a black police officer in St. Louis, was similar to that of Eddings. After having worked as a chauffeur for a number of years, Taylor joined the St. Louis Police Department in 1921. He joined at a time when the Republican machine in Missouri was attempting to reaffirm its position in the black community by making police appointments. Taylor described how it happened:

> Several Negro politicians were going around to all the churches on Sunday asking the men to sign up to be Negro policemen. Hyde was the Governor. My pastor made me sign up! When the list came around to me, I was going to let it go by and my pastor saw it. He came over and said, 'sign that boy!' And I did. Before long, they came around by the house to ask if I was still interested.[62]

Taylor's appointment represented a change in policy for black police officers in St. Louis. The department appointed nine other candidates with Taylor. They became the first blacks to attend the police school and to wear uniforms in St. Louis.[63]

Taylor served on the St. Louis Police Department from 1921 to 1960 and his career reflected the status of blacks in the department. When he first reported for duty the white officers gave him the silent treatment. "No one spoke to me and even the desk sergeant

ignored me." Fifty-six years later when Taylor recalled his first days on the force it still brought tears to his eyes. Soon Taylor became friends with veteran officer Ira Cooper who "taught him the ropes" and how to be a police officer in black neighborhoods. "Cooper said to me, 'you have to know people to be a policeman and people also have to know you. They will give you information if they know you.'" Cooper became the first black sergeant in the St. Louis Police Department in 1923 and Taylor tried to become the second. In 1933 and 1935, Taylor secured several letters from prominent citizens in St. Louis in an effort to influence the Police Board promotional decisions.[64] None of the letters helped him to obtain a promotion. Thirteen years would pass before Taylor received a promotion to sergeant.

In 1948, Taylor became the pivotal figure in an experiment by the St. Louis Police Department.

> I was the first uniform sergeant. Cooper, Middlebrooks, both had only been detective sergeants. I was the first to command a platoon.[65]

The St. Louis Police Department promoted Taylor to sergeant in 1948 and assigned him as commander of the first all-black platoon in the Ninth District. The department organized the platoon in response to political pressure and an Urban League survey. The League had issued a survey two years earlier stating that black areas in St. Louis needed more black police officers. After the department responded with the all-black police platoon commanded by Taylor, the Urban

League called it "one of the most progressive steps in our community in recent years."[66]

Between 1920 and 1950 black police officers such as Eddings and Taylor had a segregated experience as law enforcement officers. Attempts to reform the police did not change the status of black police officers. Blacks continued to experience difficulties in obtaining and holding police jobs, meriting promotions and having superiors assign them on the basis of their ability. Moreover, black police experienced these difficulties nationwide.

Police reform had the least impact on blacks obtaining police jobs. Other writers have stated that the new standards established for police by reformers such as August Vollmer and Herbert Jenkins eliminated blacks from police jobs because blacks were unable to meet the new standards.[67] The actual experience of blacks in American police departments indicated that these standards were negligible, if not superficial. The new standards, which often included high school diplomas, intelligence tests, background investigations and polygraphs, were only additional barriers for blacks because police departments still hired blacks for patronage considerations or barred them through quota systems.

Several cities continued to appoint blacks to the police department on the basis of the patronage system. Chicago remained the most glaring example of how machine politics operated to provide blacks police jobs. With the change in the political alignment of Chicago's blacks in the 1930s from Republican to Democrat, the Democrats provided blacks police jobs and even appointed the first

black police captain in the city.[68] Philadelphia also continued the practice, but to a lesser extent than Chicago. In the 1940s, James E. Miller found that blacks had to have ward leaders endorse them for positions on the force. In addition, the officers had to pay yearly dues to the Republican party to protect their positions on the force.[69] During the 1930s, the same pattern emerged in Los Angeles. Blacks had to rely on the spoils system of Mayor Frank Shaw (1930-1938) for police jobs and promotions in the department.[70] St. Louis also reflected this pattern. After the ten appointments in 1921, blacks received virtually no appointments to the department for the rest of the decade. In 1932, under the leadership of black politician Jordan Chambers, blacks in the city swung their support to the Democratic party and Chambers bargained with the party for twenty-five additional police slots for blacks during the time period of 1932-1940.[71]

Blacks found that the so-called merit system operated even more insidiously than the patronage system to bar them from police jobs. If blacks passed the mental or intelligence examination, the physical examination was used to bar their entrance into the department. Out of seventy black applicants to the St. Louis Police Department in 1921, the department rejected thirty-seven of them on the physical examination. Fourteen years later, the department rejected a future black major on the physical examination because he allegedly was blind. He obtained the services of an outside doctor as well as the support of politician Jordan Chambers to overcome this obstacle.[72] Blacks who applied for police jobs in Cleveland and Columbus faced

similar problems. In 1934, the Cleveland Police Department rejected over half of the blacks applicants for alleged physical ailments. One candidate rejected for a heart murmur challenged his physical exam by bringing in an outside doctor's statement to disprove the allegation.[73] Similarly, a black candidate in Columbus in 1945 had to obtain an outside examination to challenge an allegation that he was blind.[74] The New York City Police Department also disqualified a disproportionate number of black candidates on the physical examination and the blacks in that city learned to obtain certification from outside physicians to overrule the exam of the police surgeon.[75]

The merit system also sanctioned quotas for black police officers. From 1937 to 1950, the Civil Service Commission in Columbus maintained separate eligibility lists for black and white police candidates. When a black police officer died, resigned or was dismissed, the safety director specifically requested a list of eligible candidates for the position of "negro patrolman" to fill the vacancy.[76] In Detroit, the department reserved only 3% of the positions on the force for black applicants. The Detroit department began to approach this quota in the late 1940s after many years of holding the quota at 1%.[77] In the 1930s and 1940s, St. Louis also maintained a quota for black police recruits, which never exceeded 11-12% of the total recruits in those decades.[78] Philadelphia's "merit system" also limited the number of blacks on the police force, but the quota changed either up or down at the will of the city's officials.[79]

Police reform also did not affect the methods used to promote black police officers (or the methods used to deny them promotions). The "merit system," again, served to reinforce the predominant policy of excluding black police from command positions. If blacks achieved command positions, they commanded other black police officers. Chicago led all cities in the promotion of black police to sergeants, lieutenants and captains. The first sergeants, however, served on the streets in pairs. Chicago assigned the first black lieutenants to noncommand positions. In fact, blacks who achieved promotions in Chicago were usually assigned to plainclothes details. Black police did not achieve actual command positions in the city until 1940 when the first black captain assumed command of the Stanton district.[80]

Blacks achieved promotions in other cities later and less frequently. The first black sergeant in Columbus had to file suit against the city in 1946 to obtain his promotion.[81] St. Louis promoted Ira Cooper as the first sergeant in 1923, the first lieutenant in 1930 and restricted him to commanding a squad of detectives in both positions. The St. Louis department promoted a second black sergeant in 1936 and he also commanded the black detective squad.[82] Before 1950 only one black served as a sergeant in Philadelphia and he was restricted to commanding a squad of black detectives.[83] In 1934, a black officer in Los Angeles complained in The Crisis that the Los Angeles Police Department had failed to promote any black officers in the department since 1925. He also noted that all black police promotions had been in the Detective Bureau where blacks did not receive the pay for the rank.[84] Twelve

years later, the Los Angeles Sentinel made similar charges. The Sentinel exposed the policy of the department of not allowing black police sergeants and lieutenants to wear uniforms except in parade. The department also did not allow blacks to command any districts.[85]

The exclusion of black police from command positions coincided with their exclusive assignment to areas and neighborhoods where they would only patrol or police other blacks. This policy also resisted reform. Other writers have contended that the centralization of police departments eliminated the policy of assigning officers of specific ethnic groups to the areas where their group resided.[86] The policy did not change for black police officers. Often, black citizens requested that police departments assign only black police officers to their areas.[87] Usually, police departments did not employ enough black police officers to assign them exclusively to black areas. Those black officers who were employed by American police departments usually found that the locus of their assignments encompassed the areas where black citizens resided.

From city to city, black police usually patrolled the black sections or neighborhoods. In Columbus, blacks patrolled Flytown and the Eastside. In Chicago, black police found their beats predominantly in the Southside districts. In St. Louis, the locus of "black beats" ranged from the central downtown area to the Northside. Black police in Cleveland patrolled the districts east of the Cuyahoga River. The Los Angeles Police Department was probably the only city outside of the southern states that set-up a special "black watch" for the predominantly-black Newton Station district. Los

Angeles also exemplified the policy of moving black patrol areas as the black population center moved. Thus, the "black beats" in Los Angeles moved from the Newton District to Watts.[88]

The racial policies that restricted the access of blacks to police jobs and promotions in the northern cities never reached the status of legal or official sanction as they did in southern cities. The racial policies of southern police departments belied all claims of police reform. Southern police departments based law enforcement on race and used the law to enforce strict racial codes that denied blacks social, political and civil rights. White police enforced the racial codes against blacks with a vengeance. In 1944, Myrdal described the typical white, southern policeman as "a promoted poor white with a sanction to use a weapon" and "whose social heritage had taught him to despise Negroes."[89] White police usually went unchallenged in their methods of enforcing the law with black citizens because all blacks were barred from police jobs and other public offices because of their race.

For most of the first half of the twentieth century, most police departments in the South did not participate in the token integration that characterized the northern police departments. Having effectively disenfranchised blacks, southern whites felt no need to share law enforcement (or any civic responsibility) with black citizens. In some cities such as Atlanta, blacks attempted to obtain police jobs. But southern city officials would not cooperate with such a risky proposal.[90] Southern whites also campaigned against the inclusion of blacks in southern police departments.[91]

Houston was an exception to the exclusion of blacks from police departments in the South. After Reconstruction when many southern cities established policies that barred blacks from participating in law enforcement, Houston continued to maintain a special, "colored police brigade." The blacks on this brigade wore plainclothes and never numbered more than three. The brigade worked exclusively in the black areas of Houston and arrested only other blacks.[92] In 1926, Houston increased and upgraded its black police detail. With pressure from an inter-racial citizens' organization and the local black newspaper, the city increased the number of black police from two to five and detailed two of the black officers into uniforms. With such a radical move, the police chief had to suspend several white officers from the force for refusing to march in parade with the newly-uniformed black police officers.[93] By 1930, Houston had added three more blacks to its police force and established a quota of eight for blacks on the force. Two deaths in the 1930s dropped the quota back to six where it remained until 1948 when black citizens in Houston obtained thirteen police appointments as a political payoff.[94]

Houston began a trend that was repeated in other cities in the South. With pressure from black citizens other cities began to hire blacks as police officers. Louisville appointed blacks as police officers in 1927, Dallas in 1937, Miami in 1944, and Savannah in 1947 and Atlanta in 1948.[95] These cities did not make black police appointments because city and police administrators wanted to control crime and ameliorate southern racial restrictions. Southern

political officials made these appointments because of the pressure they received from black citizens and because black citizens had succeeded in breaking down the barriers in southern politics that had previously disenfranchised them.[96] Southern blacks may have made the argument with city officials in Atlanta that black police would control crime better in their communities. But newly-regained black voting power moved Atlanta officials to appoint blacks to police positions more than any concern for the murder rate on Auburn Street in Atlanta.[97]

The appointment of black police officers in the South did not reform southern police departments or change race relations. In fact, southern police departments established policies for black police that were worse than those practiced in northern cities. To appease the stiff racial codes of the South, most police departments did not allow black police to arrest whites and restricted them to black areas. Miami established a different designation for black police. Blacks were "patrolmen" and whites were "policemen."[98] Atlanta wrote the racial proscriptions for black police into law and denied them civil service status. Atlanta and Miami established special "Black Watches" where the majority of black police were assigned at specific hours to patrol black areas.[99] Miami took segregation a step further by building a separate black police station with a court for blacks presided over by a black judge and a black bailiff.[100] The racial proscriptions established in Atlanta and Miami existed for black officers all over the South and also included the quotas, stiffer admittance requirements and discipline,

and the discrimination in promotions faced by black police in the North.[101]

From 1920 to 1950 black police in the South faced the worse conditions of any police officers in the country. The conditions of black police in the South, however, did not represent any solace to the black police in northern cities because they, too, had to work under less than fair conditions. Thus, nationwide, blacks who entered law enforcement faced quotas and politics in appointments and promotions, restrictions on their police powers, stricter discipline on the job and assignment exclusively to areas inhabited by other blacks. Police reform in the early twentieth century had failed to include black police officers.[102]

As American police departments entered the modern era with blacks in essentially token positions, their racial policies were probably the main areas that they needed to reform. The police, of course, reflected American society. As American society would change in the next twenty years, so would the police. The police, however, would change begrudgingly, holding onto the values and racism of the past. The police would become the "thin blue line" against change.[103]

Part of the changes in policing would occur because black police officers no longer accepted their status as pawns or tokens in their police departments. For the first half of the twentieth century black police officers had served in American police departments and accepted their second class status. They had enforced segregation laws and accepted segregation in their jobs. Some black police had even adopted that portion of the police culture which allowed them to

use repressive and brutal measures and tactics against other blacks. Later, black citizens, particularly the youth, would label them as "uncle toms" and "white niggers" for their zeal in over-enforcing repressive laws.

Black police would also question their own role. They would face the non-acceptance of some of their white colleagues and question their own adversary relationship with other blacks. They would attempt to bridge the gap between themselves and other blacks by organizing.

Chapter II
Footnotes

[1]Quote by Ethelbert Barksdale, an old Whig of Mississippi, during Reconstruction. Cited in Vernon L. Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890 (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 168.

[2]Leon Litwack, North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 75-100; Richard C. Wade, Slavery in the Cities: The South 1820-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 98-102; Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), pp. 41-44 and 318-319.

[3]Berlin, Slaves Without Masters, pp. 311-334; Robert Wintersmith, Police and the Black Community, pp. 19-20; and Peter Wood, Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), pp. 272-274.

[4]Berlin, Slaves Without Masters, pp. 108-132.

[5]Police Mutual Benevolent Association, 1900 History of the New Orleans Police Department (New Orleans: Graham Press, 1900), p. 19.

[6]John W. Blassingame, Black New Orleans 1860-1880, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973) pp. 15 and 223. Blassingame stated that even though blacks were denied full citizenship rights because of their color, they still served as city guardsmen and slave patrollers. He cited the 1860 U.S. Census for New Orleans which listed three actual black police officers.

[7]An 1821 Columbus city Council ordinance which established the city watch specified that it would consist of all able-bodied white inhabitants. See The Firemen's Pension Fund and Police Benevolent Association, A Review of the Department of Public Safety of Columbus, Ohio (Columbus: Hann & Adair Publishers, 1894), p. 134.

[8]Richardson, The New York Police, pp. 37-38 discussed the development of the first organized police in New York in 1845. See also Middleton Harris, The Black Book (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 27, for a copy of an 1851 poster posted in Boston warning all blacks to avoid the Boston police who would be acting as slave catchers; and Litwack, North of Slavery, p. 93-112, for the political and judicial repression of blacks in the North.

[9]Leon Litwack, Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p. 268 and passim.

[10]Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, passim; Litwack, Been in the Storm so Long, passim; and Marion E. Merseberger, "A Political History of Houston, Texas, During the Reconstruction Period as Recorded by the Press: 1868-1873," (M.A. Thesis, Rice Institute, 1950), passim.

[11]Litwack, Been in the Storm So Long, p. 552; Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, p. 167; and Merseberger, "A Political History of Houston," pp. 51-108.

[12]John R. Ficklen, "History of Reconstruction in Louisiana (Through 1868)," John Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, XXVIII (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1910), pp. 208-209 and Blassingame, Black New Orleans, p. 224.

[13]Litwack, Been in the Storm So Long, p. 287.

[14]Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, p. 168.

[15]Ibid., p. 167.

[16]"Reconstruction Through A White Lens, 1868," in Samuel O. Young, True Stories of Old Houston and Houstonians (Galveston, Texas: Oscar Springer, 1913), p. 86.

[17]Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, p. 167; Litwack, Been in the Storm So Long, p. 552; and Lerone Bennett Jr., Black Power U.S.A.: The Human Side of Reconstruction, 1867-1877, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969) pp. 358-403.

[18]"Reconstruction Through a White Lens, 1868," p. 86. Houston was one of the few exceptions and I will discuss it below. See the Cleveland Gazette, September 27, 1884, p. 2, where seven black police in Vicksburg, Mississippi were forced to resign because whites resented being arrested by them. Also, see the Gazette, March 5, 1890, where three blacks were dismissed from the Memphis police force.

[19]Blassingame, Black New Orleans, pp. 226-227.

[20]"The Police Board," The Daily Picayune (New Orleans), April 4, 1889, p. 6.

[21]1900 History of the New Orleans Police Department, pp. 93, 107, 115, 119 and 121.

[22]"New Orleans Gets Two Negro Police," Press Release, June 19, 1950, Associated Negro Press Clipping File, Claude A. Barnett Papers, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois. Hereafter cited as the ANP Clipping File.

[23]Litwack, North of Slavery, pp. 75 and 93-94.

[24]Robert Fogelson, Big-City Police, pp. 36-37.

[25]Gosnell, Negro Politicians, p. 247.

[26]Gosnell, Negro Politicians, pp. 252-253 and Ralph Bunche, "The Thompson-Negro Alliance," Opportunity, VII (March, 1929), pp. 78-80.

[27]Bruce Smith, Chicago Police Problems: An Approach to Their Solution (New York: Institute of Public Administration, 1934), pp. 18 and 45; Citizens' Police Committee, Chicago Police Problems (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), pp. 3 and 41; and Mark Haller, "Police Reform in Chicago: 1905-1935," American Behavioral Scientist, XII (May-August, 1970), pp. 649-665.

[28]Harry W. Morris, "The Chicago Negro and the Major Political Parties," (M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1950), p. 37 and "The Elections of 1940: Chicago's Machine Runs On Gratitude," Life, October 21, 1940, p. 94.

[29]"The Police Commission--A Colored Man Appointed As Patrolman," Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 3, 1881, p. 1 and "Board Meetings--The Police Board Elects a Colored Policeman," Cleveland Leader, June 4, 1881, p. 8.

[30]Howard O. Sprogle, The Philadelphia Force: Past and Present (Philadelphia, 1887), p. 173; John A. Saunders, 100 Years After Emancipation: A History of the Philadelphia Negro, 1787 to 1963 (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Tribune, 1963), pp. 111-112; and the Cleveland Gazette, March 22, 1884, p. 2.

[31]Cleveland Gazette, January 9, 1886 and the Fireman's Pension Fund and Police Benevolent Association, A Review of the Department of Public Safety of Columbus, Ohio, p. 77.

[32]David M. Katzman, Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit In the Nineteenth Century (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1973) p. 120 and Cleveland Gazette, July 19, 1890, p. 3.

[33]"Not a Partisan," St. Louis Star, August 23, 1899, p. 1 and "Two Negro Policemen," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, March 29, 1901, p. 9.

[34]W. Marvin Dulaney, "Black and Blue," p. 31 and J. S. Himes, "Forty Years of Negro Life in Columbus, Ohio," Journal of Negro History, XXVII (April, 1942), pp. 136-137.

[35]Cleveland, Ohio, Department of Police, Annual Report (1904), p. 18; Daniel R. Biddle, "The Long View: Changes Trouble Retired Black Police Detective," Cleveland Plain Dealer, March 28, 1977; and a personal interview with retired police sergeant Lynn Coleman, Cleveland, Ohio, September 17, 1977.

[36]"Three Negro Specials Appointed," St. Louis Police Journal, I (June 8, 1912), p. 6. See Eugene J. Watts, "Black and Blue; Afro-American Police Officers in Twentieth Century St. Louis," pp. 131-168, on how the re-affirmation of state control of the St. Louis Police Department in 1899 may have limited the influence of local politics on the police department. But Watts still felt that the SLPD remained susceptible to continued political pressure, p. 132.

[37]Gosnell, Negro Politicians, pp. 247 and 254. Black police did not wear uniforms in Chicago for the first twelve years that blacks served on the police force.

[38]Sprogle, The Philadelphia Force, p. 173.

[39]Cleveland Gazette, June 20, 1889; p. 3; July 27, 1899, p. 2; "Causes for Dissatisfaction," August 24, 1889, p. 2; and January 4, 1890, p. 3.

[40]Katzman, Before the Ghetto, p. 120.

[41]James I. Alexander, Blue Coats: Black Skin: The Black Experience in the New York City Police Department Since 1891, pp. 16-17.

[42]"Two Negro Policemen," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, March 29, 1901, p. 9; "Police Ready to Revolt," Globe-Democrat," March 30, 1901, p. 16; "Two Negroes to the Rescue," Globe-Democrat, March 31, 1908, p. 8; and St. Louis Police Relief Association, Souvenir History of St. Louis Police Department, 1902 (St. Louis, 1902), pictures #10 and #13. St. Louis did not allow black police to wear uniforms until 1921.

[43]For an example of the continuing southern repugnance to black police officers, see "Opposed to Colored Policemen," Philadelphia Inquirer, July 20, 1912, p. 1, where Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia vowed to rid Washington D.C. of black policemen. For assignments to black areas, see Gosnell, Negro Politicians, pp. 254-256 and Alfred J. Young and James J. Green, History of the 28th Precinct (New York: New York City Police Department, n.d.), p. 5, in The Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library. For prohibitions against arresting whites, see Authy E. Glover, "Major Brooke Recalls 'Long Haul' to Honors and Retirement," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 12, 1974, and my personal interviews with Benjamin Eddings (1921-1946) of Columbus, December 7, 1973 and Lynn Coleman (1934-1977) of Cleveland, September 17, 1977. For support of black police by white officers, see Sprogle, The Philadelphia Force, p. 173.

