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## AN ANALYSIS OF POLICE KILLED BY CRIMINAL ACTION: 1961-1963\*

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Whenever the news media examines the "lack of respect for the law," we generally find some discussion of the assaults on police as a prime example of this disrespect.<sup>1</sup> In addition, there is almost always some mention made of the risks the police encounter in carrying out their role as "protector" of society. As early as 1829, John Wade wrote of the functions of the police and claimed:

The police is a branch of that extensive system instituted to protect the community from fraud, annoyance, violence, and deprecation. While the courts of administrative justice ascertain the guilt and prescribe the punishment of actual delinquents, the business of the police is more especially directed to prevent the commission or apprehend the perpetrators of offenses.<sup>2</sup>

These same functions still exist today, as recently reported by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice:

In society's day-to-day efforts to protect its citizens from the suffering, fear, and property loss produced by crime and the threat of crime, the policeman occupies the front line. It is he who directly confronts criminal situations, and it is to him that the public looks for personal safety.<sup>3</sup>

Making society "safe," however, entails a certain risk which at times results in death to the police officer.

The present paper is a discussion of one small

\* The author is grateful to Mr. Jerome J. Daunt, Chief, Uniform Crime Reporting Section, F.B.I., for making available the data analyzed in this article.

<sup>1</sup> HENRY LEE, "The Courts, The Police, The Public," *THIS WEEK MAGAZINE, THE SUNDAY BULLETIN*, Philadelphia, May 16 and 23, 1965, pp. 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> JOHN WADE, *A TREATISE ON THE POLICE AND CRIMES OF THE METROPOLIS* (London: Longman, Rees, Orine, Brown & Green, 1829), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *THE CHALLENGE OF CRIME IN A FREE SOCIETY: A REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 92.

part of the total crime in the United States, namely the killing of police officers. Although most of the deaths resulted from a chance encounter of a police officer with an offender engaged in criminal action, one could speculate that any attack against a police officer is an attack against the judicial system, whether the offender be right or wrong in his judgment of that system. This is all the more plausible when we consider the fact that the policeman is the most "visible" representative of our judicial system. The policeman is closer to the community in both the literal and figurative sense, and is the one who is most responsible for any direct intervention that may be needed in the case of criminal activity. Thus, we find the following statement in the President's Report:

Policemen deal with people when they are both most threatening and most vulnerable, when they are angry, when they are frightened, when they are desperate, when they are drunk, when they are violent, or when they are ashamed. Every police action can affect in some way someone's dignity, or self-respect, or sense of privacy, or constitutional rights.<sup>4</sup>

### VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS

Because there are some deficiencies in the data utilized for the present paper, definitive conclusions are difficult. Although the questionnaire employed by the F.B.I. to seek information on each police homicide is brief and clear, several police departments submitted only partially completed reports. We have, of course, no information on the number of times an offender shot at, and perhaps seriously wounded a police officer. Such data not only would enable us to make comparisons between those officers who were killed and those who survived, but would provide a more meaningful picture of the potential danger that a policeman encounters.

For purposes of analysis, only those officers

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

Table 1  
POLICE KILLED 1961-1963

Year	By Criminal Action	By Accident	Total
1961	37	34	71
1962	48	30	78
1963	55	33	88
	140	97	237

found in the Northeast, the South having the highest. Actually, each region corresponds exactly in order of position for both police and non-police homicides. The table suggests that the general homicide rates of the various regions are also reflected in the rate of police killings. Why there are marked differences between the Northern and Southern states in the rates of homicide has long been a topic of interest to criminologists and involves a complex discussion of cultural differences with which we are not here concerned.<sup>7</sup>

TABLE 2  
POLICE AND GENERAL HOMICIDE RATES, 1961-1963

Geographic Region	Number of Police Killed (1961-1963)	Mean Annual Rate Per 1,000,000 Population	Number of Homicides (1963) <sup>a</sup>	Rate Per 1,000,000 Population
Northeast.....	23	.1716	1316	29.45
North Central.....	34	.2195	1703	32.99
South.....	56	.3396	4314	78.47
West.....	27	.3208	1171	41.74
Totals.....	140	.2603	8504	47.42

<sup>a</sup> For our purposes only the rates for 1963 were used, as variations in the rates for each region are small from year to year.