[44]For commendations for black police officers, see "Detective Ira L. Cooper Promoted to Detective Sergeant," St. Louis Police Journal, XI (March 7, 1923), p. 9; "Mexico Negro Wins Honorable Mention, City Detective in St. Louis Receives Silver Medal," Mexico (Mo.) Ledger, October 7, 1909; "Detective George Gaston," Policeman's Benevolent Fund Association, History of the Columbus Police Department, 1900 (Columbus, Ohio, 1900), p. 35; "Lt. Battle," in Green and Young, History of the 28th Precinct, pp. 2-3; Samuel Johnson, Often Back: The Tales of Harlem (New York: Vantage Press, 1971), pp. 204-205; and Alexander, Blue Coats: Black Skin, p. 34.

[45]Rayford W. Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson (New York: Collier Books, 1972), passim. For a contemporary appraisal of early twentieth century race relations, see Ray Stanndard Baker, Following the Color Line: American Negro Citizenship in the Progressive Era (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1908).

[46]"Some 'Quirements' Lacking," St. Louis Police Journal, (December 28, 1912), p. 7. See also I, (June 1, 1912) for a bad racial joke about 'negroes' using razors for "professional or social purposes."

[47]Columbus, Ohio, Board of Public Safety, Police and Fire Transfer Record (Columbus, Ohio: n.d.), pages not numbered, in the City Hall vault.

[48]St. Louis Board of Police Commissioners, Official Record Book of Officers, Book 1, pp. 214-215, 258-273-274, 279, 291, 298, and 311-312; and Book 2, pp. 13, 16, 26, 35, 39, and 41-42.

[49]Police and Fire Transfer Record and Eugene J. Watts, "St. Louis Police Recruitment in the Twentieth Century," paper presented at the conference, Historical Perspectives on American Criminal Justice, The University of Nebraska at Omaha, April 23, 1976, pp. 23-26, 28, 30, and Table XII, 32 and Table XXII, and 34 and Table XVII. Watts's sample contained only white police appointees.

[50]For example, the correlation coefficients for marital status (.55) and occupational status (.80) were both significant.

[51]Thomas A Reppetto, The Blue Parade (New York: The Free Press, 1978); Bopp, "O.W."; Elaine H. Carte and Gene E. Carte, Police Reform in the United States: The Era of August Vollmer, 1905-1932 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); and John R. Stead, Pioneers in Policing (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1977).

[52]Watts, "Black and Blue," and Eugene J. Watts, "Continuity and Change in Police Careers: A Case Study of St. Louis," Journal of Police Science and Administration, XI (June, 1983), pp. 217-224.

[53]Columbus Dispatch, June 17, 1893, p. 7; "The Coming Police," Ohio State Journal, June 16, 1893, p. 5; and "The Rank and File," Ohio State Journal, June 18, 1893, p. 4.

[54]Columbus Dispatch, April 2, 1895, p. 6, reported the re-appointment of a black police officer affiliated with the Democrats. His record was not available in the Police and Fire Transfer Record. See the Columbus Dispatch, April 17, 1895, p. 7, for the officers who were dropped.

[55]Dulaney, "Black and Blue," pp. 35-36. Eleven blacks were actually appointed, but only the records for these eight officers were available.

[56]Police and Fire Transfer Record.

[57]Police and Fire Transfer Record; Columbus, Ohio, Board of Public Safety, Minutes, (1910-1914); Minute Record, NO. 2 (1914-1919), City Hall vault; and Columbus City Directory (Columbus, Ohio: R. L. Polk and Co., 1930).

[58]Dulaney, "Black and Blue," p. 39.

[59]Chief of Police John H. Dunn to Harry E. French, Director of Public Safety, September 9, 1936, Correspondence of the Division of Police, Columbus, Ohio, for 1936, City Hall vault and personal interview with Benjamin Eddings, Columbus, Ohio, December 7, 1973.

[60]Columbus, Ohio, Civil Service Commission, "Civil Service List of Eligibles," Certification No. 2223, effective January 1, 1921, City Hall vault.

[61]Interview with Benjamin Eddings, Columbus, Ohio, December 7, 1973.

[62]Personal interviews with Mr. James A. Taylor, retired St. Louis police sergeant, St. Louis, Missouri, July 12 and 13, 1977. Taylor's story is corroborated by the following letter, Victor J. Miller to Governor Arthur M. Hyde, May 23, 1921, Correspondence, Governor's Files, Missouri; and by Watts, "Black and Blue," p. 137.

[63]"8 Negroes Sworn In and Ordered to School For Police," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, August 28, 1921, p. 5. Although this article stated that eight blacks were sworn in, there were ten. See the St. Louis Board of Police Commissioners, Official Record Book of Officers, Book 2, pp. 163-165 and Sixtieth Annual Report (St. Louis, 1922), p. 9. Taylor also gave the author a picture of nine of the ten black appointees, in addition to a collection of clippings, pictures and letters. The author has designated them the James A. Taylor Papers.

[64]County Coroner to the Board of Police Commissioners, September 23, 1933 and Rev. John F. Moreland to Colonel William Igoe, Police Board President, January 5, 1935; in the James A. Taylor Papers.

[65]Taylor Interview, St. Louis, Missouri, July 13, 1977.

[66]Norman Seay, former Police Committee chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in St. Louis, called the assignment of a black police platoon in the Ninth District a political payoff. Interview with Norman Seay, St. Louis, July 15, 1977. Watts made a similar observation, "Black and Blue," p. 149. See also, "Race Policeman Given High Promotion in St. Louis," Pittsburgh Courier, December 8, 1948, p. 24 and "St. Louis Gets First Negro Cop Platoon," Chicago Defender, December 18, 1948, p. 1.

[67]Fogelson, Big-City Police, Ch. VII and Walker, A Critical History of Police Reform, pp. 165-166.

[68]Morris, "The Chicago Negro and tha Major Political Parties," p. 37; "Scott is Negro Police captain," clipping dated 1940, "Negro Captain Sworn In, (Mayor) Kelly At Ceremony," clipping dated 1940, both in the ANP Clipping File. George F. Robinson, "The Negro in Politics in Chicago," Journal of Negro History, XVII (April, 1932), p. 190.

[69]James E. Miller, "The Negro in Pennsylvania Politics With Special Reference to Philadelphia Since 1932," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1945), pp. 319-321.

[70]Guy W. Finney, Angel City in Turmoil (Los Angeles: Amer Press, 1945), pp. 116-120 and "Mayor Honored By Citizens," Los Angeles Sentinel, April 28, 1938, p. 1.

[71]Watts, "Black and Blue," pp. 138-141 and Mary Welek, "Jordan Chambers: Black Politician and Boss," Journal of Negro History, LVII (October, 1972), p. 361.

[72]"8 Negroes Sworn In and Ordered to School for Police," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, August 18, 1921, p. 3; "Major Brooke Recalls 'Long Haul' To Honors and Retirement," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 12, 1974; and Watts, "Black and Blue," p. 138.

[73]"Policemen's Examination to Be Held September 21st," Cleveland Call and Post, September 1, 1934 and personal interview with Lynn Coleman, Cleveland, Ohio, September 17, 1977.

[74]Interview with Edward Waller, retired Columbus police officer (1945-1970), Columbus, Ohio, November 20, 1973. On the Columbus, Ohio, Municipal Civil Service Commission, "Certification of Eligibles No 98," May 27, 1941, Waller's name appeared on the list and was scratched out for no apparent reason. He waited another four years before he "passed" the physical and was appointed. Columbus, Ohio, Department of Public Safety, Minute Books, XI, August 13, 1945, p. 357.

[75]Alexander, Blue Coats: Black Skin, pp. 30-31.

[76]For examples, see Columbus, Ohio, Department of Public Safety, Minute Book, VII, June 7, 1937, p. 391 and September 9, 1937, p. 463; Minute Book, XI, January 30, 1946, p. 445; and Columbus, Ohio, Municipal Civil Service Commission, "Certification of Eligibles No. 98," May 27, 1941, Position: Patrolman: (colored). After 1946, the Civil Service Commission dropped the race designations, but kept the lists of blacks on the eligible lists separate from the lists of whites. See Minute Books, IX-XIII, November 26, 1937 to November 30, 1950.

[77]Robert Conot, American Odyssey (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1974), pp. 413-414; "More Negro Cops for Detroit, Michigan," Houston Informer, June 18, 1927, p. 11; and "Detroit Police Commissioner Flays Dixie Officers on Force; Dropped 300 From Police Rolls," Houston Informer, November 12, 1927, p.1.

[78]Watts, "Black and Blue," pp. 138-141.

[79]Miller, "The Negro in Pennsylvania Politics," p. 319; Clara Hardin, The Negroes of Philadelphia: The Cultural Adjustment of A Minority Group (Fayetteville, Pa.: The Craft Press, 1943), pp. 15-16; and Earl Barnes, "Only 167 Negro Cops On Force of 4,200; 128 Completed 20 Years," Philadelphia Independent, November 19, 1939, p. 2.

[80]"Why Are Policemen Made Plain Clothes Upon Promotion?," Chicago Defender, January 19, 1918, p. 9; 1927 Intercollegiate Wonder Book or The Negro in Chicago, 1779-1927, I (Chicago: Washington Intercollegiate Club of Chicago, 1927), p. 116; Morris, "The Chicago Negro and the Major Political Parties," p. 37; "Lt. Deas Becomes Acting Captain of Police," dated 1943, and "Induct Deas As Only U.S. Negro Police Captain," August 28, 1945, both in the ANP Clipping File.

[81]Dulaney, "Black and Blue," p. 49.

[82]"Detective Ira Cooper Promoted to Detective Sergeant," St. Louis Police Journal, XI (March 7, 1923), p. 9; "Mexico's Contribution to City's Police Ends 30 Years on Force," Mexico (Mo.) Ledger, June 23, 1936; and "36 of the World's Finest Policemen," St. Louis American, November 11, 1943, p. 1.

[83]Hardin, The Negroes of Philadelphia, p. 16; "Philadelphia Squad Sets Record," Atlanta Daily World, January 2, 1948; and Barnes, "Only 167 Negro Cops On Force of 4,200," Philadelphia Independent, November 19, 1939, p. 2.

[84]"Negro Police Officers in Los Angeles," By One of Los Angeles's Negro Police Officers, Who, For Obvious Reasons Remains Anonymous," The Crisis, XLI, (August, 1934), pp. 242 and 248.

[85]"Sentinel Exposes Jim Crow Policy of L.A. Police Force," Los Angeles Sentinel, October 16, 1947, p. 1.

[86]Fogelson, Big-City Police, Ch. VII and Walker, A Critical History of Police Reform, pp. xiv and 15.

[87]That was the case in the assignment of the black police platoon in St. Louis in 1948 and in numerous other cities. There are too many examples to cite all of them here.

[88]Dulaney, "Black and Blue," pp. 38-39; Gosnell, Negro Politicians, pp. 256-258; Interview with James A. Taylor, St. Louis, July 13, 1977; Watts, "Black and Blue," pp. 146-147; "St. Louis Gets Negro Cop Platoon," Chicago Defender, December 18, 1948, p. 1; Interview with Lynn Coleman, Cleveland, September 17, 1977; "Add 2 Negroes to Detective Force," Cleveland Call and Post, April 20, 1946, p. 1; "Chief Garey Transfers Blacks to West Side," Cleveland Press, November 4, 1976; "The Newton Station Problem.: Los Angeles Sentinel, May 25, 1939; Homer F. Broome, LAPD's Black History, p. 90; and "Negro Lieutenant Appointed to Watts Office," Los Angeles Sentinel, October 30, 1947, p. 1.

[89]Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper & Row, 1944), p. 540.

[90]Herbert T. Jenkins, Keeping the Peace: A Police Chief Looks At His Job (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 9 and Atlanta Branch of the NAACP, Wanted: Negro Police for Negro Districts in Atlanta (Atlanta: Atlanta Daily World and Others, 1936), five pages.

[91]"White Dallas Cops Threaten Strike If Negro Police Are Appointed; Klan Takes It Up," October 4, 1937; "Dallas Council Votes Not to Hire Negro Cops," October 13, 1937; "Virginian Sues For Right To Take Civil Service Examination for Police Job," (Norfolk), November 2, 1939; all three articles are in the ANP Clipping File; and "Barriers Against Negro Firemen Removed; Case Against Negro Police Voided," Atlanta Daily World, January 28, 1948, pp. 1 and 6.

[92]For the brigade, see "Police Time Book Entries," a 1910 clipping in Mrs. Patrick H. Campbell, "Scrapbook of Clippings, 1900-1923," II, p. 119, located in the Texas Room of the Houston Public Library. Membership on the brigade was traced in Morrison and Fourmy's General Directory of Houston, 1874-1925 (Houston: Morrison and Fourmy Publishers), which listed all police officers by race each year.

[93]"Two More Colored Patrolmen for Houston," Houston Informer, June 5, 1926, p. 1; "Some Outstanding Accomplishments Directly Attributed to Commission On Race Relations," Texas, 1925-1926," Texas Commission On Inter-Racial Cooperation Miscellaneous Reports (Houston, 1926), pages not numbered; and "Little Flare-Up In Local Police Department," Houston Informer, June 12, 1926.

[94]Houston, Texas, Annual Reports Police Department, 1927-1931, listed black police appointments for those years; "13 Negro Policemen Added to Houston Force," Houston Informer, April 17, 1948, p. 1; and Mrs. James S. Crate, "Texas Commission Works for Human Rights," New South, III (October, 1948), pp. 14 and 20.

[95]See "Negro Officers Walk Beat In Kentucky City," Houston Informer, March 10, 1928, p. 2; "Move Launched to Put Negroes on Police Force In Dallas," Houston Informer, September 14, 1935, p. 6; "Dallas Gets Two Negro Policemen," Press Release, September 7, 1937, ANP Clipping File; "Negro Police for Miami," Atlanta Daily World, September 3, 1944, p. 4; "Thousands Witness Induction of Negro Police In Savannah," Atlanta Daily World, May 6, 1947, pp. 1-2; and "Council, Hartsfield Give 'Okay' to Negro Police," Atlanta Daily World, December 2, 1947, p. 1.

[96]See Chandler Davidson Biracial Politics: Conflict and Coalition In the Metropolitan South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1972), p. 121; H. D. Price, The Negro and Southern Politics: A Chapter In Florida History (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973), p. 23; "Texas Election Statute Invalidated," Houston Informer, March 12, 1927, p. 1; and "Atlantans Organize to Vote," Houston Informer, June 3, 1944, p. 8.

[97]Atlanta NAACP, Wanted: Negro Police and Herbert Jenkins, Keeping the Peace, pp. 17 and 32.

[98]Robert Ingram, "Brother Man," p. 4 and "Black Police Captain: 'Bias Made Me III,'" Miami Herald, September 28, 1972.

[99]City of Atlanta, Council Minutes, XLV, December 1, 1947, pp. 86-88; Ingram, "Brother Man," pp. 1-4; and Interviews with former Atlanta Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins, August 8, 1977 and Deputy Director Eldrin Bell, Atlanta Bureau of Police, August 10, 1977.

[100]"Negro Judge for All-Negro Miami Court," Los Angeles Sentinel, April 27, 1950, p. 1 and International Association of Chiefs of Police Field Service Division, A Survey of the Police Division of Miami, Florida (Miami, 1962), pp. 125-127.

[101]See Elliott Rudwick, The Unequal Badge: Negro Police in the South (Atlanta, Atlanta Southern Regional Council, 1962). Before 1950, only one southern city, Louisville, appointed blacks to positions above patrolmen. See "Louisville Has South's First Negro Police Lieutenant," Press Release, October 10, 1949, ANP Clipping File.

[102]In general, Watts, "Black and Blue," and Alexander, Blue Coats: Black Skin, come to this conclusion about the failure of police reform to improve the lot of black police officers.

[103]This term is from former police chief of Los Angeles, William Parker. Parker is discussed extensively in Paul Jacobs, Prelude to Riot: A View of Urban American From the Bottom (New York: Vintage Books, 1967).

Chapter III

Their Brother's Keepers: The Rise of Black Police Organizations

I am my brother's keeper; be my brother.[1]

The failure of American police departments to reform their internal and external racial policies led to the formation of black police organizations. As we have seen, police reformers did little to improve the status of black police officers before 1950. In fact reformers such as Bruce Smith, Raymond Fosdick and August Vollmer did not even discuss blacks in law enforcement in their reports and monographs on police policies and practices.[2] Thus reformers advocated the application of modern management techniques to police departments, but ignored the contradiction of assigning members of the department on the basis of race. Reformers advocated raising training and promotion standards, but still allowed quotas to exist for black police officers. Moreover, they emphasized the crime-fighting responsibilities of police officers, while still tolerating the lack of law enforcement in black communities.[3] Such policies on the part of the reformers were major factors that contributed to the development of black police organizations.

The racial policies of the rank-and-file organizations also contributed to the development of black police organizations.

Rank-and-file organizations such as the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and the Policeman's Benevolent Association (PBA) followed the lead of American police departments in discriminating against black police officers. Some of these organizations, such as those in the South, barred black police from membership. Those in the North, being primarily concerned with the "bread and butter" issues of better wages, shorter hours and better working conditions, did not concern themselves with the peculiar problems and grievances of black police officers. After 1950, some of the rank-and-file police organizations would emerge as the bargaining agents for all police officers.[4] They would also become the major opponents of equal opportunity for blacks in many American police departments.[5]

One of the earliest examples of the conflict between rank-and-file police organizations and black police occurred in St. Louis. In 1924, the twenty black police officers on the St. Louis Police Department applied for membership in the St. Louis Police Relief Association, an organization that provided pensions for retired police officers and their widows. The Relief Association first rejected the black officers' applications. Then, the Association sent the officers an altered application which would have required them to waive their right to vote as members of the Association. Ira Cooper, the city's first black sergeant and a noted detective, returned the altered application without completing it and enclosed a strong letter of protest. Cooper pointed out that the Relief Association was attempting to strip him and the other black officers of their pride and manhood by forcing a nonvoting condition

on their membership in the organization. He stated further that an organization of 1400 white men should not have feared twenty blacks "rising to a point of supremacy in it." Three months after Cooper's letter, the Relief Association admitted all the black officers unconditionally.[6]

Black police officers in St. Louis and other northern cities fared better than black officers in the South in their attempts to join the rank-and-file, benevolent and fraternal associations. The rigid, racial restrictions that dominated other aspects of black life in the South also barred them from the police organizations. Black police had to organize their own organizations for fraternal benefits and for protection from southern racial policies.

In 1935, these considerations motivated black police officers in Houston to form the Texas Negro Peace Officers Association, one of the first black police organizations in the nation. Houston's black police detail formed the organization because black officers were excluded from the local white police association and forced to raise retirement and other benefits for themselves. The Texas Negro Peace Officers Association raised money by holding balls and other fund-raising projects to support a retirement and burial fund. The Houston organization soon expanded to include members from other cities. A year before the Association formally organized, the Houston black police detail held its first annual policeman's ball and invited black officers from Beaumont, Galveston and San Antonio.[7] A year later, officers from these three cities, with the Houston

detail forming the nucleus, became the charter members of the Texas Negro Peace Officers Association.[8]

The black police officers of Texas formed the organization primarily as a fraternal association, but it also served to protect them from southern racial policies. White police in Texas (and throughout the South) treated black police just as they would any other black citizen: white police would arrest a black police officer for carrying his weapon outside his jurisdiction and charge him with carrying a concealed weapon. These incidents occurred frequently enough to warrant concern among black police officers in the state of Texas.[9] The Texas Negro Peace Officers Association attempted to avoid these confrontations by holding annual conventions throughout Texas to advertise the existence of their organization and to introduce themselves to white police administrators in the state. Wherever they held their conventions, they would invite local police officials to participate. Their conventions also served to demonstrate to white police officials that black police were striving to become more professional. The conventions focused on law enforcement issues such as crime prevention, crime detection and impartial law enforcement.[10]

The Negro Peace Officers Association remained a successful and viable organization for twenty-five years. It even attempted to branch out and form a tri-state organization with Louisiana and Oklahoma. These attempts were unsuccessful, however, because these states had their own organizations closely modeled on the example set by the Texas Association.[11] In the 1960s, the Texas Negro Peace

Officers Association declined because the black officers in each city formed their own local police organizations to address their immediate concerns.

Miami's black police detail organized the second of the early black police organizations in an effort to solve virtually the same problems that black police encountered in Houston. After blacks integrated the Miami Police Department in 1944, they found that the local Policeman's Benevolent Association would not accept them for membership. Just as in Houston, black police had to form their own organization for their mutual benefit and protection. In 1946, the black officers in Miami organized the Miami Colored Police Benevolent Association (MCPBA). Ralph White, one of Miami's first black police officers and a charter member of the MCPBA, described how and why they formed the MCPBA.