Population figures are based on the 1960 census.

killed as a result of criminal action are considered. Our data cover the period 1961 through 1963, during which 140 police officers were killed, and although the paper is basically descriptive, it concerns an area in which there are few data.<sup>5</sup> Table 1 shows the breakdown of police killed by criminal and non-criminal action.<sup>6</sup>

The mean annual rate of police killed by criminal action per million population for the entire country for the period under investigation amounts to .2602, or one policeman killed per year for every four million inhabitants. The number of deaths per geographic region is shown in table 2. Table 2 reveals that the lowest rate for police homicides is

<sup>5</sup> The only other study of which the author is aware is that of ALLEN P. BRISTOW, "Police Officer Shootings—A Tactical Evaluation," *JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY AND POLICE SCIENCE*, Vol. 54 (1963) pp. 93-95.

<sup>6</sup> From 1952 to 1960 a total of 427 police were reported by the *UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS* as being killed in the line of duty. The number ranged from a high of 63 in 1952 and 1953 to a low of 43 in 1956. It must be made clear, however, that these figures did not include all cities and rural areas in the tabulations. Because of changes in the reporting procedures, it is assumed that the three years used in the present study are not atypical, even though a rise in police deaths appears evident.

Before any analysis was begun, a decision was made to divide the size of the area in which the death occurred into three different groupings. It was felt that if we held size of area constant we could arrive at some understanding of the factors associated with police killings in large urban areas compared with those in small urban and rural areas. In light of the above procedure, eight homicides of State police officers were excluded, limiting the analysis to 132 police homicides.<sup>8</sup> Table 3 shows the distribution of police killed for each population grouping.

The belief that crime is an urban phenomenon, with the largest cities having the greatest problems of police surveillance and deterrence of criminal

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of these differences see JOSEPH COHEN, "The Geography of Crime," *ANNALS, CCXVII* (September, 1941), pp. 29-34; AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD, "Indices of Suicide and Homicide by States and Cities: Some Southern-Non-Southern Contrasts with Implications for Research," *THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, XIV (August, 1949), pp. 481-490.

<sup>8</sup> The state police were excluded because it was felt that these officers may be involved in any city or town throughout the respective state, while municipal police are more likely to be killed in the city or town in which they are employed. It was felt that this procedure would give a better picture of the risks encountered by police in small and large urban areas.

TABLE 3  
NUMBER OF POLICE KILLED BY SIZE OF AREA 1961-1963

Size of Place Where Officer was Killed	Total Population (in thousands) <sup>a</sup>	Number of Police Killed	Mean Annual Rate Per 1,000,000 Population
(1) Less than 50,000.....	114,474	63	.183
(2) 50-250,000.....	25,488	24	.313
(3) 250,000 and over.....	39,361	45	.381
Totals.....	179,323	132	.245

<sup>a</sup> Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1965*. (86th Edition), Washington, D.C., 1965, p. 15.

activities seems to be borne out with the above table. We find a definite pattern indicated, with the largest cities constituting the greatest danger for the police. This conforms to the general homicide rate throughout the United States by size of area, and strengthens the argument that rates of police killings will correspond fairly closely to the general rates of homicide.

Of the 132 police killed, age data were not available for 76 of the officers. Of the 56 for which data existed, 38 were killed before they were 40 years of age. Although these figures are not conclusive, it appears that most police are probably killed before reaching 40 years of age. This appears to be the case when we consider a related variable: length of service before death. Although it was impossible to compute rates by length of service, it was found that most police (66%) were killed before they had completed 15 years of service. Furthermore, a significant percentage of the total (43%) were killed before they had completed five years of service. Twelve officers were actually killed during their first year on the force. These findings are probably a function of two major factors: first, there may be a greater proportion of police throughout the country who not only have less than five years of service, but in addition probably constitute a greater proportion of the police on patrol. As the officer's years on the force increase, he may be promoted and assigned to desk work or other duties where the risk of being killed decreases. However, even if the policeman continues on patrol throughout his career, his experience in dealing with criminals would increase, possibly leading him to be more cautious in potentially dangerous situations and thereby reducing the probability of his being killed.