> When Isaac Davis joined (the department), he became interested in uniting black officers -- trying to make improvements for black officers. So then, we decided to have a meeting to organize. So we did and he (Davis) was the first president of the black PBA. We had quite a bit of opposition. Our supervisors gave us a hard time when they learned that we had met to organize an organization. But the community got behind it and we were able to continue to grow. The purpose was to help train black policemen and to bring about a better relation between the community and the policemen and also the department.[12]

The MCPBA became important to black police officers in Miami in their fight to end the segregation of the black police detail in the city. Unlike the Texas Negro Peace Officers Association, the MCPBA did not work with white police administrators or the rank and file to

solve the black police problems in Miami. The problems of black police in Miami were more severe than those in Houston; black officers in Miami were totally segregated in a black police station, they were untrained and had little opportunity for advancement.[13] The MCPBA leaders had to adopt a more confrontational approach to meet such an adverse situation.

The MCPBA also served to provide a needed social outlet for black police officers who were isolated from other police officers in the department. In the 1950s, the MCPBA would decline because of its emphasis on social activities. The organization would re-emerge in the 1960s with new leadership and as the leading force for the equality of black police in the Miami Police Department.[14]

Black police created these early black police organizations in the South to meet their fraternal needs and as a way of protecting their limited police powers. They also hoped to use them to break down the rigid, racial barriers in their departments which limited their assignments to "black police details" and "black beats." The hostile, segregated environment of the South forced the black police details in Houston and Miami (both details were the largest in the South) to organize. They had no other choice.

In the northern cities, the earliest black police organizations formed for reasons similar to those of Miami and Houston. The conditions in which they developed, however, were slightly different. In most northern cities, blacks had served on the police force since the turn of the century. Their tenure on the force had allowed them to break down many of the more rigid, racial barriers that restricted

the police powers of black police in the South. For instance, in the 1940s black police in the North could and did arrest whites. They had also achieved some token promotional opportunities.[15] When black police in the North formed police organizations, the purpose of them varied and they were not solely a response to racism in their police departments.

In 1943, black police in New York City began efforts to organize the Guardians Association. Robert Mangum, one of the founders of the Guardians, began recruiting black police officers in Harlem's Twenty-eighth Precinct to start an organization that would "recognize the views and ideals of black policemen in New York City." [16] In the beginning, several factors inhibited the growth of the organization. First, the black ranking officers refused to support the organization. Secondly, supervisors in the New York department opposed the organization and its members had to meet secretly at the Harlem YMCA. Thirdly, the Second World War interrupted the initial organization of the Guardians and the organizations's leaders did not attempt to re-organize until after the war. Finally, after the organization became public, some black politicians and police officials urged black police to abandon the organization, to stop "self-segregating" themselves, and to support organizations for "all" policemen such as the Police Benevolent Association.[17]

Despite the opposition to the Guardians, the organization received its charter from the city of New York in 1949. The Guardians used the support of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (Democrat, New York) to pressure the city for recognition. The

organization's members also successfully argued that other ethnic groups in the New York City department had fraternal groups representing their interests and concerns in the department.

The Guardians became the representative organization for blacks on the New York City Police Department.[18] The Guardians did not have the same influence as some of the other ethnic group organizations in the department, but its members worked incessantly to obtain equal treatment for black police in the department. Unlike the black police organizations in the South, the Guardians attempted to imitate the "hooking" system of the Irish and the "rabbi" network of the Jews in the department. Both the Irish and the Jews used these methods to advance the careers of members of their ethnic groups by obtaining strategic positions in the department to appoint or promote other members of their groups. Thus, when a Irish member of the force had or knew of an opening in his division or elsewhere, he would appoint or recommend another Irish officer for the position. In this manner the Irish (and the Jews) enhanced and solidified the position of their group in the department.[19] The Irish and the Jews had the numbers and the second and third generation police supervisors to make the system work effectively for them. The Guardians, being primarily first generation police officers, attempted to establish such a network by bringing more blacks into the department. The Guardians set-up the "Dutch Uncle" program in which a black officer would adopt a young black, potential police recruit and encourage him to pursue a police career. For the Guardians this meant spending time with young people in the community and involving themselves in

community affairs. The Guardians' involvement in the black community of the city of New York became their forte. By the late 1960s, they emerged as a strong community-based organization and the chief proponents for equal opportunity for blacks in the New York City Police Department.[20]

The minor controversies surrounding the organization of the Guardians and the police organizations in Miami and Houston did not compare with that which black officers in Cleveland encountered when they established the Shield Club. In 1946, black police officer Lynn Coleman and his partner attempted to defend black and white members of the Congress of Racial equality (CORE) who were integrating a public dance hall in the city. Private guards hired by the dance hall beat and harassed the CORE members and then turned on Coleman and his partner. The guards shot Coleman and severely beat his partner. Coleman was placed in a hospital in an all-white area of Cleveland. While in the hospital, he refused to turn over his gun to other Cleveland police officers because of his fear of reprisals from other officers as well as white citizens in the area. Finally, a white police captain took Coleman's gun and called him a number of racial slurs. Coleman demanded and received a police guard outside his door at the hospital until he was discharged. In a subsequent hearing, the Cleveland Police Department suspended Coleman from the police force for three months without pay on the charge of "conduct unbecoming an officer."[21] The department did not prosecute his assailant.

The incident, referred to as the Euclid Beach incident, rallied the support of other black police officers around Coleman and they organized the Shield Club. The Shield Club grew out of the black officers' attempt to support Coleman and they used the organization to present their grievances to the supervisors of the Cleveland department. Cleveland's police officials did not respond to the grievances of the Shield Club; nor did the department recognize the organization. The Shield Club violated the department's policy against police organizations. The department's insensitivity to the Shield Club only made the organization stronger. The entire matter made police officer Lynn Coleman a central figure in the movement of black officers in the department toward organization.[22]

In later years, the Shield Club became active in community service. The organization sponsored trips to ball games for underprivileged youth and provided food for needy families. The Shield Club also stressed black police recruitment as the Guardians did in New York City.[23] From these auspicious beginnings the Shield Club declined for several years. In the 1960s the election of Carl Stokes as the first black mayor of Cleveland and a confrontation with the Cleveland Chapter of the Fraternal Order of Police would revive the organization and increase membership.[24]

These early black police organizations served black police officers in addressing their peculiar problems and needs in American police departments. Unlike the other rank and file organizations, the black groups attempted to go beyond the "bread and butter" issues that affected all police officers. They attempted to ameliorate the

discrimination against black police officers, to end the quota system for black police and to provide more promotional opportunities for black officers. In the 1940s and 1950s, the black police movement had minor success. With the support of various individuals and groups in the black community, the officers succeeded in removing some of the barriers in their departments which limited their numbers and promotional opportunities. Partially as a result of the pressure from black police, several cities took steps to integrate and to assign blacks to command positions.

In the 1960s, the position of black police nationwide began to improve. Many cities began actively recruiting black police to improve the image of the police department with black citizens. Many cities dropped the overt discrimination against black police officers and began to assign them without regard to their race. For example, Miami closed its black police station and both Miami and Atlanta disbanded their "black police beats."[25] Detroit and Houston began to assign all police officers as partners without regard to race.[26]

An important reform was the assignment of black police as district commanders. For American police departments the appointment of black police captains represented a significant step toward reform. (See table 3.0). In the early decades of the twentieth century, political bosses controlled police captain appointments and reserved them for the favored ethnic groups in the political machine. Police captains not only controlled their district, but also the crime and graft that occurred in the ward which encompassed their district (police district lines often paralleled ward lines).

Table 3.0

Year of First Black Police Captain Appointment in Selected Cities*

City	Year
Chicago	1940
New York City	1952
Columbus, Ohio	1952
Philadelphia	1954
St. Louis	1956
Cleveland	1960
Newark	1967
Atlanta	1968
Los Angeles	1969
St. Paul, Minnesota	1970

* This table refers to uniform captains only who commanded districts or divisions.

Table 3.1

Year Black Police Organization Chartered or Established in Selected Cities

City	Year
Houston (Texas Negro Peace Officers Association	1935
Miami (Miami Colored Police Benevolent Association	1946
Cleveland (Shield Club)	1946
New York City (Guardians Association)	1949
Philadelphia (Guardians Civic League)	1956
Detroit (The Guardians of Michigan)	1963
Chicago (Afro-American Patrolman's League)	1967
San Francisco (Officers for Justice)	1968
St. Louis (Ethical Police Society)	1968
Los Angeles (Oscar Joel Bryant Association)	1968
Atlanta (Afro-American Patrolman's League)	1969

Despite their participation in machine politics in every major American city, blacks only achieved a captaincy in one city: Chicago.[27] By the 1950s and 1960s, such appointments no longer represented the same political corruption and graft as they once did, but the appointment of blacks as police captains represented a concession to black control of the law enforcement in their own communities.[28] In addition, such appointments indicated that black police were moving from the second class and token status that previously characterized their positions in American police departments.

The status of black police officers changed because the status of all black Americans began to change in the 1950s and 1960s. Through the civil rights movement black Americans broke down the barriers in public accommodations, voting, education, employment and housing. Black Americans achieved many of these gains through the courts, but nonviolent direct action also proved to be a viable tactic. In their numerous sit-ins, marches, wade-ins and demonstrations, black Americans often confronted the police. In most cases, the police handled black demonstrations without violent use of force or loss of life. In others, the police became essentially riot participants instead of forces of restraint. In the 1960s riots, in particular, police action precipitated much of the resulting violence.[29]

Black police officers found themselves "caught in the middle" of the 1960s civil rights movement. Their duty as police officers required them to perform the task of riot control just as other officers. Riot duty often put black police in the position of

restraining, controlling or arresting other blacks who were demonstrating for rights that black police would enjoy along with other black Americans. Black police had to support other police officers in violent, riot situations which often meant violent, physical action against other blacks. At the same time, black citizens called upon black police to protect them from some of their overzealous colleagues.[30]

In several situations during the turbulent civil rights era, black police had to choose sides. Black police either had to support their departments and other police officers against black citizens or defend black citizens against police brutality and unbridled police power. In most cases, they sided with black citizens. Two controversial incidents in New York City and Cleveland illustrated this phenomenon.

In 1966, New York City established a civilian review board for the impartial review of citizens' complaints against the police. The board came under immediate attack by the Policeman's Benevolent Association (PBA) in the city. The PBA believed that the review board would be composed of citizens who were antagonistic to the police and who would make recommendations that would cause some police officers to lose their jobs for less than exemplary action when apprehending a suspect. The PBA conducted a successful petition campaign to place a referendum on the civilian review board on the November ballot. At the same time, the PBA paid for an extensive advertising campaign which subtly inferred that the civilian review board would prohibit the police from taking the necessary action to

prevent New York from being overrun by the black and Puerto Rican peril. In contrast to the PBA, the Guardians supported the civilian review board and criticized the PBA for using a racist advertising campaign in their efforts to defeat the board. The PBA president responded by charging that the Guardians had put their "color ahead of their duty as police officers." Voters in New York City defeated the civilian review board referendum in the November election.[31]

In 1968, a very serious controversy occurred in Cleveland which split black and white police officers. A shoot-out in the Glenville area of Cleveland between police and "black militants" resulted in the death and wounding of several white police officers. The tension-filled aftermath of the shoot-out forced Mayor Carl Stokes to take an action that no other mayor had ever tried. In an attempt to cool racial animosity in the area, Mayor Stokes removed all white police from the Glenville area and replaced them with 100 black police officers. Stokes' decision brought immediate reaction from whites all over the city of Cleveland. The press, the business community, as well as other law enforcement agencies in the area critcized Stokes vehemently for "interfering with the police function" and "undermining police authority." They also claimed that he had "given in to black militants." White police considered the black officers to be traitors for not refusing to work in the area under the "black only" circumstances. Despite the criticisms, Stokes defended his action as the only way that he could end violence in the Glenville area. His plan worked; the black police patrolling the area ended the violence without taking any lives.[32]

The two controversies in New York City and Cleveland clearly drew the racial line between black and white police officers. The line always existed, but the events of the 1960s magnified it. Black police became as radicalized as other groups in the United States and began to organize more aggressively to address racial policies that their departments had failed to reform. A new breed of black police officer emerged: one who spoke out against departmental racism (breaking the previous code of silence among police about such issues) and who adopted the methods of militancy identified with black "revolutionary" or "nationalist" elements in the black community.

No other organization represented the new breed of black police officer and the new militancy better than the Afro-American Patrolman's League of Chicago. Organized in 1967 by Curtis Cowsen, Willie Ware, Frank Lee, Edward Palmer and Renault Robinson, the Afro-American Patrolman's League (AAPL) broke with all the traditions of previous police organizations.[33] The AAPL rooted its foundation in the black community; it openly criticized the police department, other police organizations and American society; and it identified black police officers as the possible "missing link in the black struggle against oppression." The AAPL's initial position statement identified its purpose:

> We are going to elevate the black policeman in the black community to the same image-status enjoyed by the white policeman in the white community; that is, as a protector of citizenry and not as a brutal oppressor. We find it impossible to operate within the framework of existing police associations. For example, we disagree categorically with the position of the Fraternal Order of Police supporting 'Stop and Frisk,'

> and their position supporting the order to 'shoot to kill' or maim looters during civil disorders.
>
> We will no longer permit ourselves to be relegated to the role of brutal pawns in a chess game affecting the communities we serve. We are husbands, fathers, brothers, neighbors, and members of the black community. Donning the blue uniform has not changed this. On the contrary, it has sharpened our perception of our responsibilities as black males in a society seemingly unresponsive to the needs of Black people. We see our role as the role of a protector of this community and that is the role we intend to fulfill.[34]

The AAPL's first president, Renault Robinson, exemplified the strong position of the AAPL against departmental racism and the attitude of the new breed of black police officer. In April, 1971, Robinson appeared on the nationally-syndicated "Phil Donahue Show" with several other blacks to discuss the "problems of black America." Of all the blacks on the show, Robinson generated the most animosity from the other guests and Donahue because of his insistence that black people could solve their own problems in the United States through "Black Nationalism." In the month following the broadcast of the show, Robinson received numerous letters from citizens across the country -- some applauded his militance, but most of the letters condemned the alleged hatred that he displayed.[35]

Robinson not only received publicity for the militant stand of the AAPL, he also became the chief object of the Chicago Police Department's campaign to disrupt the AAPL and persecute its members. Robinson and other members of the AAPL found themselves suspended from duty repeatedly for negligible charges such as not wearing a hat. Without cause, they were transferred from district to district

by their supervisors. The department also assigned Robinson to patrol an alley behind the police station.[36] More insidiously, a former black police officer in Chicago, (who was not a member of the AAPL) currently serving a prison term on a conviction for murder, alleged that the department framed him in their effort "to get" Renault Robinson. This officer alleged that the individuals who framed him, erroneously thought that he was Renault Robinson (he has the same last name) when they implicated him for several murders in the city in 1970.[37]

The Chicago Police Department failed "to get" Renault Robinson and other members of the AAPL. In fact, as one author termed it, Robinson and the AAPL "beat clout city." After filing suit against the city of Chicago and the police department in 1971, Robinson succeeded in freezing federal revenue sharing funds and Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds allocated for Chicago. Robinson's suit charged the city and police department with discrimination against black police officers and sought personal damages for himself and other members of the AAPL. In 1977, Robinson won a judgment of $125,000 from the city of Chicago.[38]

The successful example of the AAPL spread to other cities. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the movement of black police to organize revived some of the older black police organizations and created new ones determined to improve the status of black police in American police departments. In 1967-1968, the election of Carl Stokes and the Glenville riot increased the membership of the Shield Club and made it a more formidable organization in Cleveland.[39] In

the same year, the Officers for Justice formally organized in San Francisco and began to oppose the department's adverse racial policies for black police officers.[40] After the review board issue in New York City, the Guardians continued to be an active force in the New York City Police Department. They had more conflicts with the PBA because the PBA strongly opposed efforts to recruit minority police officers.[41] In September, 1968, black police officers in Los Angeles organized the Oscar Joel Bryant Association (OJB) in honor of a black officer slain on duty. Although OJB was less militant than the AAPL, the OJB attempted to "close the gap between the police and the black community."[42] In the South, Miami's MCPBA filed one of the earliest suits charging a police department with racial discrimination in hiring and promotions. The MCPBA sought compensation for the previous lack of training for black police and the long period that the department relegated black police to a separate facility. In 1971, the MCPBA charged the Miami Police Department with taking reprisals against black police officers who spoke out against the instances of improper arrest by white police officers.[43] Finally, in 1969, black police officers in Atlanta organized a chapter of the Afro-American Patrolman's League. Shortly afterwards, the Atlanta AAPL also became embroiled in conflict with the Atlanta Police Department. Several members of the AAPL charged the department with discrimination and the Atlanta police chief suspended and demoted them.[44]

The charges and grievances filed by black police officers through their organizations against American police departments became a key

issue in law enforcement and received a national forum.[45] Since the problems that black police encountered had always existed, the national attention for the issue represented the success of the new breed of black police in publicizing their perception of the failure of reform in American police departments.[46] It also represented the emerging clout of blacks in local politics and their attempts to control the police in the cities where they had electoral majorities.[47] Black police verbalized many of the grievances of black citizens and launched an attack on the continuing problems of police brutality, discrimination in hiring and assignments, and the lack of promotional opportunities.

Black police officers through their organizations proposed a new standard of professionalism for police officers. Some of their proposals concurred with those of previous reformers, while most did not. Black police felt that a police officer's job was to serve the community; he or she was a public servant and accountable to the people of the community and not politicians or police administrators. Black police officers also believed that the police should involve the public in law enforcement through neighborhood watches and regular meetings between the police and the public. The ultimate goal was to have a community-based police force that served not only to deter crime, but also as a community service agency thoroughly involved in all aspects of the community.

Black police organizations also proposed new standards for training and advancement in police work. To serve his community, a police officer had to have thorough training in not only police

work, but also community and race relations. Ideally, each police recruit would possess a college degree upon entering the police department. With such qualifications and training, any officer would be able to work in any area or neighborhood and enforce the law impartially. Police departments would obtain better police candidates by having a selection process with validated, job-related exams and a promotion procedure that was nondiscriminatory. Black police also believed that merit promotions should continue to exist, but opportunities for lateral entry into the department would provide the police with candidates with better skills in specific areas of police work. An important part of the reforms proposed by black police organizations included compensation for officers previously denied promotions and job assignments under the old, racially-motivated "merit" system.[48]

Black police organizations throughout the United States based their rationale for organizing on the need to redress grievances that had existed for several decades and on an attempt to make the police more "professional." This common rationale gave them the basis for organizing a national black police association. In August, 1972, the St. Louis Black Police Association hosted the First National Conference of Black Policemen. Black police officers from eight cities met to organize a "national black policemen's fraternal association." Norman Seay, a member of CORE's committee to monitor the police and coordinator of the conference listed the goals of the organization:

1. To improve the relationship between the black community and the police department.

2. To improve the professional status of black policemen, individually and collectively.

3. To encourage more black citizens to actively apply for employment with law enforcement agencies.

4. To assist in reducing the causes of crime.

5. To encourage the further development of law enforcement as a profession.

Seay also justified such an organization by citing the fact that blacks had formed similar groups among black doctors, lawyers and postmen. According to Seay, instead of being discriminatory or self-segregating, these groups promoted brotherhood and respect for the profession.[49]

The outcome of the St. Louis conference was the National Black Police Association (NBPA). From the initial eight cities, the NBPA grew to represent black police organizations in thirty-five major cities and twenty-two states. Since 1972, the NBPA has held annual conferences that have served as forums for the issues that concern and affect black police officers. Their conference agendas have included topics in law enforcement as well as general topics on the political process and civil rights. The most important aspect of the NBPA has been the network that black police have established across the United States to share information and coordinate their efforts to improve (or reform) law enforcement for black citizens.[50]

The NBPA represented the culmination of forty years of police organizations among black police officers. It differed significantly

from the early Texas Negro Peace Officers Association. The NBPA represented fifty-four black police associations that had emerged to challenge the lack of reform in American police departments; the Texas Negro Peace Officers Association could barely raise money for a burial fund for its members. The contrast in these two organizations represent how black police associations have grown from small, benevolent groups attempting to protect black police officers to strong, community-based advocacy groups.

Black police organizations developed because police reformers failed to improve one important aspect of American law enforcement: the racial policies. The failure to reform these policies caused the urban racial violence of the 1960s and it also caused black police officers to examine closely their own role and stake in American law enforcement. Upon examining their role, black officers found that their interests did not lie with American police departments. American police departments discriminated against black police officers and mistreated black citizens. Black police officers found that their interests were with the communities and people that they served. As a result, black police developed new and radically different police organizations that better served their own needs and that were more responsive to the needs of the black community.

Through their organizations black police asserted their differences and disagreements with the policies of their police departments. Moreover, black police often asserted that they, as blacks, were different from their white colleagues. They cited the contrasting stance of white and black police on a number of issues

related to police work and community relations. This chapter has examined briefly two of these issues: civilian review of police procedures and police response to urban and civil disorders. The following chapters will examine how black and white police view these issues and a number of other issues. A demographic profile of police officers in several cities follows to reveal the group and individual traits and characteristics of the officers participating in the attitudinal survey.

Chapter III
Footnotes

[1]Slogan of the Afro-American Patrolman's League of Chicago, Illinois. The author found this Slogan on several documents in the AAPL Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

[2]A conclusion drawn from reading Bruce Smith, Chicago Police Problems; August Vollmer, The Police in Modern Society (Montclair, New Jewsey: Patterson Smith, 1971); and Raymond Fosdick, American Police Systems (Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1969). Walker also made a similar observation in his A Critical History of Police Reform, p. 123.

[3]Fogelson, Big-City Police, Chs. VI and VII and Walker, Ibid., pp. 169-170.

[4]Fogelson, Ibid., Ch. VII; Leonard Ruchelman, Police Politics: A Comparative Study of Three Cities (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 15-21; and Hervey A. Juris and Peter Feuille, Police Unionism: Power and Impact in Public Sector Bargaining (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1973).

[5]See below for the confrontations between black police organizations and PBAs and FOPs in New York City and Cleveland.

[6]Ira L. Cooper to the Executive Board of the St. Louis Police Relief Association, May 25, 1924, James A. Taylor Papers and "Meetings of the Executive Committee of the Police Relief Association," St. Louis Police Journal, XIII (July 9, 1924), p. 8. For a copy of Cooper's letter, see appendix A.

[7]"Police Officers Plan Their First Annual Benefit For Burial Fund," Houston Informer, February 24, 1934, pp. 1 and 5 and "Police Ball Is Big Success As Crowds Cheer," Houston Informer, March 24, 1934, p. 1.

[8]"Texas Peace Officer Visits," Los Angeles Sentinel, July 13, 1950, p. A10; "Jim Diddy, Veteran Officer, Retires From Police Force," Houston Informer, April 25, 1953, p. 1; "Many Houstonians at 20th Annual Peace Officers Association In Beaumont," Houston Informer, September 3, 1955, p. 3; and personal interview with A. V. Young, former president of the Texas Negro Peace Officers Association, Chicago, Illinois, August 25, 1978.

[9]For evidence of these incidents, see "White Cops Abuse Negro Cop," Houston Informer, January 30, 1954, p. 1; "Race Officer Fined For Carrying Gun," Atlanta Daily World, August 17, 1948, p. 3 and "Negro Cop's Arrest Fought By Milwaukee -- City Lawyer to Defend Him in Tennessee," Press Release, June 16, 1959, ANP Clipping File. For evidence that the Peace Officers discussed the issue see, Ted William, "90 Enroll in Texas Negro Peace Officers Association," Houston Informer, August 21, 1948, p. 1. A.V. Young also discussed this problem in my interview with him in Houston, Texas, November 10, 1977.

[10]Interview with A.V. Young, Chicago, Illinois, August 25, 1978; "Peace Officers to Hold Meeting in San Antonio," Houston Informer, May 1, 1954, pp. 1 and 10; "8 Local Officers Attend State Board Meeting in Beaumont," Houston Informer, May 7, 1955, p. 12; and "Many Houstonians at Twentieth Annual Peace Officers Association in Beaumont," Houston Informer, September 3, 1955, p. 3. "Dallas Gets Two Negro Policemen," Press Release, September 7, 1937, ANP Clipping File, discussed how the Peace Officers' Annual Meeting in that city embarrassed the Dallas police chief into appointing two black police officers for the duration of the convention.

[11]"Peace Officers to Hold Meeting in San Antonio," Houston Informer, May 1, 1954, pp. 1 and 10; interview with A. V. Young, Chicago, Illinois, August 25, 1978; and an interview with Chief Julius L. Guillory of the Magnolia State Peace Officers Association (Louisiana), Opalousa, Louisiana, by Harry Gardner on May 15, 1977, transcript.

[12]Interview with retired Miami police officer, Ralph White, Miami, Florida, October 31, 1977 and Robert Ingram, "Brother Man," p. 4.

[13]Ingram, ibid.

[14]Interview with retired sergeant Jesse Nash, former president of the Miami Community Police Benevolent Association (the "C" in MCPBA was changed from Colored to Community in the 1960s), Miami, Florida, October 31, 1977 and interviews with Officers Otis Davis and George Adams, Miami, Florida, October 21 and 30, 1977.

[15]Discussed in Chapter II.

[16]Mangum is quoted in Richard L. Bolden, "A Study of the Black Guardian Organization in the New York City Police Department From 1943-1978," (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1980), p. 36.

[17]Bolden, ibid., pp. 35-38 and interviews with Bill Johnson and Harold Respass, retired members of the Guardians, New York City, January 18, 1978.

[18]Bolden, ibid., pp. 38-39.

[19]Interviews with Respass and Johnson, New York City, January 18, 1978; Arthur Neiderhoffer, Behind the Shield (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1967), p. 135, listed ethnic organizations in the New York department for Poles, Jews, Germans, Italians, Greeks and Puerto Ricans. Forty-eight percent of the department belonged to the largest ethnic association, the Emerald Association of the Irish; see James Q. Wilson, "Generational and Ethnic Differences Among Career Police Officers, American Journal of Sociology, LXIX (March, 1964), pp. 522-528.

[20]Interviews with Respass and Johnson, New York City, January 18, 1978; Bolden, "The Black Guardians," passim.; and James Alexander, Blue Coats: Black Skin, pp. 83-85.

[21]Juanita Barrow, "Shooting Closes Euclid Beach," Cleveland Call and Post, September 28, 1946, p. 1; "A Frame-Up," Cleveland Call and Post, October 5, 1946; and personal interview with Lynn R. Coleman, retired police sergeant, Cleveland, Ohio, September 18, 1977.

[22]City of Cleveland Council, "A Resolution Honoring Lynn R. Coleman," No. 2214-74, November 18, 1974; interview with Lynn R. Coleman, Cleveland, Ohio, September 18, 1977; and Mairy J. Woge, "City Awards $21,800 to Black Policeman for Discrimination," Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 8, 1978, p. 5E, Coleman recovered his back pay from 1946 and other money for discrimination.

[23]Interview with retired Cleveland police woman, Mrs. Jean Clayton, Cleveland, Ohio, September 10, 1977; Darlene Johnson, "I Never Wanted to Be A Police Officer," Cleveland Press, June 7, 1977; and interview with Lynn R. Coleman, Cleveland, Ohio, September 18, 1977.

[24]Interview with Lynn R. Coleman, Cleveland, Ohio, September 8, 1977 and Petition for Money, Declaration, Judgment, and Further Relief, Lynn Coleman vs. Cleveland Lodge No. 8, Fraternal Order of Police, County of Cuyahoga Court of Common Pleas, October 20, 1969.

[25]For recruitment drives for black officers in the 1960s, see Bernard Karsko, "Negro Police Few--Recruiting No Match for Attitudes," Columbus Dispatch, May 3, 1968, p. 16; "More Negro Police Wanted," Miami Times, February 21, 1969, p. 4; and Richard J. Margolis, Who Will Wear The Badge. For the end of black police beats in Atlanta and Miami, see "Flying Squad Has Policeman Irate," Atlanta Journal, May 13, 1969; my interview with former Atlanta Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins, Atlanta, Georgia, August 8, 1977; and "Police Abolish Negro Precinct," Miami Herald, July 26, 1963.

[26]"Detroit Police Force Now Mixes Car Crews" February 5, 1959, ANP Clipping File and Bill Lee, "The Lot of Negro Policemen Has Improved Over Years," Houston Chronicle, March 9, 1969.

[27]Mark Haller, "Urban Crime and Criminal Justice: The Chicago Case," Journal of American History, LVII (December, 1970), pp. 619-635; Haller, "Police Reform in Chicago: 1905-1935," American Behavioral Scientist, XIII (May-August, 1970), pp. 649-665; and "The Elections of 1940: Chicago's Machine Runs on Gratitude," Life, October 21, 1940, p. 94.

[28]Edward D. Williams, The First Black Captain (New York: Vantage Press, 1974), pp. 94-98 and Harold A. Nelson, "Defenders: A Case Study of An Informal Police Organization," Social Problems XV (Fall, 1967), pp. 127-147.

[29]I have discussed the findings of the Kerner Report in chapter I. Other authors have made similar charges about the police role in the 1960s urban riots. See Paul Jacobs, "The Los Angeles Police: A Critique," Atlantic Monthly, CCXVII (December, 1966), pp. 95-101; Paul Jacobs, Prelude to Riot, pp. 18-60 and 270-276; Granville J. Cross, "The Negro, Prejudice and the Police," Journal of Criminal Law, LV (September, 1964), pp. 405-411; and Robert M. Fogelson, "From Resentment to Confrontation: The Police and the Outbreak of the Nineteen-Sixties Riots," Political Science Quarterly, LXXXIII (June, 1968), pp. 217-247.

[30]Richard Hall, "Dilemma of the Black Cop," Life, September, 18, 1970, pp. 60-70; Wallis W. Johnson, "Man in the Middle: The Black Policeman," Civil Rights Digest (Summer, 1970), pp. 23-27; and Alex Poinsett, "The Dilemma of the Black Policeman," Ebony, July, 1971, pp. 122-124.

[31]Richard L. Bolden, "The Black Guardians," pp. 83-116; Leonard Ruchelman, Police Politics, pp. 39-47; for the quote, see Neiderhoffer, Behind the Shield, p. 175.

[32]Carl B. Stokes, Promises of Power: A Political Autobiography (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), pp. 206-224; Louis H. Masotti and Jerome R. Corsi, Shoot-Out in Cleveland: Black Militants and the Police, July 23, 1968 Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), pp. 69-103; and Estelle Zannes, Checkmate in Cleveland: The Rhetoric of Confrontation During the Stokes Years (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve Univerity, 1972), pp. 140-148.

[33]Robert McClory, The Man Who Beat Clout City (Chicago: The Swallow Press, 1977), p. 13.

[34]Quotes and position statement in Renault A. Robinson, President, Afro-American Patrolmen's League, "Black Police: A Positive Means to Social Change," 25 pages, AAPL Papers.

[35]These letters are in the AAPL Papers. I saw the show in April, 1971 and I have indicated in my Preface how I felt about it.

[36]McClory, The Man Who Beat Clout City, pp. 33-46; Hall, "Dilemma of the Black Cop," pp. 64-70; and Carol Morton, "Black Cops: Black and Blue Ain't White," Ramparts, May, 1971, p. 25.

[37]Stanley Robinson, The Badge They Are Trying To Bury (Bluff, Utah: Simon Belt Publishers, 1975), pp. 70-85.

[38]McClory, The Man Who Beat Clout City, pp. 210-211.

[39]See footnote #24 above and interviews with Lynn Coleman, Cleveland, Ohio, September 18, 1977 adn Mrs. Jean Clayton, Cleveland, Ohio, September 15, 1977.

[40]Officers For Justice Peace Officers Association, Why The Officers For Justice? (San Francisco, 1968); "An Evening With The Officers For Justice,' Souvenir Benefit Program, (San Francisco, 1971); and Rush Greenlee, "Whose Side Are You On?" San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle, October 6, 1968, p. 3.

[41]Ruchelman, Police Politics, p. 71 and Bolden "The Black Guardians," passim.

[42]Broome, LAPD's Black History, pp. 216-217 and Hall, "Dilemma of the Black Cop," pp. 60-64.

[43]Steve Rodgers, "Negro Police May Get Rank Without Tests," Miami Herald, March 29, 1966; "8 Officers Lose Plea For Rank," Miami Herald, July 28, 1966; "Negro Cops Divided on Board Offer," Miami News, August 26, 1966; Morton Lucoff, "Bias Against Negro Police Reported," Miami News, January 24, 1967; and "Open Letter and Position Statement From the Community Police Benevolent Association," August, 1971, photocopy.

[44]National Black Police Association, Fifth Annual Convention Program, August 1977; "Police Department Charged With Bias," Atlanta Daily World, May 17, 1970; "Detective Dissenters Demoted," Atlanta Constitution, March 31, 1973; Barry Henderson, "Inman Demotes Black Detective After Blast," Atlanta Constitution, April 3, 1973; Ed John, "Blacks Charge Cop Racism Here," Atlanta Journal, March 29, 1973; and "Inman Ordered to Reinstate Three Officers," Atlanta Daily World, October 22, 1973.

[45]John Darnton, "Color Line A Key Police Problem," New York Times, September 28, 1969, pp. 1 and 69 and Bob Harwood, "Racial Tensions Splits Police Ranks," Wall Street Journal, January 2, 1971, clipping in the Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library.

[46]See Chapter II.

[47]Larry E. Moss, Black Political Ascendancy In Urban Centers and Black Control of the Local Police Function: An Exploratory Analysis (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1977).

[48]This is a condensation of information obtained from many sources and interviews. A partial list would include: Robinson, "Black Police: A Positive Means to Social Change;" Lee P. Brown, The Death of Police-Community Relations, Occasional Paper, I, No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Institute of Urban Affairs and Research, 1974); Lee P. Brown, Editor, The Administration of Justice: A View From Black America, Occasional Paper, II, No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Institute of Urban Affairs and Research, 1974); and Herrington J. Bryce, Editor, Black Crime: A Police View (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, et al., 1977).

[49]Norman Seay, Coordinator of the First National Conference of Black Policemen, to Colonel Delbert Miller, President, St. Louis Board of Police Commissioners, July 18, 1972.

[50]National Black Police Association, Fact Sheet, n.d. See also the Annual Convention Programs, for the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 10th conventions, 1975-1978 and 1982. A copy of the Fact Sheet is in Appendix B.

Chapter IV

Surveying American Police Officers: Methodology and Demography of A Sample of Police Officers From Nine Cities

An important part of the research for this dissertation was the survey conducted with police officers in nine American cities. The author conducted the survey for two reasons: to compare and contrast the background characteristics and attitudes of police officers by race and to determine what impact the recent racial conflicts in American police departments have had on police attitudes. As we have seen in chapters II and III, racism and racial conflict have permeated the whole of American policing in this century. In this chapter we take a look at the police officers who have experienced the racial turmoil in American police departments in the last twenty years.

To obtain the data on the officers in this chapter, the author used the methodology of survey research. The methodology of survey research is usually a tool of social scientists, especially sociologists. The methodology has also become a useful one for historians.[1] Historians can combine the methodology of survey research with their other research tools to present voluminous amounts of data in a manageable, simplified form. The methodology of

survey research also enables historians to analyze data with the use of statistics.

In this dissertation the author used the methodology of survey research to obtain demographic and attitudinal data that would have been unavailable to a historian under normal circumstances. That is, the author could not have obtained the demographic information in this disseration on current police officers through departmental records. The records of current police officers are unavailable to all researchers. The attitudinal information was also unobtainable without the use of the survey research methodology. The author interviewed over seventy-five police officers in thirteen cities, but he could not have reached each of the 231 police officers who responded to the questionnaire in this survey on an individual basis.

The survey research methodology also enabled the author to ask the police officers the specific questions pertinent to this dissertation. The questionnaire (see appendix C) asked the officers questions about their personal backgrounds and police careers. It also probed their personal reaction to the issues and events of the last twenty years by asking them twenty-five attitudinal questions. The author could not have obtained responses from the officers on such issues as civil rights, police-community relations and the impact of race on police work without the survey research methodology.

Survey research methodology has also facilitated analysis of the data on the officers in the sample. For example, the officers gave numerous responses to the question, "what was your most important reason for joining the police department?". By coding the numerous

responses to this question into codes and analyzing them through the computer using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), the author was able to breakdown the responses and correlate them by race, city, and age.[2] The frequency of the responses in each category also enabled the author to determine what was the most important reason among all officers for entering police work.

The author conducted the survey in this dissertation from July, 1977 to February, 1978. In the original research design the author planned to sample at least 1,000 police officers in eleven cities. The author selected the target cities geographically and the cities were: Atlanta, Cleveland, Columbus, Houston, Chicago, St. Louis, Miami, Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York City and Philadelphia. Despite the support of the research project by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, the police administrators in several target cities chose not to cooperate with the project. The police administrators in Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Los Angeles and New York City did not allow the author to distribute the survey questionnaire to a sample of police officers in the police department. In these cities, the author worked with the black police organizations to obtain at least a sample of the membership of these organizations. In the cities where the author received the cooperation of the police administrators (Columbus, Houston, San Francisco, Miami, St. Louis and Atlanta), the author distributed 100 questionnaires to a sample of police officers provided by the police officials. Even in these cities, many officers chose not to return the questionnaires in the stamped,

self-addressed envelope. Table 4.0 indicates the number of questionnaires returned by officers from each city in the survey.

Despite these obstacles, the author received a total of 231 completed questionnaires out of a total of 750 distributed. The author composed a Codebook to facilitate the coding of all the responses in the questionnaires. The Codebook is in appendix D. Using the assigned codes the author punched all the data on each officer onto Hollerith cards and analyzed them using the SPSS program. An analysis of the demographic data produced by the program follows.

Racial background served as the primary variable for the analysis of the sample. That is, the author broke down all other variables by the independent variable of race. Analyzing the data in this manner served one of the purposes of the dissertation: to compare and contrast the demography and attitudes of black and white police officers. This method of analysis also assisted the author in testing a preliminary hypothesis that black and white police officers do not differ significantly in demography, but have attitudinal differences along racial lines.

A fairly equal number of black and white police officers participated in the survey. Table 4.1 shows that 118 blacks and 100 whites returned the questionnaires. Twelve Hispanics and one Native American also responded to the survey. Eight of the Hispanics were Cuban-Americans from Miami.

Police officers from nine cities are represented in the sample. The breakdown of respondents by city in table 4.0 indicates the

Table 4.0

% of Sample Respondents From Each City

City		%	
Atlanta		29.4%	
St. Louis		17.3	
Columbus		13.9	
Houston		11.3	
San Francisco		9.1	
Los Angeles		9.1	
Miami		7.4	
Cleveland		1.7	
Chicago		0.9	
	Total	100.0%	N=231

Table 4.1

Racial Background of the Sample

Race	%	N
Black	51.1%	118
White	43.3	100
Hispanic	5.2	12
Native American	0.4	1
Totals	100.0%	231

cities where the police administrators supported and cooperated with the research project. The large number of respondents from Columbus, Atlanta and St. Louis reflect the support that the police officials in those cities gave the project. Police officials in San Francisco, Houston and Miami also supported the project, but many officers in those cities failed to return the questionnaires. The small number of questionnaires from Cleveland and Chicago reflect the nonsupport that the author received from police officials in those cities.

The amount of cooperation that the author received from police officials in the various police departments also affected the racial breakdown of the respondents from each city. In table 4.2 the racial breakdown of the respondents from St. Louis, Atlanta, Columbus, Miami and Houston is distributed fairly evenly. In Los Angeles and Chicago the respondents are all black. The respondents in San Francisco are also predominantly black. In every city except those where the author had to rely on the black police organizations for a sample of officers, the author requested a 50-50 mix of black and white officers in the sample. Or, as in Miami, San Francisco and Houston, a mixture of officers that was 50% white, 25% black and 25% Hispanic. None of the samples from any of the cities reflect the actual breakdown of the questionnaires distributed. Each officer had the option to return the questionnaire voluntarily.

Despite the varying racial breakdown of the police officers in each city, the author still obtained a fairly representative sample. Table 4.3 shows the educational background of the sample by race. All but three of the respondents (two blacks and one white) had high

Table 4.2

Racial Background By City

Race	City								
	Atl	StL	Col	Hou	S.F.	L.A.	Mia	Cle	Chi
Black	35.3%	52.5%	40.6%	42.3%	81.0%	100%	35.3%	75%	100%
White	61.8	47.5	59.4	51.7	9.5	--	11.8	25	--
Hispanic	1.5	--	--	--	9.5	--	52.9	--	--
Native American	1.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Totals	100	100%	100%	100%	100%	100	100%	100%	100%
N =	(68)	(40)	(32)	(26)	(21)	(21)	(17)	(4)	(2)

Total N = 231

Table 4.3

Education By Race

Level of Education	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Less Than High School	1.7%	1%	--	--
H.S. Graduate	15.3	36	2(#)	--
Less Than 2 yrs. College	14.4	20	2	1
2-3 yrs. college	33.1	17	5	--
Bachelor's Degree	23.7	18	3	--
Postgraduate Work	3.4	--	--	--
Graduate Degree	8.5	8	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

school diplomas, the current minimum educational standard for police work. The black officers were slightly better educated. Thirty-six percent of the blacks had college degrees, while only 26% of the whites and three of the Hispanics had college degrees. All three groups exceeded the national educational level of American citizens in which 66% of all Americans possessed high school diplomas and 16% had college degrees in 1980.[3]

Black police officers in the sample were also older than white or Hispanic officers. In table 4.4 the average age for all officers in the sample was thirty-five. Black officers exceeded the average by two years and exceeded the average age of white and Hispanic officers by three and five years, respectively. The blacks and whites in the sample inverted their comparative ages nationally in 1980. In the last census, the median age of blacks nationally was twenty-five; for whites it was 31. The whites in the sample were closer to their national median, but black police exceeded theirs by twelve years.[4]

Most of the officers lived in the state in which they were born. Less than 40% of the officers had migrated to the cities that employed them as police officers. Hispanic officers were the exception, however, seven of them were foreign-born. Table 4.5 also shows that black police officers were twice as likely to have migrated from another region of the country than white officers. The mobility of black police officers also exceeded the national average of 36% for American citizens who were born in places other than where they resided in 1980.[5]

Table 4.4

Age By Race

Age Range	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
21 - 25	6.8%	11%	2(#)	--
26 - 30	25.4	30	5	1
31 - 35	18.6	26	3	--
36 - 40	17.8	17	--	--
41 - 45	7.6	6	2	--
46 - 50	12.7	7	--	--
51 - 55	6.8	3	--	--
56 - 60	3.4	--	--	--
No Response	0.8	--	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1
Mean ages =	37	34	32	30

Mean age for all officers = 35 Median age = 33

Table 4.5

Birthplace By Race

Birthplace	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Present State	55.1%	72%	1(#)	1
Bordering State	14.4	14	--	--
Other State	29.7	14	4	--
Foreign Born	--	--	7	--
No Response	0.8	--	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 4.6

Father's Occupation By Race

Occupational Classification	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Professional	5.1%	4%	2(#)	--
Business	4.2	22	--	--
Clerical	2.5	1	1	--
Civil Service (Govt.)	9.3	15	1	--
Private Service	5.1	3	--	--
Skilled	13.6	25	3	--
Semiskilled	13.6	19	2	--
Unskilled	28.0	3	1	--
Other	14.4	6	2	1
Unknown	4.2	2	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

The officers in the sample had fathers with a variety of occupations. (See table 4.6 and appendix E.) More black police officers had fathers in the less skilled occupations than white officers. For example, the modal category for the fathers of black officers was Unskilled labor (28%). While the model category for the fathers of whites (25%) and Hispanics (3) was Skilled occupations. Black officers also rated their fathers' occupations lower than white and Hispanic officers. In table 4.7, 39% of black officers rated their fathers' occupations below average or lower as opposed to 26% of the whites and three of the Hispanics who rated their fathers in the lower categories.[6]

Corresponding to the lower occupational background of their fathers, black police also came from larger families. The families of black officers in the sample averaged five children (adding the officer to the mean number of brothers and sisters in table 4.8). The families of white and Hispanic officers averaged only 3.8 and 2.5 children, respectively.

The majority of the officers were married and had children (tables 4.9 and 4.10). More blacks (9.3%) and Hispanics (4) than whites were divorced or separated from their spouses. Black officers had an average of two children, whites had 1.8 children and Hispanics had 1.4 children. The average for all officers was 1.8 children. Both blacks and whites exceeded the national average for married couples in 1980; only 65% of Americans were married in that year. The average household size among the officers also exceeded the national average in 1980 of 2.75.[7]

Table 4.7

Rating of Father's Occupation By Race

Rating	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Very High	3.4%	8%	--	--
High	7.6	14	2(#)	1
Above Average	13.6	15	3	--
Average	31.4	35	3	--
Below Average	11.9	12	2	--
Low	13.6	8	--	--
Very Low	13.6	6	1	--
No Response	5.1	2	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 4.8

Number of Brothers and Sisters By Race

#	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
None	6.8%	4%	3(#)	1
One	15.3	22	5	--
Two	15.3	31	1	--
Three	16.9	21	1	--
Four	8.5	7	1	--
Five or more	37.3	15	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1
Mean # =	4.0	2.8	1.5	0

Mean # of brothers and sisters for all officers = 3.3

Table 4.9

Marital Status By Race

Status	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Single	12.7%	10%	2(#)	--
Married	78.0	85	6	1
Divorced	7.6	5	4	--
Separated	1.7	--	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 4.10

Number of Children By Race

#	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
None	22.0%	20%	5(#)	--
One	19.5	20	4	--
Two	27.1	33	1	--
Three	11.0	18	--	1
Four	11.0	6	1	--
Five or more	9.3	3	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1
Mean # =	2.0	1.8	1.4	3

Mean # of children for all officers = 1.8

Table 4.11

Previous Occupation By Race

Occupational Classification	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Professional	5.1%	4%	1(#)	--
Business	5.9	14	3	--
Clerical	10.2	8	1	--
Civil Service (Govt.)	31.4	17	3	1
Service (private)	5.1	6	--	--
Skilled	12.7	19	1	--
Semiskilled	11.9	12	2	--
Unskilled	5.1	5	1	--
Other	11.9	15	--	--
Unemployed	0.8	--	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Before becoming police officers, the officers in the sample worked at a variety of occupations (see table 4.11 and appendix E). No general pattern emerged and the modal categories varied for blacks, whites and Hispanics. More black officers worked in civil service and government jobs (31%) such as postal workers, firemen and the military than any other occupation. More whites worked at Skilled occupations (19%) and in civil service occupations (17%) than in other occupations. Hispanics had occupations equally in Business (4) and civil service occupations (4) than in other occupations. Although it was not significant, civil service or other government jobs were a common experience for 25% of the sample.

The United States military also served as a common experience for the majority of the sample. (table 4.12) Sixty-four percent of the blacks, 60% of the whites, and six of the Hispanics served in one of the branches of the United States military. More officers, black (34%), white (21%) and Hispanic (4) served in the United States Army than in any other branch.

The demographic analysis of this sample shows that black, white and Hispanic officers have no significant differences. They actually have more in common with each other than they have with the national averages from the 1980 Census. The sample had the following general characteristics. The average age of the sample was thirty-five, but black police were slightly older than whites and Hispanics. Blacks were also more educated than whites and Hispanics; blacks had more college degrees. Black and whites have largely remained in the states where they were born, while most of the Hispanics were

Table 4.12

Military Service Branch By Race

Service Branch	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
None	35.6%	40%	6(#)	--
Army	33.9	21	4	--
Navy	6.8	13	--	--
Marines	7.6	12	1	1
Air Force	13.6	11	1	--
National Guard	2.5	2	--	--
Coast Guard	--	1	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

foreign-born. Whites and Hispanics came from families that were probably better-off economically than those of the blacks. Black police had more fathers in the lower socio-economic occupations and consequently, they ranked their fathers' occupations lower more often than whites and Hispanics. Black officers also came from larger families. Most of the officers were married and had at least one child; black police usually had more children than whites and Hispanics. Finally, before becoming police officers, more officers had worked in other government service jobs such as the post office and the military than in any other occupational category.

How do the officers in this sample compare to those in other surveys? Previous surveys have generally examined the same variables of age, marital status, previous occupation, military service, family background, education and birthplace as this dissertation has done. With only a few exceptions, the demography of this sample concurs with that of previous surveys in several others cities form 1967 to 1975.

The officers in this sample were similar to the officers in earlier samples on a number of variables. Their demography concurs with that of a 1967 sample of Denver police officers on the variables of marital status, family background, education, birthplace and father's occupation.[8] Their demography matches that of police recruits in St. Louis, 1960-1969, on marital status, birthplace, education and previous occupation.[9] A 1970 comparison of black and white police officers in Washington, D.C. provided analogical data on the variables of marital status, education, family

background, previous occupation, and military service.[10] A 1975 survey that focused exclusively on black officers provided data which paralleled the demography of black officers in this sample on the variables of marital status, number of children, father's occupation and education.[11] Similarly, a 1974 survey of black police officers in Los Angeles and San Francisco matched the black officers in this sample on marital status, education and number of children.[12] Finally, members of New York City's Guardians Association in 1975 had a demographic profile similar to the blacks in this sample on age, education, previous occupation and father's occupation.[13]

The comparative data indicate that the officers in this sample are representative of all American police officers. The officers represent a good cross section of the individuals who serve in American police departments. As such, their police careers and attitudes should reflect to a certain degree the experiences of police officers in the past twenty years. The following chapter will examine this aspect of the sample and determine if the officers' careers and attitudes are as similar as their background characteristics.

Chapter IV
Footnotes

[1]William O. Aydelotte, "Quantification in History, " in Robert P. Swierenga, Editor, Quantification in History; Theory and Practice (New York: Antheneum, 1970), pp. 6-24.

[2]Norman H. Nie, C. Hadlai Hull, Jean G. Jenkins, Karen Steinbrenner, Dale H. Bent, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, Second Edition, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975).

[3]Andrew Hacker, Editor, U/S; A Statistical Portrait of the American People (New York: Viking Press, 1983), p. 251.

[4]Ibid., p. 31 My purpose here is to show how close each group of officers are to their national median, not to compare means with medians.

[5]Ibid., p. 266.

[6]In the 1980 Census, blacks were overrepresented in the lowest occupational classes. The black officers' fathers were somewhat better off than blacks overall. Ibid., pp. 128-129.

[7]Ibid., pp. 89 and 101.

[8]David H. Bayley and Harold Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police; Confrontation in America (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 3-6.

[9]Eugene J. Watts, "St. Louis Police Recruitment," Tables VII, IX, XII, XV, XVII and XVIII.

[10]Rita M. Kelly and Gordon West, Jr. "The Racial Transition of A Police Force: A Profile of White and Black Policemen in Washington, D.C.," In John R. and Homa Snibbe, The Urban Policeman in Transition; A Psychological and Sociological Review (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1973), pp. 361-373.

[11]Brown and Beard, Attitudes and Perceptions of Black Police Officers of the District of Columbia, pp. 13-19.

[12]Mays, "An Exploratory Dichotomy of the Black Policeman," p. 32.

[13]Wubnig, "Black Police Attitudes in the New York City Police Department," pp. 98-109.

Chapter V

Issues in Modern Law Enforcement:
Police Careers and the Attitudes of the Sample

This is a damn good white man's job.[1]

We now examine the crucial issues of how race affects the police careers and attitudes of police officers. We have seen that race was not an important variable in determining the background characteristics of the police officers in this sample. We also know, however, that the racial background of police officers has become a key issue in appointments and assignments in American police departments. The author demonstrated in chapters II and III that race has always been an important issue in American law enforçement. Our purpose here is to determine if race continues as an important factor in American policing by analyzing the police careers of each racial group in the sample and their responses to a variety of attitudinal questions.

To analyze the police careers of the officers in the sample the author asked each officer to respond to a number of questions on the survey questionnaire concerning their appointment and assignments. The author asked the officers to respond to questions about why they joined the police force and who or what influence their decision to

become police officers. In addition, the officers responded to questions about the nature of their assignments on the job and the racial areas in which they had worked. The officers' responses revealed continuing patterns of race affecting their lives and career.

Most of the officers in the sample entered police work for economic or job security reasons. The author coded the officers' responses to the question, "what was your most important reason for joining the police department," into six nominal categories. The job security category (table 5.0) includes 55% of the blacks, 44% of the whites and one-half of the Hispanics. This category included the following responses:

> "I wanted to change occupations to get more money."
>
> "I liked the security and good pay."
>
> "I joined for more money, security and retirement benefits."
>
> "I was out of work and needed a good-paying job."
>
> "It was a better and secure job."[2]

The officers in this category clearly entered police work for the steady pay and job security. Their motives correspond to those of the black officers in New York City who Nicholas Alex categorized as civil service-oriented police officers.[3] Similarly, those officers entered police work because of the stability and security offered by civil service jobs.

Two other variables reveal the economic motives of the officers in entering police work. The majority of the officers entered police

Table 5.0

Most Important Reason for Joining Police Force By Race

Reason	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Job Security	55.1%	44%	6(#)	1
Police Career-oriented	11.0	21	1	--
Community service	18.6	19	3	--
Adventure	1.7	4	1	--
Challenge	2.5	3	--	--
Other	10.2	9	1	--
No reason	0.8	--	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

work to improve their social status. In table 5.1, 64% of the blacks, 54% of the whites and seven of the Hispanics felt that they had made "a step up the social ladder" when they became police officers. Concurrently, the majority of all the officers in the sample felt that police work compared favorably with other occupations in the money and prestige that it provided them. In table 5.2, 48% of the blacks, 36% of the whites and one-half of the Hispanics rated police work above average or higher as an occupation.

Although the job security category included most of the officers in the sample, the officers cited two other important reasons for becoming police officers. White officers, who were the lowest group in the job security category, tended to have entered police work for career aspirations more than blacks and Hispanics. Twice as many whites (21%) gave reasons for entering police work along career lines than blacks (11%). Only one Hispanic officer entered police work for this reason. The officers in this category gave the following responses to the question:

> "I have wanted to be a police officer since second grade."
>
> "I was raised in a police family."
>
> "I wanted to be a police officer all my life."
>
> "It was my impression that policemen were an elite group and I wanted to be a part of that group."
>
> "A different job in line with my college degree, a B.S. in Criminal Justice."
>
> "The pride of the men in blue."[4]

The officers in this category correspond directly with Alex's New York officers who entered police work because of its attractiveness

Table 5.1

Change In Social Status As A Result of Police Career By Race

Status	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
A Step Up	63.6%	54%	7(#)	1
Staying the Same	31.4	44	4	--
A Step Down	2.5	1	1	--
Undecided Then	2.5	1	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.2

Rating of Police Work By Race

Rating	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Very High	9.3%	4%	1(#)	--
High	10.2	9	1	--
Above Average	28.8	23	4	--
Average	30.5	36	4	--
Below Average	13.6	15	1	1
Low	3.4	7	1	--
Very Low	4.2	5	--	--
No Response	--	1	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

as a career to them.[5] The data also indicate that whites are more likely to pursue police work as a career than blacks.

An equal number of blacks (18.6%) and whites (19%) stated that they entered police work to provide service to their communities. Three Hispanic officers also gave responses that fit into this category. A sample of the responses coded into this category included:

> "I had a commitment to public service."
>
> "I wanted a career with the opportunity to be a useful citizen and have diversified duties.
>
> I hoped that I could have some impact on how members of my ethnic group were generally treated by police."
>
> "I joined to reduce the abuse of citizens in the black community."
>
> "(I joined) to help people, especially the large Cuban community."[6]

The latter responses provide evidence that many minority officers entered police work to serve their own ethnic communities.[7] But the data also show that just as many white officers entered police work for the same reason. The feeling of a special mission to serve the community is not limited to black or Hispanic officers -- an argument made by many black police orgnaizations.[8]

Overall, blacks and whites did not vary much in the reasons that they gave for becoming police officers. For all groups the job of police officer was primarily an attempt to improve their economic standing and to acquire permanent, steady employment. Whites had less economic need for the job and more of them saw the job in terms

of a career. Neither group varied much from the findings of previous researchers on this particular issue.[9]

The officers in the sample also believed that they obtained their police jobs through their own merit. They discounted the importance of police recruitment programs, patronage and having friends or relatives on the force. In table 5.3, the officers indicated that police recruitment programs were not important in their decisions to become police officers. Moreover, 43.2% of the blacks, 30% of the whites and one-half of the Hispanics stated that their departments did not have recruitment programs when they joined their departments. Approximately one-half of the officers felt that no one had any influence in securing police positions when they became police officers (table 5.4). A small percentage of black (17%) and white (22%) officers felt that having friends on the police force assisted in obtaining police jobs. While one-fifth of both black and white officers believed that politicians still used police jobs as patronage when they became police officers. The majority of the officers had no relatives in police work and thus could not use relatives as a source of influence in acquiring police jobs (table 5.5).[10]

All of the officers in the sample had to pass the selection procedure to become police officers. The selection procedure varied from city to city, but certain elements of the selection process were common nationally. To screen applicants for the police department, the police administrators or civil service examiners used some type of civil service examination, a physical examination, a background

Table 5.2

Importance of Recruitment Program By Race

Importance	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Very Important	12.7%	8%	3(#)	--
Somewhat Important	13.6	17	3	--
Not Important	30.5	45	--	1
No Program	43.2	30	6	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.4

Individuals Influential in Securing Police Appointments by Race

Influential Individuals	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Politicians	19.5%	20%	1(#)	--
Businessmen	1.7	3	1	--
Friends on Force	16.9	22	3	1
Civic Leaders	5.1	--	1	--
Others	5.9	1	--	--
No One	47.5	52	6	--
No Response	3.4	2	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.5

Number of Relatives in Police Work By Race

Number	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
None	62.7%	65%	8(#)	1
One	22.0	23	4	--
Two	8.5	9	--	--
Three	4.2	1	--	--
Four	1.7	1	--	--
Five or more	0.8	1	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

investigation and an oral interview. Some police examiners also used a polygraph test.[11]

Black police officers and other community groups, such as the NAACP, have charged that these screening measures discriminated against black candidates. The author described in chapter 11 how some police recruiters have used the physical examination to eliminate black candidates from consideration for police jobs. The officers in this sample had few problems with the selection process. Table 5.6 displays the five areas of the selection process in which the officers could have had difficulty. Seventy-two percent of the blacks, 86% of the whites and eight of the Hispanics had no difficulty with the selection process. In the areas that have usually eliminated black candidates, the civil service examination and the physical examination, blacks had more problems than whites, but only a few blacks in this sample had such problems.

Some researchers and police recruiters have also found that blacks do not pursue police careers because of the negative reaction of their family and friends to such careers. Allegedly, a black candidates's family and friends will discourage his or her participation in police work because of the negative perception of police in the black community.[12] In this sample, the reactions of black officers' family and friends compared favorably to those of white officers' family and friends. In table 5.7, black officers (40%) had slightly more spouses who were favorable to their becoming police officers than white officers (34%). In table 5.8, white officers (59%) had more parents favorable to their police careers

Table 5.6

Difficulty With the Selection Procedure By Race

Area of Difficulty	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
No Difficulty	72%	86%	8(#)	1
Physical Exam	9.3	4	--	--
Civil Service Exam	7.6	1	--	--
Polygraph	1.7	5	2	--
Background Investigation	5.1	3	--	--
Oral Interview	4.2	--	2	--
Other	--	1	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.7

Spouse's Reaction to Police Career By Race

Reaction	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Very Favorable	11.0%	15%	2(#)	--
Favorable	29.7	19	4	-- --
Neutral	23.7	20	2	1
Unfavorable	5.1	7	--	--
Very Unfavorable	--	3	--	--
Single	30.5	36	4	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.8

Parents' Reaction to Police Career By Race

Reaction	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Very Favorable	19.5%	21%	1(#)	--
Favorable	29.7	38	5	1
Neutral	27.1	19	3	--
Unfavorable	12.7	10	1	--
Very Unfavorable	5.1	4	1	--
One Favorable, Other Unfavorable	0.8	6	1	--
Parents Deceased	5.1	2	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

than black officers (48%). A similar number of black (38%) and white (40%) officers had friends who were favorable to their police careers (table 5.9). Only a small percentage of the officers indicated that they had family and friends who were unfavorable to their police careers. More officers had spouses and parents who were neutral or indifferent and friends who gave them mixed reactions to their police careers.

All American police departments require that police recruits attend a police training academy before they begin their jobs as police officers. Police training covers a number of areas such as criminal law, the usage of firearms, emergency procedures and general police procedures. The training that officers receive varies throughout the United States, but it is designed to equip officers with the skills to handle a variety of situations.[13]

The author asked all of the officers in this sample to identify their perception of the most helpful area in the police academy. The officers indicated their preferences on the list of possible areas in table 5.10. The majority of the officers cited the training in the police academy on laws as the most helpful. They cited the training on police procedures as the second most helpful. The responses did not vary by race as all of the officers had a similar perception of the helpfulness of the police academy. Three black officers from Miami could not respond to this question because they entered the Miami department when that department prohibited black candidates from attending the police academy with white officers.[14]

Table 5.9

Close Friend's Reaction to Police Career By Race

Reaction	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Very Favorable	10.2%	5%	2	--
Favorable	28	35	7	--
Neutral	15.3	15	2	--
Mixed	40.7	38	1	1
Unfavorable	2.5	4	--	--
Very Unfavorable	3.4	2	--	--
No Response	--	1	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.10

Most Helpful Area in the Police Academy By Race

Area of Training	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Laws	49.2%	51%	7(#)	1
Police Procedures	29.7	34	4	--
Apprehension of Criminals	5.9	4	1	--
Firearms	2.5	2	--	--
Family Disputes	2.5	3	--	--
Community Relations	5.9	1	--	--
Other	1.7	5	--	--
No Academy	2.5	--	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

We now turn our attention to the police careers of the officers in the sample. As expected, most of the officers in the sample are police officers (or patrol officers), the lowest rank in the police hierarchy (table 5.11). The black officers in the sample have higher ranks than the whites and Hispanics; five blacks hold ranks above captain. Blacks have also served as police officers longer than the whites and Hispanics (table 5.12). Black officers had served an average of 11.9 years, while whites and Hispanics had served an average of 10.2 and 6.9 years, respectively. Neither of the variables reflect the real status of blacks in most American police departments. Blacks do not have a commensurate number of ranking officers with whites in any city; nor will their average tenure on the force exceed that of white officers.[15] The data on these two variables indicate that blacks from all ranks were more likely to complete the survey questionnaire than whites.

Black police officers have often complained that they do not have the opportunity to achieve promotions and tenure in their police departments because of their assignments. Many black police have charged that they always received the worst assignments, the worst shifts and the "shit details."[16] In Chapter II, the author described how black police were often assigned to police only other blacks and denied promotions and assignments in elite details such as homicide, burglary and traffic.

In this survey, the officers gave a listing of their first six assignments to determine if the assignments varied because of race. Tables 5.13, 5.14 and 5.15 outline the officers' first three

Table 5.11

Current Rank By Race

Rank	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Police Officer	55.9%	70%	8(#)	1
Detective/Inspector*	11.0	16	2	--
Sergeant	22.0	7	1	--
Lieutenant	5.1	4	1	--
Captain	1.7	3	--	--
Major/Commander	3.4	--	--	--
Deputy Chief	0.8	--	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

*In San Francisco, an Inspector is equivalent to a detective.

Table 5.12

Number of Years As A Police Officer By Race

# of Years	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
1 - 5	28.0%	30%	7(#)	--
6 - 10	22.0	30	2	1
11 - 15	19.5	22	2	--
16 - 20	14.4	8	1	--
21 - 25	9.3	8	--	--
26 - 30	5.9	2	--	--
No Response	0.8	--	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1
Average # of Years =	11.9	10.2	6.9	10

Table 5.13

First Duty Assignment By Race

Assignment	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Patrol	71.2%	81%	12(#)	--
Investigative	16.1	4	--	--
Administrative	--	2	--	--
Community Relations	3.4	5	--	1
Other	9.3	8	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.14

Second Duty Assignment By Race

Assignment	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Patrol	37.3%	44%	2	1
Investigative	33.9	24	5	--
Administrative	5.1	10	--	--
Community Relations	6.9	2	1	--
Other	10.2	16	4	--
None	6.8	4	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.15

Third Duty Assignment By Race

Assignment	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Patrol	24.6%	35%	6(#)	--
Investigative	21.2	13	--	1
Administrative	11.0	9	3	--
Community Relations	7.6	4	1	--
Other	6.8	9	--	--
None	28.8	30	2	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

assignments -- a negligible number of officers had more than three assignments. In table 5.13, black and white officers had some noticeable differences in their first assignments. The majority of all officers, black (71.2%), white (81.2%), and Hispanic (12), worked in patrol as their first assignment on the police force. The patrol assignment is a common one for first-year officers.[17] Sixteen percent of the blacks, however, were assigned to investigative assignments as opposed to only 4% of the whites. According to several black officers in the survey, black rookie police officers were often assigned as undercover officers in high crime areas or in "militant groups" because of their anonymity as new police officers.[18] None of the black officers had first assignments in administrative positions. Two percent of the white officers had first assignments in the administrative area, but it was not significant.

The officers did not have such variations in their second and third assignments. In tables 5.14 and 5.15, more officers, black and white, remained in patrol than any other assignment. But many had obtained second and third assignments in all of the other areas. Thirty-four percent of the blacks, 24% of the whites and five of the Hispanics had second assignments in the investigative areas. Whites (10%) still doubled the number of blacks (5.1%) in administrative assignments. By their third assignments the officers in the survey had no significant differences in their assignments because of race. Blacks (21.2%) still outnumbered whites (13%) in investigative

assignments, but blacks had achieved parity and actually outnumbered whites in administrative assignments 11% to 9%.

Corresponding to their variety of assignments, the black officers in this sample also worked in a cross-section of racial areas. That is, black police officers did not work exclusively in neighborhoods or communities inhabited primarily by black citizens. As table 5.16, 5.17 and 5.18 indicate, black and white officers worked equally in black and white areas for their first three assignments. No pattern emerged for either group of officers and the black officers in this survey were not subject to the policy of assigning only black police to black areas as cited in chapter II.

The author could not determine how the officers in the sample felt about working in the various racial areas cited above. The majority of the officers in the sample chose not to respond to questions about working in specific areas. For example, 74% of the blacks, 57% of the whites and half of the Hispanics had no choice or did not respond to the question about the "most difficult racial area in which to work" (table 5.19). More than half of the blacks, whites and Hispanics also gave "No Choice" answers or failed to respond to the questions about the "Easiest Racial Area" and the "Preferred Racial Area" (tables 5.20 and 5.21). Among the officers who did respond to these questions, blacks (15.3%), whites (30%) and Hispanics (4) cited the areas inhabited by blacks as the most difficult areas in which to work. Whites (21%) and Hispanics (3) felt that the areas inhabited predominantly by whites were the easiest areas in which to work. Ten percent of the black officers

Table 5.16

Predominant Racial Group in Area of First Assignment By Race

Racial Group	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Whites	39.8%	35%	5(#)	1
Blacks	40.7	34	5	--
Chicanos/ Puerto Ricans	--	1	--	--
Mixed	18.6	28	2	--
No Response	0.8	2	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.17

Predominant Racial Group in Area of Second Assignment By Race

Racial Group	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Whites	36.4%	34%	2(#)	1
Blacks	27.1	30	1	--
Chicanos/ Puerto Ricans	5.9	2	3	--
Mixed	22.0	28	5	--
Other	0.8	--	1	--
No Response	7.6	6	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.18

Predominant Racial Group in Area of Third Assignment By Race

Racial Group	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Whites	20.3%	24%	2(#)	1
Blacks	25.4	17	2	--
Chicanos/ Puerto Ricans	4.2	2	1	--
Mixed	23.7	30	1	--
Other	1.7	--	4	--
No Response	24.6	27	2	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.19

Most Difficult Racial Area to Work By Race

Racial Area	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
White	6.8%	7%	--	--
Black	15.3	30	4	--
Chicano/ Puerto Rican	1.7	3	--	--
Mixed	1.7	3	--	--
Other	0.8	1	2	--
No Choice	34.7	24	2	--
No Response	39	32	4	1
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.20

Easiest Racial Area to Work By Race

Racial Area	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
White	6.8%	21%	3(#)	--
Black	10.2	8	--	--
Chicano/ Puerto Rican	--	1	1	--
Mixed	7.6	5	--	--
Other	1.7	1	2	--
No Choice	25.4	19	2	--
No Response	48.3	45	4	1
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.21

Preferred Racial Area (in which to be Assigned) By Race

Racial Area	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
White	1.7%	14%	2(#)	--
Black	21.2	11	--	--
Chicano/ Puerto Rican	--	--	1	--
Mixed	11.0	9	--	--
Other	0.8	3	3	--
No Choice	20.3	18	1	--
No Response	44.9	45	5	1
	100.0%	100%	12	1

felt that the areas of their own race were the easiest. Among the small percentage of officers who responded to the question about the area that they preferred, all three groups, blacks, whites and Hispanics, preferred to work in the areas inhabited by their own racial group. Too few officers responded to these questions for these preferences to have any significance.

The officers in this sample did not indicate the same reluctance to respond to the attitudinal questions in the survey. The attitudinal section of the survey covers many of the issues confronted by police officers since the Kerner Report and the President's Task Force Report on police of 1967. Both reports cited police behavior as one of the central problems in racial unrest and law enforcement.[19] This section addresses such issues as minority hiring and deployment, the use of force and the impact of the Miranda ruling on police attitudes.

On some of the attitudinal questions race had very little impact on the officers' responses. All officers agreed on some issues regardless of their race. For example, in table 5.22, 95% of the black and white officers and all of the Hispanics agreed that the average police officer could handle most situations by using common sense. Similarly, in table 5.23, 89% of the white officers, 82% of the black officers and ten of the Hispanics agreed that advances in technology and police science have aided law enforcement. The general nature of these two issues made race an insignificant factor in the officers' responses.

In contrast, the officers disagreed along racial lines about the type of education and training needed for police work. Black and

Table 5.22

The Average Police Officer Can Handle Most Situations By Using Common Sense By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	61.9%	52%	7(#)	--
Agree	33.9	43	5	1
Neutral	0.8	2	--	--
Disagree	3.4	3	--	--
Strongly Disagree	--	--	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.23

Advances in Technology and Police Science Have Aided Law Enforcement by Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	31.4%	32%	5(#)	--
Agree	50.8	57	5	1
Neutral	12.7	9	2	--
Disagree	3.4	2	--	--
Strongly Disagree	1.7	--	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Hispanic officers favored a college education as improving the ability of an officer to do his job. In table 5.24, 61% of the black officers and one-half of the Hispanics agreed with the statement that "a college education improves the ability of a police officer to do his or her job." Only 44% of the white officers in the sample agreed with this statement and 38% of them actually disagreed. White officers were more inclined to agree with the statement in table 5.25 that "military experience is a better background than a college education for police work" than black officers. White officers split almost equally on agreeing (30%), being neutral (39%), and disagreeing (31%) with this statement. Five Hispanics agreed with the statement, but 52% of the black officers disagreed with the statement. The level of disagreement among black officers on this statement indicates two things: black officers generally have a better educational background than whites in law enforcement, and blacks have not adopted the anti-intellectualism generally associated with police work.[20] Moreover, the blacks who have achieved administrative positions in several American cities openly advocate college educations for police officers over the old standard of high school diplomas and military experience.[21]

Another issue that divided police officers along racial lines was the issue of police-community relations. Police-community relations became a vital part of American policing in the 1960s when many police departments were attempting to cope with the negative perception the American public had of police because of their role in demonstrations and because of the revelations of police corruption in

Table 5.24

A College Education Improves the Ability of An Officer To Do His Job By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	23.7%	10%	2(#)	--
Agree	37.3	34	4	1
Neutral	13.6	18	2	--
Disagree	19.5	28	3	--
Strongly Disagree	5.9	10	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.25

Military Experience Is A Better Background for Police Work Than College By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	3.4%	6%	1(#)	--
Agree	10.2	24	4	--
Neutral	33.9	39	3	--
Disagree	34.7	29	3	1
Strongly Disagree	17.8	2	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

many big-city police departments.[22] Many police administrators added community relations units to their departments to improve their relationships with the public and to resolve conflicts with minority citizens. Usually, police administrators assigned minority officers to community relations units. Many rank-and-file police officers opposed such units because such units allegedly distracted from the main mission of police: crime-fighting. By the late 1970s, many departments phased-out community relations units because the general mood of the country had shifted from an attempt to understand diverse cultures and lifestyles to one of taking a hard-line against criminals and crime. Many of the community relations units that remained after the 1970s were essentially "public relations units" that aggrandized the police and their crime prevention methods.[23]

The officers in this survey gave mixed responses to the statements concerning police-community relations. All officers agreed that the police were "more respected twenty years ago than today." In table 5.26, 59% of the blacks, 79% of the whites and nine of the Hispanics agreed with this statement. On the other hand, many of the officers felt that "the people in the community are supportive of the police." Table 5.27 shows that 54% of the blacks, 46% of the whites and seven of the Hispanics agreed with this statement. The attitudinal differences among the officers along racial lines became apparent when the officers responded to the statements about police-community relations training and police work being confined to law enforcement. A majority of both black (75%) and Hispanic officers (9) agreed with the statement in table 5.28 that

Table 5.26

Police Were More Respected Twenty Years Ago By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	24.6%	48%	5(#)	--
Agree	34.7	31	4	--
Neutral	13.6	7	2	--
Disagree	17.8	10	--	1
Strongly Disagree	9.3	4	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.27

The People in the Community Are Supportive of the Police By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	5.9%	3%	1(#)	--
Agree	48.3	43	6	--
Neutral	19.5	30	4	1
Disagree	25.4	17	1	--
Strongly Disagree	0.8	7	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.28

Police-community Relations Training Have Made Police Better Able to Handle A Variety of Citizens' Complaints By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	24.6%	9%	5(#)	--
Agree	50.0	32	4	1
Neutral	16.9	33	2	--
Disagree	7.6	21	--	--
Strongly Disagree	0.8	5	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

"police-community relations training has made police better able to handle a variety of citizens' complaints." Forty-one percent of the white officers agreed with the statement, but 26% disagreed -- four times as many as the blacks who disagreed with the statement. Whites also agreed with the statement in table 5.29 that "police work should be confined to law enforcement; community-relations and other social problems should be left to social workers." Forty-one percent of the white officers agreed with the statement,while 76% of the blacks and eight of the Hispanics disagreed with it. Overall, 44% of the whites also disagreed with the statement and their responses were split virtually between agreement and disagreement. The data show, however, that blacks and Hispanics are more likely to favor community relations programs that address the needs of the people that they serve. Other authors have had similar findings.[24]

The attitude of the officers toward the issue of civil rights proved even more divisive than police-community relations. The police have blamed the revolution in civil rights of the 1960s, particularly the Miranda and Mapp rulings, as seriously hindering their ability to enforce the law, obtain convictions, and in general, do their jobs. These rulings required the police to respect the constitutional rights of all citizens, curtail the use of third degree tactics, and limit their use of evidence obtained illegally.[25] In general, police officers have resented these restrictions on their powers and some of the white officers expressed their resentment in this survey.

Table 5.29

Police Work Should Be Confined to Law Enforcement By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	6.8%	18%	2(#)	--
Agree	10.2	23	2	--
Neutral	6.8	15	--	--
Disagree	35.6	37	4	1
Strongly Disagree	40.7	7	4	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Of the five statements on civil rights issues in this survey, the officers split along racial lines on three of them. Forty-six percent of white officers agreed with the statement in table 5.30 that "the decisions of the Warren Court in the area of civil rights seriously hampered the ability of police to enforce the law." Only 28% disagreed. Conversely, 66% of black officers disagreed with the statement. More Hispanics were in the neutral category than any other. All three groups of officers agreed that "a police officer should protect the constitutional rights of a suspect at all times" and "a police officer should only use his nightstick after all other methods fail." Tables 5.31 and 5.32 show that 50% or better of all officers agreed to these basic rights for suspects. The white and Hispanic officers in the survey, however, contradicted their previous responses when the majority of them agreed to the statement in table 5.33 that "the way to decrease and control crime in American cities is to give the police the authority and leniency to do what is necessary to handle it." Sixty-one percent of the white officers and nine of the Hispanics agreed to this broad concession of police power over the civil rights of individual citizens. The black officers indicated a different attitude toward this statement as 64% of them disagreed with this broad concession of police powers. Finally, both white and Hispanic officers felt that civilians should not exert any control over police practices as 75% of the whites and eight of the Hispanics agreed to the statement in table 5.34 that "a civilian review board would infringe upon an officer's ability to do his job." Black officers split over this issue; about 40% agreed with it and

Table 5.30

The Warren Court Hampered the Ability of the Police to Enforce the Law By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	1.7%	20%	--(#)	--
Agree	7.6	26	4	1
Neutral	24.6	26	5	--
Disagree	39.8	24	1	--
Strongly Disagree	26.3	4	2	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.31

A Police Officer Should Protect the Constitutional Rights of A Suspect at All Times By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	42.4%	21%	3(#)	--
Agree	51.7	61	7	1
Neutral	2.5	9	1	--
Disagree	3.4	8	0	--
Strongly Disagree	--	1	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.32

A Police Officer Should Only Use His Nightstick After Other Methods Fail By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	21.2%	19%	1(#)	--
Agree	38.1	45	5	--
Neutral	11	10	3	--
Disagree	24.6	18	3	--
Strongly Disagree	5.1	8	--	1
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.33

Give Police the Authority and Leniency to Decrease and Control Crime By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	3.4%	21%	5(#)	--
Agree	16.9	40	4	--
Neutral	15.3	7	1	--
Disagree	38.1	25	--	--
Strongly Disagree	26.3	7	2	1
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.34

A Civilian Review Board Would Infringe Upon a Police Officer's Ability to Do His Job By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	16.1%	44%	4(#)	--
Agree	23.7	31	4	1
Neutral	18.6	10	1	--
Disagree	28.8	13	2	--
Strongly Disagree	12.7	2	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

42% disagreed with it. Overall, black officers disagreed with the contention that the police have been hampered by the extension of civil rights and that the police needed a broad extension of their power to control crime without civilian review.

Affirmative action in hiring and promotions in American police departments has also become an important issue of contention among police officers of all races. As this dissertation has described, American police departments systematically discriminated against blacks throughout the history of American policing -- just as in other areas of American life. Beginning in the 1960s and early 1970s, many black police officers through their police organizations filed suits against their police departments seeking redress of past discrimination in hiring and promotions. Black police officers won many of these suits.[26] Thus, the courts ordered many police departments to sign consent decrees which set goals and timetables for the hiring and promotion of minority officers. Often such decrees mandated that a department hire or promote a black officer for every white officer hired or promoted until the department reached a certain goal or percentage of minority officers or promotions.[27] These decrees have aroused the resentment and hostility of white police officers and police organizations such as the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and the Police Benevolent Associations (PBA). White officers and these police organizations, in turn, have filed counter-suits to overturn the consent decrees.[28] All of the suits and counter-suits have caused a great deal of strife

and conflict in American police departments over the issue of affirmative action.

The officers' responses to the survey questions on affirmative action reflect the deep divisions in American police departments caused by this issue. White officers contend that affirmative action has forced police departments to hire and promote unqualified minorities who have lowered the professional standards of police work. In tables 5.35 and 5.36, whites disagreed overwhelmingly with the statements that "standards for appointments to the department have remained high" and "promotions in the department are always based on merit." Seventy-seven percent of white officers disagreed with the first statement and 85% of them disagreed with the second statement. Forty-nine percent of the black officers agreed with the first statement, but more than 85% of black officers concurred with white officers about promotions in their departments. Hispanics split on the first statement, but concurred with the other two groups on the second. White officers expressed their strongest reaction and resentment to the issue of affirmative action in table 5.37 by creating their own category to the statement that "minority group members and women have an equal opportunity for appointment and advancement in the department." White officers agreed by 75% with this statement, but another 11% wrote in their own category that blacks and women had a "more than equal" opportunity for appointment and advancement. By contrast, 64% of black officers disagreed with this statement. Hispanics split their responses equally with five in agreement and five in disagreement; two were neutral.

Table 5.35

Standards For Appointment to the Department Have Remained High By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	17.8%	6%	2(#)	--
Agree	31.4	7	1	--
Neutral	20.3	10	4	--
Disagree	23.7	26	3	--
Strongly Disagree	6.8	51	2	1
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.36

Promotions in the Department Are Always Based on Merit By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	--	3%	1(#)	--
Agree	5.9%	6	--	--
Neutral	8.5	6	3	--
Disagree	44.1	26	3	--
Strongly Disagree	41.5	59	5	1
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.37

Minority Group Members and Women Have An Equal Opportunity For Appointment and Advancement in the Department By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	4.2%	31%	3(#)	--
Agree	22.0	44	2	--
Neutral	10.2	4	2	--
Disagree	29.7	5	3	--
Strongly Disagree	33.9	5	2	--
More Than Equal*	--	11	--	1
	100.0%	100%	12	1

*These officers wrote in this category.

In addition to their open hostility to affirmative action, some white officers have charged that the policy of affirmative action has forced police departments to hire blacks from "militant groups."[29] In table 5.38, the white officers in this survey split their responses on the statement that "enforcement of affirmative action in hiring has forced the department to appoint some minority group members who formerly belonged to militant organizations." Thirty-four percent of white officers agreed with this statement, 34% disagreed and 32% were neutral. Seventy-one percent of the black officers and five of the Hispanics disagreed with this statement.

The disagreements between black and white officers in this survey over affirmative action exemplify the dominant factor of race in American policing. As this dissertation has shown in chapters II and III, race has become the key issue in American policing. Black citizens have charged American police departments with racism for failing to hire blacks, for assigning black police exclusively to areas inhabited by blacks, and for failing to promote black police on an equal basis with white police. The racial composition of the police has become even more important as blacks have achieved political ascendancy in cities such as Atlanta, Chicago, Newark, Washington, D.C. and Detroit. In each of these cities where blacks have helped to elect black mayors and control the balance of political power, a black has become police chief or police commissioner.[30] These changes in who controls the police have not occurred without some bitterness and backlash from white police officers. Ironically, white police officers have asserted that the

Table 5.38

Affirmative Action Has Forced the Department to Hire Members of Militant Groups By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	--	14%	--(#)	--
Agree	11%	20	2	--
Neutral	17.8	32	5	--
Disagree	35.6	26	5	1
Strongly Disagree	35.6	8	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

race of an officer has no impact or importance in law enforcement. As with affirmative action, white officers have taken their arguments to court to challenge the consideration of race in law enforcement policies and practices.[31]

Despite the disagreements over affirmative action, the black and white officers in this survey had some agreement over the issue of race in police work. The majority of all officers agreed with the statement in table 5.39 that "the race of a police officer does not determine how well he will do his job."[32] Seventy-five percent of the blacks, 71% of the whites and one-half of the Hispanics agreed with this statement. White officers also concurred with black and Hispanic officers in disagreeing with the statement in table 5.40 that "only black police officers should be assigned to patrol black neighborhoods." Ninety percent of the blacks, 89% of the whites and nine of the Hispanics disagreed with this statement. These were the only two statements on race upon which the officers concurred.

The white police officers in the sample would not concede any special law enforcement advantage to black officers in the areas and neighborhoods inhabited by black citizens. In table 5.41, 74% of white police officers disagreed with the statement that "a black officer can handle a law enforcement problem in black neighborhoods better than other officers." Forty-one percent of black officers and one-half of the Hispanic officers agreed with this statement. White and black officers disagreed with the statement in table 5.42 that "most police officers prefer 'salt and pepper' teams in predominantly black neighborhoods." Seventy percent of whites and 65% of blacks

Table 5.39

The Race of A Police Officer Does Not Determine How Well He Will Do His Job By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	51.7%	32%	5(#)	1
Agree	24.6	39	1	--
Neutral	11.9	9	2	--
Disagree	9.3	16	3	--
Strongly Disagree	2.5	4	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.40

Only Black Police Should Patrol Black Neighborhoods By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	1.7%	--	--(#)	--
Agree	1.7	5%	2	--
Neutral	6.8	6	1	--
Disagree	43.2	41	3	1
Strongly Disagree	46.6	48	6	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.41

A Black Officer Can Handle A Law Enforcement Problem in Black Neighborhoods Better than Other Officers By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	6.8%	1%	3(#)	--
Agree	34.7	10	3	--
Neutral	33.1	15	1	--
Disagree	23.7	51	3	1
Strongly Disagree	1.7	23	2	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.42

Most Police Prefer "Salt and Pepper" Teams in Predominantly Black Neighborhoods By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	0.8%	1%	--(#)	--
Agree	5.9	6	2	--
Neutral	28.0	23	5	--
Disagree	51.7	53	4	1
Strongly Disagree	13.6	17	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

disagreed with the statement. In fact, neither black nor white officers accepted the premise that mixed patrol cars were more effective in black areas. In table 5.43, 49% of whites and 42% of blacks disagreed with the premise. From the data the author could not determine if the officers opposed working with a partner of a different race or if it just did not matter who worked together in a black area.

The officers contradicted their attitudes above on the issue of race when they responded to the statement in table 5.44. While they have tended to downplay race as a factor in policing, the majority of them agreed to the statement that "the police should reflect the people in the community that they police." Fifty percent of the whites, 64% of the blacks and nine of the Hispanics accepted a statement which meant that black police should work in black communities, whites in white communities and Hispanics in Hispanic communities. They have essentially aligned themselves with many black citizens, civic groups and black police organizations who contend that black communities should have police reflecting the make-up of the people in the community. Again, the data provide no explanation for this contradiction among the officers in the survey.

White officers also conceded that black police had a special role in one area of law enforcement: infiltrating and spying on so-called black militant organizations. In table 5.45, 66% of white officers agreed that "black police should work undercover in 'Black Militant' organizations." Eight of the Hispanic officers also agreed with this

Table 5.43

Mixed Cars Are More Effective In Handling Law Enforcement Problems In Predominantly Black Areas By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	10.2%	2%	1(#)	--
Agree	19.5	19	4	--
Neutral	28.8	30	4	--
Disagree	26.3	39	2	1
Strongly Disagree	15.3	10	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.44

The Police Should Reflect the People In the Community That They Police By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	27.1%	11%	2(#)	1
Agree	37.3	39	7	--
Neutral	20.3	25	2	--
Disagree	11.9	23	1	--
Strongly Disagree	3.4	2	0	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

Table 5.45

Black Police Should Be Willing To Work Undercover In "Black Militant" Organizations By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	, 4.2%	12%	2(#)	--
Agree	28.0	54	6	--
Neutral	35.6	26	2	--
Disagree	22.0	7	1	1
Strongly Disagree	10.2	1	1	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

statement. Black officers split on this issue; 32% agreed and 32% disagreed over this type of spying role for themselves.

The purpose of black police organizations did not elicit significant differences among the officers in the sample. From their responses in table 5.46, many white officers did not know the purpose of black police organizations. Forty-six percent of them responded in the Neutral category to the statement, "Black police ogranizations want the same considerations and benefits accorded the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and the Police Benevolent Association (PBA)." Among those white officers who chose an opinion on the issue of black police ogranizations, 37% agreed that the organizations wanted the same benefits as the FOP and PBA. The responses of white officers, however, did not match the 80% agreement that black officers had on this issue.

Overall, this attitudinal survey has shown that black and white police disagree more over controversial issues. The officers could agree on neutral issues such as how technology has improved police work and how the public perceived police officers. The officers divided along racial lines on such issues as civil rights, affirmative action, the deployment of black officers in black areas, and what type of education and training police should have to do a more effective job. Even though the officers discounted race as a factor in policing, their attitudes in this survey substantiated the charges of many blacks that police officers of different races bring a different set of values to the job. In this case, the black officers had values that were more progressive and

Table 5.46

Black Police Organizations Want the Same Considerations and Benefits Accorded the FOP and PBA By Race

Attitude	Race			
	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American
Strongly Agree	43.2%	4%	2(#)	--
Agree	36.4	33	5	--
Neutral	18.6	46	4	--
Disagree	1.7	9	1	1
Strongly Disagree	--	9	--	--
	100.0%	100%	12	1

community-oriented; while the whites had values that were more conservative and police-oriented. The whites' values reflected the "we against them" attitude.

Chapter V
Footnotes

[1]Quote from a personal interview with Commander Homer F. Broome, Los Angeles Police Department, Los Angeles, California, November 30, 1977.

[2]Quotes from police officers' survey questionnaires from Cleveland, San Francisco, Columbus, Ohio, Atlanta, Los Angeles and Miami, respectively.

[3]Alex, Black in Blue, pp. 35-46.

[4]Quotes from police officers' survey questionnaires from Houston, St. Louis, Miami (2), Atlanta and Columbus, respectively.

[5]Alex, Black in Blue, pp. 46-51.

[6]Quotes from police officers' survey questionnaires from Los Angeles, Columbus, San Francisco, Cleveland and Miami, respectively.

[7]Alex, Black in Blue, pp. 141 and 209; Tilmon B. O'Bryant, "The Role of Black Police Officers," in Lee P. Brown, Editor, The Administration of Criminal Justice: A View From Black America, pp. 8-11; Lee P. Brown, The Death of Police-Community Relations, pp. 32-35; and Michael Wubnig, "Black Police Attitudes in the New York City Police Department," pp. 122-123.

[8]Renault A. Robinson, "Black Police: A Positive Means for Social Change," and Richard Bolden, "The Black Guardians," passim.

[9]Alex, Black in Blue; Nicholas Alex, New York Cops Talk Back: A Study of A Beleaguered Minority (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1976), pp. 9-26; James Q. Wilson, "Generational and Ethnic Differences Among Career Police Officers," American Journal of Sociology, LXIX (March, 1964), pp. 522-528; and Wubnig, "Black Police Attitudes in the New York City Police Department," pp. 66-67 and 110-115.

[10]In his 1964 study, "Generational and Ethnic Differences Among Career Police Officers," Wilson discussed the traditional methods of using patronage and relatives on the police force to obtain police jobs.

[11]Wubnig, "Black Police Attitudes," pp. 24-27 and Margolis, Who Will Wear The Badge, pp. 7-14.

[12]Dulaney, "Black and Blue in America," Chapter III; Earl Burden, Chief of Police, Columbus, Ohio, "Position Statement on Minority Recruiting," Columbus: April 30, 1973; and Alex, Black in Blue, pp. 25-32 and 133-141.

[13]Columbus, Ohio, Division of Police, Syllabus of the Cadet Program (Columbus, undated) and City of Atlanta, Bureau of Police Services, "Police Training Course," (Atlanta, Georgia, 1977).

[14]David H. Cohn, "The Development and Efficacy of the Negro Police Precinct and Court of the City of Miami," (Master's Thesis, University of Miami, 1951), pp. 27-29; Interviews with George Adams and Otis Davis, Miami, Florida, October 21 and 30, 1977; and Al Neubarth, "Negro Police Are Untrained," Miami Herald, June 26, 1955. Blacks could not attend the police academy in Miami until 1962.

[15]Samuel Walker, The Police in America: An Introduction (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983, p. 216; Walter Leavy, "Hail to the Chiefs," Ebony, November, 1982, pp. 115-120; and Walter Leavy, "The Cream of the Cops: Blacks Head Biggest Police Departments," Ebony, July, 1984, pp. 132-138.

[16]Interview with Wilbert K. Battle, Prentice Sanders and Jesse Byrd in San Francisco, December 18, 1977; Interviews with George Adams and Otis Davis in Miami, October 21 and 30, 1977; Alex, Black in Blue, pp. 104-113; Hilda Inclan, "White Cops End Bid On Promotions," Miami News, January 30, 1974; and Terry Link, "Black and White in Blue," San Francisco Magazine, June, 1970, pp. 16-18, 34.

[17]For an excellent historical analysis of police assignments in St. Louis, see Eugene J. Watts, "Continuity and Change in Police Careers: A Case Study of the St. Louis Police Department," Journal of Police Science and Administration, XI (June, 1983), pp. 217-224.

[18]Interview with Wilbert Battle, San Francisco, December 18, 1977; Alex, Black in Blue, p. 18; and Police Officers for Equal Rights Vs. The City of Columbus et al., C-2-78-394, Pretrial Brief, August 16, 1983, p. 89.

[19]Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: The Police (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), passim.

[20]See table 4.3, page 109 in chapter IV to compare the educational levels of the officers in the sample. See Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield; Robert Coles, "A Policeman Complains," The New York Times Magazine, June 13, 1971, pp. 11, 73-75, 78; and Robert Conot, American Odyssey, p. 415 for anti-intellectualism among police.

[21]Lee P. Brown, "New Directions in Law Enforcement," In Brown and Gary, Crime and Its Impact on the Black Community, pp. 145, 149; Walter Leavy, "Hail to the Chiefs," pp. 115-120; and Julie Lewin, "Future Cops," Parade Magazine, March 21, 1982, pp. 4-5.

[22]Brown, The Death of Police-Community Relations, pp. 4-17 and Alex, New York Cops Talk Back, pp. 87-111.

[23]Brown, The Death of Police-Community Relations, p. 20-22 and Ben Holman, "Community Relations Units in Police Departments," In Bryce, Black Crime, p. 91.

[24]Alex, Black in Blue, pp. 166-170; Brown, The Death of Police-Community Relations, pp. 36-46; and Ben Holman, "Community Relations Units," pp. 95-107.

[25]Samuel Walker, A Critical History of Police Reform, p. 16, points out that the demand made by blacks and other groups for increased civil rights represented their rising expectations in the 1960s.

[26]McClory, The Man Who Beat Clout City; Assistant Attorney General Drew S. Days, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Speech before the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE), Atlanta, Georgia, June 12, 1977, transcript; some of the cases that black police officers have won include: The United States of America vs. The City of Miami, Florida, 75-3096-CIV-JE, U.S. District Court, Southern Florida; Officers for Justice et al. vs. the Civil Service Commission et al., C-73--0657, U.S. District Court for Northern California; and The Shield Club et al. vs. The City of Cleveland et al., C72-1088, U.S. District Court Northern Ohio.

[27]Steve Rodgers, "Negro Police May Get Rank Without Tests," Miami Herald, March 29, 1966; Bill Rose, "Black Cops May Get Promotion Priority," Miami Herald, July 13, 1977; Jerry Kuet, "Chief Garey Says He'll Quit If Ruling Stands," Cleveland Press, October 1, 1976; "Mayor Perk Orders Hiring of 53 New Policemen," Cleveland Plain Dealer, December 14, 1976; "No Quotas for LAPD," Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, May 17, 1976, and "Police Hiring Quotas," Editorial, Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, June 9, 1976.

[28]Reg Murphy, "They Will Not Take Over Atlanta!," Atlanta Constitution, February 28, 1973; "Police Race Quota Attacked By Board," Atlanta Journal, June 27, 1973; and Frederick Allen, "Racial Hiring Ban Is Issued," Atlanta Constitution, March 13, 1976.

[29]Alex, New York Cops Talk Back, pp. 163-173.

[30]Leavy, "Hail to the Chiefs;" Walter Leavy, "Can Black Mayors Stop Crime?," Ebony December, 1983, pp. 116-122; and "Baltimore Gets First Black Police Commissioner," Jet, July 9, 1984. The following major American cities have black police chiefs or commissioners: Atlanta, Dayton, Ohio, Detroit, Baltimore, Houston, Newark, New York, Chicago and Washington, D.C.

[31]Larry E. Moss, Black Political Ascendancy in Urban Centers and Black Control of the Local Police Function, pp. 21-30 and 60-83; Edward D. Williams, The First Black Captain, pp. 96-98; and "Detroit Warned Against Police Layoffs," Dallas Morning News, April 17, 1980.

[32]Ironically, throughout the history of American policing white police officers have maintained that blacks -- just because of their race -- did not make good police officers. In Albert J. Reiss, The Police and the Public (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 35-36, two Detroit white officers explicitly demeaned the ability of blacks as police officers on the basis of their race. Now, the pendulum seems to have swung 180 degrees and all officers are downplaying the importance of race in policing. For a supportive view, see Rick Hampson, "Black Police Chiefs Say Performance, Not Race, Important," Dallas Morning News, December 22, 1983.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

The long history of racial discrimination in American policing accounts for some of the divisions among black and white police officers cited in chapter V. As we have seen throughout this dissertation blacks have had to struggle to acquire police positions and to achieve a status equal to that of whites in American police forces. The struggle of black police has had some success. Black police have significantly improved their past status of "negro specials" and "colored police brigades." Black police have become a force in American policing.

In one sense, the status of black police officers in American police forces has reflected the status of blacks in American society. As blacks in general achieved more integration into the fabric of American life, black police achieved more integration in American police departments. The regional differences for black police in the South and North before 1950 illustrated this point. As we have seen, blacks obtained police positions in most of the larger, urban cities of the North in the early twentieth century. The northern cities, in general, had a better racial climate for black Americans. In the South, the opposite situation existed. Not only did the southern states segregate black Americans in all aspects of their lives, but

very few southern police departments employed blacks on the police force before 1940. Gunnar Myrdal, in his monumental work on American race relations, noted in the 1940s that black police were in inverse relationship to the black population in the United States. That is, the southern states had the majority of the black population, but the northern states employed the majority of the black police.[1]

The struggle of black police for equality of treatment as police officers also reflected the struggle of black Americans. Similarly, black police have used some of the same tactics used by black Americans in general to integrate American society to gain equal opportunity in American police departments. One reason black police organizations such as the Afro-American Patrolman's League of Chicago adopted self determination and nationalist philosophies for black police was because other organizations among black Americans had adopted similar social and political stances. It was also no coincidence that black police sought redress of their grievances through legal action in the courts.

Despite the constant appeal by black Americans for police officers of their own race, the impact of black police on crime in black communities cannot be measured. Black Americans based their appeal for black police on the premise that black police would not only end police brutality, but black police would also decrease and control crime in the black community. No data has supported such a premise. One source has even attempted to prove that black police exercise more physical action against black citizens than white police.[2] Still, in the century-long appeal and push for black

police, many of the advocates for black police have claimed that black police reduced crime and provided better law enforcement to black citizens. The author has not found any data to support such a premise.[3]

Although the impact of black police on crime has been unmeasurable, black police have had a positive role in the black community. Black police have served as a source of community pride and advancement. Black police have served as role models for black youth. Most importantly, they have become involved in community activities and supported many black causes.[4] The latter activity has made them invaluable resources to public and social service groups in the black community. The involvement of black police in the black community has also enhanced their law enforcement role.[5]

Black police through their organizations have also become a source of police reform in American police departments. By challenging the racial policies and law enforcement practices of American police departments, black police have forced some major reforms on policing. Black police have achieved their most important reform in the police selection process. Most American police departments in major cities have validated their police selection exams to remove racial bias and to make the exams job-related. Police departments in most of the country have also eliminated the discriminatory physical requirements for blacks (such as the rule against flat feet) and refined the background investigation procedure to eliminate those portions of it that adversely affected blacks (such as the dropping of candidates from the selection process for

juvenile arrests). All of these changes have taken place because of the legal challenges by black police organizations and they represent significant reforms in the area of police selection.[6]

Black police have also reformed police behavior in the black community. Several black police organizations have set-up citizens' complaint mechanisms within their organizations to provide black citizens an opportunity to follow-up their complaints against the police.[7] In addition, black police have challenged the brutal procedures of other officers on the street which has often resulted in the confrontations between black and white officers cited in chapter III. Through the National Black Police Association, black police have advocated measures and policies to restrict the police use of deadly force and to reform the disproportionate number of blacks killed by the police.[8] With all of these measures and proposals black police have served notice to their departments that they would no longer tolerate the abuse of black citizens by other police officers.[9]

The reforms cited above and the black police movement in general have caused much of the current racial strife in American policing. The changes in selection procedures, training, community relations practices and promotional procedures supported by black police have split American police departments along racial lines. White police officers have charged that measures used to upgrade the status of black police have discriminated against whites and made race the main criteria for selection and advancement in American police departments. White police in several cities have filed suits

challenging "racially motivated" hirings and promotions.[10] As of this date, white police in one city have succeeded in removing race as a consideration in police layoffs.[11]

Overall, the 100 year-old battle over the racial composition of the police has distracted from law enforcement. The battle has politicized the police in a manner that the reformers of the past could never have imagined. Today's police reformers and administrators must find new ways to remove the police from politics (the politics of the police unions) and to solve the racial strife currently dividing many American police departments.

The author recommends the following potential reforms for police in the United States:

1. Police departments should have civilian administrators such as the Board of Police Commissioners in St. Louis. Under state control the St. Louis Board has the autonomy to make important decisions affecting the police selection process and innovative policing techniques such as team policing without the overriding influence of local politics.[12]
2. All police departments should provide opportunities for lateral entry. An officer who entered the Dayton, Ohio Police Department in 1970 with no police experience has risen to become chief of one of the most efficient departments in the country.[13]
3. Large, urban police departments should establish a new designation of "community service officers." Officers

in this designation would serve the community by handling domestic disputes and other non-crime police functions. These officers would not only improve the image of police in local communities, they would also legitimize functions that the police have always undertaken.[14]

4. The police should continue to upgrade the selection procedures and promotion standards introduced as a result of the various suits filed by black police organizations in the 1970s. With the institutionalization of fair hiring and promotional practices, the need for "quotas" and "goals and timetables" for the hiring of blacks as police officers will pass away.

5. Wherever possible, the police should hire police candidates from the community that the department serves in order to foster the notion among new police recruits that the police are "public servants." And, as such, have a stake in providing their own communities fair and impartial law enforcement.

None of these proposals are new. They represent the type of proposals that the author feels will begin to solve the racial strife in American police departments. While these proposals are not a panacea for solving all of the racial problems affecting American police departments, they offer some reasonable reforms to override

the consideration of race in American policing. The author hopes that the police will reach a point where officers will no longer wear "black shields" (or white shields), just police shields.

Chapter VI
Footnotes

[1]Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 543.

[2]James J. Fyffe, "Who Shoots? A Look At Officer Race and Police Shooting," Journal of Police Science and Administration, IX (December, 1981), pp. 367-382.

[3]The following sources have stated that black police reduced crime upon their appointment in several southern cities: James Ball, III, "A Study of Negro Policemen in Selected Florida Municipalities," (M.A. Thesis, Florida State University, 1954); Gunnar Myrdal, An America Dilemma, p. 544; Elliott M. Rudwick, "The Negro Policeman in the South," Journal of Law, Criminology and Police Science, LI (July-August, 1960), pp. 273-276; John H. McCray, "South Carolina Police Chief Praises Work of Negro Officers," New South, I (November 1946), pp. 3, 5; and Herbert Jenkins, Keeping the Peace, p. 31. Jenkins said that crime in Atlanta's black sections was reduced by 50% after the employment of black police officers. The statistics for the years 1947-1948 do not support this claim. See Atlanta Police Department, Annual Report 1946/1947 (Atlanta, 1947), p. 11 and Atlanta Police Department, Annual Report 1948, (Atlanta, 1949), pp. 8 and 22.

[4]James I. Alexander, Blue Coats: Black Skin, p. 83, discussed how the Guardians served as marshals at the 1968 Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C. and Richard L. Bolden, "The Black Guardians," pp. 65-76, discussed the voter registration activities of the Guardians in New York City.

[5]Bolden, Ibid.; Bill Shipp, "This Is A Model Police Unit," Atlanta Constitution, March 29, 1976; interview with Captain Johnny L. Sparks of Atlanta, August 10, 1977; interview with Robert Bowser, president of the Atlanta AAPL, August 4, 1977; and interview with Captain Gay Carraway, St. Louis, July 14, 1977.

[6]Bolden, "The Black Guardians," pp. 81-82; Alexander, Blue Coats: Black Skin, pp. 81-83; and "Test Includes 'Aluminum," Grin, Black Officers Suit Brings Out," Miami Herald, September 29, 1972.

[7]Bolden, Ibid., p. 66 and "Problems With the Police? Call Us," undated flyer in the AAPL Papers, Chicago.

[8]Lee P. Brown, "Police Use of Deadly Force," address to Sixth Annual Conference of the National Black Police Association, August 25, 1978, Chicago, Illinois.

[9]Robinson, "Black Police: A Positive Means of Social Change," and "Open Letter and Position Statement From the Community Police Benevolent Association," Miami, August, 1971, photocopy.

[10]Michael H. Sussman, "A Sorry Story: Reagan's Record of Civil Rights Retrenchment," The Crisis, XCI (April, 1984), pp. 28-37 and Steve Askin, "Reversal in Birmingham," Black Enterprise, July, 1984, p. 15.

[11]Jeanne M. Woods, "Municipal About Face," Black Enterprise, September, 1984, p. 15.

[12]"McNeal's Appointment Makes Shock Waves," St. Louis Sentinel, December 19, 1972; "Theodore McNeal Slated to Head Police Board," St. Louis Argus, December 20, 1972; "Standing Room-Only Crowd Pays Tribute to Col. McNeal," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, June 3, 1977; and personal interview with former St. Louis Board of Police Commissioners President (1973-1977) Theodore McNeal, St. Louis, Missouri, July 20, 1977. McNeal's appointment as the first black president of the St. Louis Board of Police Commissioners was, in itself, a political move. But, as police commissioner, McNeal, with the support of the other commissioners, was able to upgrade black police appointments, improve black police recruitment, monitor police abuse of citizens and innovate new ideas for law enforcement in St. Louis. He promoted more blacks above the rank of sergeant than any other police board in the history of the city. Plus, all of his appointments represented the unanimous decisions of the entire police board.

[13]Mary A. Sharkey, "Broomfield Promoted to No. 2 Post," Dayton Journal Herald, August 23, 1975, p. 21; Walter Leavy, "Hail to the Chiefs," pp. 115-120; and personal interview with Lt. Colonel Tyree Broomfield, Washington, D.C., June 17, 1977.

[14]Walker, A Critical History of Police Reform, pp. 79-103 and Eric H. Monkkonen, Police in Urban America: 1860-1920 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 64.

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APPENDIX A

IRA COOPER'S LETTER TO THE ST. LOUIS POLICE RELIEF ASSOCIATION

APPENDIX A

Following is the text of Ira Cooper's letter to the St. Louis Police Relief Association protesting the attempt to strip black members of the Association of their voting rights. It is printed just as the original.

City of St. Louis, May 25, 1924

To The Executive Committee of the St. Louis Relief Association

Sirs;-

Concerning application for membership to the St. Louis Relief Association. I respectfully submit the following statement which defines my position in this matter: - For nearly twenty years I have successfully conducted myself as a gentleman and as an efficient trustworthy officer giving entire satisfaction to the service. As to the question of my admission to membership to the Police Relief Association, I have been furnished with an amended application blank which would deny the right of protest in matters, perhaps of vital interest to me. In short you would place a gag in my mouth and handcuffs on my wrists. I cannot stultify the pride and manhood I possess nor can I humiliate my family and my friends by signing an instrument which sacrifices every vestage of my manhood and makes me a cringing craven thing unworthy of contact with men. I beg of you gentlemen, do not misunderstand my position; there is no desire on my part to become either a voter or official where custom forbids. At this time and perhaps for all time to come there will exist a barrier between the white and black races and it is not at all necessary that the question of color or the doctrine of inferiority be continually flaunted in the faces of the Negro people least they forget.

Every black officer should be possessed of the same pride and high ideals that stimulates and promotes the best efforts in white officers. The Board of Police Commissioners requires the same service courtesy and intelligence in Negro officers as it does in its white officers. They are held to the same degree of strict accountability as others in the service. In the great World's War black men were accepted as soldiers to fight, bleed and die in a common cause, they were accepted on the same insurance basis without

APPENDIX A (continued)

petty prejudices. Surely a great institution possessed of some 1400 members harbors no fear of twenty Negroes rising to a point of supremacy. Black men are possessed of the same pride as white men. They crave and ask only a square deal and no man should be satisfied with less nor should he be expected to give more.

In this small matter a great principle is involved, if the Relief Association will accept me to membership as a man I shall be very proud of my membership and the Association will not have cause to regret such action. But if I must crawl forward as a whipped cur at his master's bidding, then I most sincerely and respectfully decline the membership which would rob me of the standard of manhood which all men should possess and would make of me the object of ridicule of the Negro press of the land.

Very Respectfully,

Detective Sergeant Ira L. Cooper

Source: A copy of the above letter was presented to the author by James A. Taylor, retired Sergeant of the St. Louis Police Department (1921-1962).

APPENDIX B

NATIONAL BLACK POLICE ASSOCIATION FACT SHEET

Appendix B

NATIONAL BLACK POLICE ASSOCIATION

In November of 1972, the National Black Police Association was chartered as a not-for-profit corporation in the State of Illinois. At that time there were eleven Black Police associations which made up the N.B.P.A. The cities involved were: New York, New York; Newark, New Jersey; Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Denver, Colorado; New Orleans, Louisiana; Detroit, Michigan; and Chicago, Illinois.

The NBPA currently has 54 member associations in 22 States representing 35 major metropolitan areas. Individual members (members within member associations) total 15,000.

The National Black Police Association was established:

to improve the relationship between Police Departments as institutions and the Black community;

to evaluate the effects of the policies and programs within the criminal justice system on the Black community;

to establish a free and rapid flow of information through a national communications network;

to increase and enhance black police performance through shared experiences and education;

to act as a mechanism to recruit minority police officers on a national scale, and

to work toward a police reform in order to eliminate police corruption, brutality and racial discrimination.

The National Black Police Association has established five regions throughout the United States. This structure of regional breakdown provides the NBPA with its organizational interrelation (see attached regional plan of organization). Each region elects one regional chairman and four regional delegates and each region appoints a regional treasurer and a regional information officer. These elected and appointed officers represent all of the associations in their respective regions.

The organization is governed by a National Board of Directors. The Board of Directors consists of the five regional chairman and the twenty regional dele-

Appendix B

NATIONAL BLACK POLICE ASSOCIATION

FACT SHEET

FOUNDED: 1972

TYPE OF ORGANIZATION:

National Association of Black Police Organizations

54 local chapters
22 states
35 major metropolitan areas
15,000 members
5 Regions (each with a Regional Chairman and a Regional Board)

GOVERNED BY: National Board of Directors

Policy Making Body
25 Members
Elected and Appointed Officials

MEETINGS: 24 Regional Meetings Per Year

One Annual Convention

Annual Meeting Attendance: 1,000
Annual Meeting Stay: 5 days

Aug. 1973

APPENDIX C

POLICE OFFICER'S SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX C

POLICE OFFICER'S SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is an important part of a national research project comparing the backgrounds and attitudes of police officers in eleven American cities. It is designed to elicit responses that will measure the experiences of police officers who have faced the many issues of law enforcement in the last twenty years. The primary concern is race: how has race affected law enforcement in American history?

As a graduate student in history I am attempting to find the answer to that question with this project. This questionnaire will give me part of the answer. The other parts will come from research on the eleven police departments chosen for this project.

You are asked to participate in this survey in order that the project will represent a cross section of the backgrounds and attitudes of American police officers. You were selected to participate in this project through a random sample of all police officers on the force. Your answers to this questionnaire are completely confidential and your anonymity assured. I will be the only one to read the questionnaires. You are not to sign your name or identify yourself in any manner. All responses to this questionnaire will be quantified so that at no time will the responses of a particular officer be identifiable. Thank you for your time and cooperation.

The questionnaire will take less than ½ hour to complete.

Sincerely,

W. Marvin Dulaney
Ohio State University

Please retain this page and return the questionnaire in the attached envelope or to me personally.

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE page one

No._____ (1-4) City:_____ (5-6) Date:_____

A. Personal Data. You are not required to put your name on this questionnaire. The following information is requested in order that the data from the questionnaire can be measured in terms of the brief background information that you give here.

1:7-8. Your present age:_____ 2:9. Your present rank_____

3: 10-11. How long have you been a police officer?_____years.

4:12. Ethnic or racial background:_____

5:13. Highest Educational Level attained:_____

6:14. Marital status:_____ 7:15. Number of children_____

8:16. Your previous occupation:_____ How long?_____

9:17. Compared to other occupations in terms of money and prestige, how would you rank you occupation as a police officer? Use the following scale of 1 through 7 with 1 being the very high, 4 average, and 7 very low, to check the appropriate number where you would rank the police occupation.

1_____ 2_____ 3_____ 4_____ 5_____ 6_____ 7_____

10:18. Birthplace (state):_____

11:19. Please list any social, fraternal or professional organizations in which you are a member (such as FOP, Elks, YMCA, Masons, etc.).

_____

_____

B. Family Background (parents)

1:20. What was your father's occupation when you joined the police force? If deceased, please give last occupation._____

2:21. Number of brothers and sisters(total):_____

3:22. Using the same scale as in Part A, number 9, rank your father's occupation. 1____ 2____ 3____ 4____ 5____ 6____ 7_____

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

4:23. How many relatives do you have in the law enforcement occupational field? _____ Relationship(s):_____

C. This part of the questionnaire is concerned with your experiences when you were first appointed to the police department.

1:24. What was the most important reason(s) for your joining the police department?_____

_____

2:25 If you were married at the time that you joined, what was your spouse's reaction to your decision to become a police officer?

Very favorable____ Unfavorable____
Favorable____ Very unfavorable____
Neutral, uncertain___ Not married____

3:26. What was the reaction of your parents? ?

Very favorable____ Unfavorable____
Favorable____ Very unfavorable____
Neutral, uncertain____ Parents deceased____
One favorable, the other unfavorable____

4:27. In general, what were the reactions of your close friends?

Very favorable____ Mixed____
Favorable____ Unfavorable____
Neutral, uncertain____ Very unfavorable____

5:28. At that time did you think that the job was:

A step up the social ladder____
A step down the social ladder____
Staying pretty much the same____

6:29. What was the highest rank that you thought you would achieve when you were appointed to the police department?

Ptl____ Sgt____ LT____ Capt____ Maj____ Lt. Col____ Col____

7:30. When you joined the police department, which group of persons were most influential in securing appointments to the police department?

Politicians____ Civic or community leaders____
Businessmen____ Others____(specify)_____
Friends on the force____ No one had any influence____

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE page three

8:31. How important was the department's recruitment program in attracting you to the position as a police officer?
Very important____ There was no recruitment program____
Somewhat important____
Not important at all____

9:32. In what area of the procedure for appointment did you have the most difficulty passing?
Civil service exam____ Polygraph test____
Background investigation____ Oral interview____
Physical examination____ I had no difficulty____

10:33. In what area was your training at the police academy most helpful?
Apprehension of criminals____ Police-community relations____
Knowledge of laws____ Knowledge of police procedures____
Usage of firearms____ Other (specify)_____
Settling family disputes_____

D. This section concerns your assignments during your career as a police officer.

1:34-39. Please check your first six assignments (or less) as a police officer.

Assignments:	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
a.Patrol	___	___	___	___	___	___
b.Investigative	___	___	___	___	___	___
c.Administrative	___	___	___	___	___	___
d.Community Relations	___	___	___	___	___	___
e.Other(specify)	___	___	___	___	___	___
f._____	___	___	___	___	___	___

2:40-45. Please check the predominant racial "origin" of the people in the first six areas (or less) where you worked.

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
a.White	___	___	___	___	___	___
b.Black	___	___	___	___	___	___
c.Chicano/Puerto Rican	___	___	___	___	___	___
d.Mixed	___	___	___	___	___	___
e.Other(specify)						
_____	___	___	___	___	___	___

3:46. In which racial area was the work the most difficult?_____
Explain why:_____

_____

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

4:47. In which area was the work the easiest?_____Explain:_____

5:48. In which area do you prefer to work?_____Why?_____

E. The following questions are to determine your attitude on a number of issues relating to modern law enforcement. You are to indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. Circle the response that best represents your true feelings.

SA - Strongly Agree
A - Agree
N - Neutral, uncertain or no opinion
D - Disagree
SD - Strongly Disagree

1:49.	The average police officer can handle most situations by using common sense.	SA	A	N	D	SD
2:50.	Police-community relations training has made police better able to handle a variety of citizens' complaints.	SA	A	N	D	SD
3:51.	The race of a police officer does not determine how well he will do his job.	SA	A	N	D	SD
4:52.	Standards for appointment to the department have remained high.	SA	A	N	D	SD
5:53.	Police work should be confined to law enforcement; community-relations and other social problems should be left to social workers.	SA	A	N	D	SD
6:54.	Only black police officers should be assigned to patrol black neighborhoods.	SA	A	N	D	SD
7:55.	The decisions of the Warren Court in the area of civil rights seriously hampered the ability of police to enforce the law.	SA	A	N	D	SD
8:56.	Mixed or "salt and pepper" cars are more effective in handling law enforcement problems in predominantly black areas.	SA	A	N	D	SD

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE page five

9:57.	Police were more respected twenty years ago than they are today.	SA	A	N	D	SD
10:58.	Minority group members and women have an equal opportunity for appointment and advancement in the department.	SA	A	N	D	SD
11:59.	A college education improves the ability of a police officer to do his or her job.	SA	A	N	D	SD
12:60.	Advances in technology and police science have aided law enforcement and improved the ability of police to apprehend criminals.	SA	A	N	D	SD
13:61.	Enforcement of affirmative action in hiring has forced the department to appoint some minority group members who formerly belonged to militant organizations such as the Panthers.	SA	A	N	D	SD
14:62.	A police officer should only use his night-stick to control a suspect after all other methods fail.	SA	A	N	D	SD
15:63.	Promotions in the department are always based on merit.	SA	A	N	D	SD
16:64.	In most cases, a black officer can handle a law enforcement problem in a black neighborhood better than other officers.	SA	A	N	D	SD
17:65.	Military experience is a better background than a college education for police work.	SA	A	N	D	SD
18:66.	Police officers should protect the constitutional rights of a person suspected of committing a crime at all times.	SA	A	N	D	SD
19:67.	Most police officers prefer to work in "salt and pepper" teams in predominantly black neighborhoods.	SA	A	N	D	SD
20:68.	Black police should be willing to work undercover in "black militant" organizations to assist the department in investigating their activities.	SA	A	N	D	SD

21:69.	Black police organizations want the same considerations and benefits accorded the FOP and PBA. (Examples: NBPA, Guardians)	SA	A	N	D	SD
22:70.	The way to decrease and control crime in American cities is to give police officers the authority and leniency to do what is necessary to handle it.	SA	A	N	D	SD
23:71.	The establishment of a civilian review board would infringe upon a police officer's ability to do his job.	SA	A	N	D	SD
24:72.	The police should reflect the people in the community that they police.	SA	A	N	D	SD
25:73	The people in the community are supportive of the police.	SA	A	N	D	SD

F. Military Service

1:74. In what branch of the military did you serve?_____

2:75. How long?_____

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for participating in this project. Your participation will be most helpful in my getting an accurate picture of the backgrounds and attitudes of American police officers. If you would like to add any comments to this questionnaire, feel free to do so.

APPENDIX D

DISSERTATION CODE BOOK

APPENDIX D

DISSERTATION CODE BOOK

Columns		Code
1-4		Control Number
5-6	1. Columbus 2. St. Louis 3. Atlanta 4. Miami 5. Houston 6. San Francisco 7. Los Angeles 8. Cleveland 9. Chicago	City
7-8	(Recode)	Age in Years
9	1. Police Officer 2. Detective/Inspector 3. Sergeant 4. Lieutenant 5. Captain 6. Major/Commander 7. Lt. Colonel 8. Deputy Chief	Rank
10-11	(Recode)	Number of Years on the Force
12	1. Black 2. White 3. Hispanic 4. Native American	Racial Background
13	1. Less than High School 2. High School Graduate 3. Less Than Two Years of College 4. 2-3 Years of College 5. Bachelor's Degree 6. Some Graduate Work 7. Post-Baccalaureate Degree	Educational Background

DISSERTATION CODE BOOK PAGE TWO

Columns		Code
14	1. Single 2. Married 3. Divorced 4. Separated 5. Widowed	Marital Status
15		Number of Children
16	1. Professional 2. Business 3. Clerical 4. Service - Government 5. Service - Private 6. Skilled 7. Semiskilled 8. Unskilled 9. Other	Previous Occupation
17	0. No Response 1. Very High 2. High 3. Above Average 4. Average 5. Below Average 6. Low 7. Very Low	Rating of Police Occupation Compared to Others in Money and Prestige
18	0. No Response 1. In present state 2. In bordering state 3. Other state 4. Foreign born	Birthplace
19		Number of Memberships in Organizations

Columns	Code	
20	0. Unknown (Same as 16)	Father's Occupation
21		Total Number of Brothers and Sisters
22	0. No Response (Same as 17)	Rating of Father's Occupation
23		Number of Relatives in Police Work
24	0. None 1. Job Security or Economic 2. Police Career-oriented 3. Community Service 4. Seeking Adventurous Career 5. Seeking Challenging Career 6. Other	Most Important Reason for Joining the Police Department
25	0. No Response 1. Very Favorable 2. Favorable 3. Neutral-Uncertain 4. Unfavorable 5. Very Unfavorable 6. Not married	Spouse's Reaction to Police Career
26	0. No Response 1. Very Favorable 2. Favorable 3. Neutral-uncertain 4. Unfavorable 5. Very Unfavorable 6. One Favorable, Other Unfavorable 7. Parents Deceased	Parents' Reaction to Police Career

DISSERTATION CODE BOOK PAGE FOUR

Columns		Code
27	0. No Response 1. Very Favorable 2. Favorable 3. Neutral-uncertain 4. Mixed 5. Unfavorable 6. Very Unfavorable	Close Friends' Reaction to Police Career
28	0. Undecided 1. A step up 2. A step down 3. Staying the same	Change in Status As A Result of Police Career
29	0. Undecided Then 1. Police Officer 2. Sergeant 3. Lieutenant 4. Captain 5. Major/Commander 6. Lt. Colonel 7. Colonel/Chief 8. Other (Detective, Inspector,etc.)	Highest Rank Aspired to at Appointment
30	0. No Response 1. Politicians 2. Businessmen 3. Friends on the Force 4. Civic or Community Leaders 5. Others 6. No One	Individuals Influential in Securing Positions on the Police Department
31	1. Very Important 2. Somewhat Important 3. Not Important at all 4. No Recruitment Program	Importance of Recruitment Program in Attracting Officer to the Police Department

DISSERTATION CODE BOOK PAGE FIVE

Columns		Code
32	1. Civil Service Exam 2. Background Investigation 3. Physical Exam 4. Polygraph Test 5. Oral Interview 6. No Difficulty 7. Other	Difficulty Encountered in Appointment Procedure
33	0. Did not attend Academy 1. Apprehension of Criminals 2. Knowledge of laws 3. Usage of Firearms 4. Settling Family Disputes 5. Police-community relations 6. Knowledge of police procedures 7. Other	Area in Which the Academy Was the Most Helpful
34	0. None 1. Patrol 2. Investigative 3. Administrative 4. Community Relations 5. Other	First Duty Assignment
35	Same as 34	Second Duty Assignment
36	Same as 34	Third Duty Assignment
37	Same as 34	Fourth Duty Assignment
38	Same as 34	Fifth Duty Assignment
39	Same as 34	Sixth Duty Assignment

DISSERTATION CODE BOOK PAGE SIX

Columns		Code
40	0. None 1. White 2. Black 3. Chicano/Puerto Rican 4. Mixed 5. Other	Racial Composition of First Area of Assignment
41	Same as 40	Racial Composition of Second Area
42	Same as 40	Racial Composition of Third Area
43	Same as 40	Racial Composition of Fourth Area
44	Same as 40	Racial Composition of Fifth Area
45	Same as 40	Racial Composition of Sixth Area
46	0. No Response 1. White 2. Black 3. Chicano/Puerto Rican 4. Mixed 5. Other 6. No Difference in areas	Racial Area in Which the Work Was the Most Difficult
47	Same as 46	Racial area in Which the Work Was the Easiest
48	0. No Response 1. White 2. Black 3. Chicano/Puerto Rican 4. Mixed 5. Other 6. No Preference	Racial Area in Which the Officer Prefers to Work

Columns		Code
49	1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Neutral, uncertain or no opinion 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree	Average police officer can handle most situations by using common sense
50	Same as 49	Police-community relations have made police better
51	Same as 49	Race does not determine how well an officer will do his job
52	Same as 49	Standards for appointment to the department have remained high
53	Same as 49	Police work should be confined to law enforcement
54	Same as 49	Only black police should be assigned to black neighborhoods
55	Same as 49	The Warren Court seriously hampered police in enforcing laws
56	Same as 49	Mixed or "salt and pepper" cars are more effective in black areas
57	Same as 49	Police were more respected twenty years ago
58	Same as 49 plus 6. More than equal	Minorities and women have equal opportunity in the department

DISSERTATION CODE BOOK PAGE EIGHT

Columns		Code
59	Same as 49	A college education improves the ability of a police officer to do his job
60	Same as 49	Advances in technology have aided law enforcement
61	Same as 49	Affirmative action has forced the hiring of some minorities from militant groups
62	Same as 49	A police officer should only use his nightstick after all other methods fail
63	Same as 49	Promotions are always based on merit
64	Same as 49	A black officer can handle a problem in black areas better than other officers
65	Same as 49	Military experience is a better background than college for police work
66	Same as 49	Police should protect the constitutional rights of a suspect at all times
67	Same as above	Most police prefer to work in "salt and pepper" teams in black neighborhoods

Columns		Code
68	Same as 49	Black police officers should be willing to work undercover in "black militant" organization
69	Same as 49	Black police organizations want the same considerations and benefits accorded the FOP and PBA
70	Same as 49	To decrease and control crime the police must be given the leniency and authority necessary to handle it
71	Same as 49	A civilian review board would infringe upon an officer's ability to do his job
72	Same as above	The police should reflect the people they police
73	Same as 49	The people are supportive of the police
74	1. Army 2. Navy 3. Marines 4. Air Force 5. National Guard 6. Coast Guard 0. None	Military Service Branch
75		Numbers of Years in Military

APPENDIX E

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

APPENDIX E

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

The following is a sample of the various occupations held by the police officers in the survey and their fathers/parents. This sample also shows how each occupation was classified. The classification system is based on a variation of that used by the United States Bureau of the Census. (Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population; Supplementary Reports (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1983).

Occupational Classification	Fathers/Parents' Occupations	Police Officers' Previous Occupations
Professional	Pilot, Nurse, Lawyer, Teacher	Teacher, Insurance Appraiser
Business	Salesman, Tavern Owner, Theater Manager	Sales Manager, Pro Shop Manager
Clerical	Medical Secretary, Clerk, Teletype Operator	Cashier, Store Clerk, Secretary, Receptionist
Service-Government	Postal Clerk, Police Officer, Fire Chief	U.S. Army, Letter Carrier, Bus Driver
Service-Private	Head Waiter, Red Cap, Porter	Private Detective, Taxi Driver, Security Guard
Skilled	Tailor, Butcher, Locksmith, Bricklayer	Painter, Welder, Machinist, Carpenter
Semiskilled	Factory Foreman, Shop Timekeeper, Assembler	Truckdriver, Lineman, Factory Worker
Unskilled	Laborer, Custodian, Domestic, Longshoreman	Laborer, Warehouseman, Dock Worker
Other	Farmer, Rancher, Retired, Minister, Housewife	Tennis Instructor, Student, Lab Assistant