Data on the race of the officer were also scarce; in only about half of the cases was this informa-

tion available. Of the total, 60 were reported as white, seven as Negro and the rest unknown. Even assuming that the ratio of white to Negro officers for the known group would be the same for the unknown category, we would have a total of only 14 officers designated as Negro.<sup>9</sup> The small number of Negro policemen killed is no doubt related to the number of Negro police in the U.S. Negroes until recently have encountered difficulties in becoming members of police departments, and this difficulty still exists in many areas.<sup>10</sup>

Each case was then examined to determine if the officer's death was related to the specific activity he was engaged in at the time of attack.<sup>11</sup> These activities, in order of their danger, were: (a) making an arrest and/or transporting prisoners (N = 37); (b) interrupting or pursuing a robber (N = 27); (c) responding to a disturbance call (N = 25); (d) investigating a suspicious person (N = 20); (e) interruption of and/or pursuit of a burglar (N = 9); (f) miscellaneous reasons (N = 8); and, (g) unprovoked attack (N = 6). The major causes of death for areas with less than 50,000 inhabitants involved making an arrest and/or transporting a prisoner, followed by those activities which centered about investigating a

<sup>9</sup> That such an allocation may even be too high is suggested in a study showing that in 1954 only 710 Negroes were employed as policemen in 13 Southern states. See ELLIOTT M. RUDWICK, "The Negro Policeman in the South," *JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY AND POLICE SCIENCE*, 51 (July-August, 1960), p. 274.

<sup>10</sup> See WILLIAM KEPHART, *RACIAL FACTORS AND URBAN LAW ENFORCEMENT* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957), for a discussion of some of the problems in increasing the number of Negro policemen on a police force.

<sup>11</sup> Of the 132 officers, 16 were actually "off duty": six with their uniform, the remainder without. Of the 16, 14 attempted to arrest or apprehend an offender involved in a crime; one responded to an area where gun shots were heard; and one met death through an unprovoked attack.

suspicious person and responding to a disturbance call. For those areas of between 50,000 and 250,000 inhabitants, making an arrest and interrupting a robbery were prominent, while for those cities with more than 250,000 inhabitants, interrupting a robbery and responding to a disturbance call accounted for more than half of the deaths. Deaths connected with investigating a suspicious person were somewhat higher for the smaller population areas and may possibly be related to the size of the city or town and the degree of anonymity that exists. Thus, one attracts little suspicion in the large cities where few inhabitants know one another and where it is impossible for the police to detain and question everyone with whom they are not familiar. This may not be the prevailing attitude of the police in smaller cities and towns where they acquire intimate knowledge over the years about the normal activities of their jurisdictions. In these areas an individual with whom the police are not familiar may perhaps be investigated more readily. That the major cause of death for those cities of more than 250,000 inhabitants was related to the crime of robbery could perhaps be due to the greater number of business establishments which offer more opportunities for robbery.

In conjunction with the above activities, most police were killed on the street or highway. These situations accounted for 63 per cent of the deaths in areas under 50,000 inhabitants, 75 per cent of the deaths for those areas with 50,000 to 250,000 inhabitants, and 65 per cent for those areas with more than 250,000 inhabitants. The data for the entire population indicated that 66 per cent were killed on the street or highway, 15 per cent in a private home, 8 per cent in a bar or nightclub, 6 per cent in a business place, and 5 per cent in miscellaneous locations.<sup>12</sup>

Of the 132 police victims, all but five were killed by firearms; 101 by revolver and 26 by rifle or shotgun. Because no similar studies on police homicides were available for comparison, the above results were compared to those obtained in a study of homicide.<sup>13</sup> There it was found that of the

449 male victims, only 34 per cent died from gun shots.<sup>14</sup> Although the variation is significant, two major differences between both populations of victims should be made explicit. In the Wolfgang study, 45 per cent of the males were killed in the home as a result of an emotional flare-up or argument; secondly, in contrast to the Wolfgang data, where 75 per cent of the male victims had some prior acquaintance with the offender, only a small number of police were acquainted with the offender before they were killed.<sup>15</sup> In extending this analysis we found that for areas of under 50,000 inhabitants a revolver was used to inflict death in 65 per cent of the cases; 83 per cent of the cases occurring in cities with between 50,000 and 250,000 inhabitants involved a revolver; while 88 per cent of the police were killed by a revolver in cities with more than 250,000 inhabitants. A revolver is obviously easier to conceal in public than a shotgun or rifle. In addition, many small cities and towns are near rural areas and woodlands where shotguns and rifles are easily available for hunting, and compared with large urban areas, viewed with less suspicion.

In the police literature one frequently encounters debate about the safety and advantages of a one- or two-man police patrol.<sup>16</sup> One police administrator writes:

An officer patrolling alone must give first attention to beat duties. There are no distractions other than those he is obliged to notice on his beat, and he is completely self-dependent for his own safety and welfare. It has been demonstrated that an officer patrolling by himself in a car is actually safer than when accompanied by a brother officer. The presence of a second officer appears to discourage reasonable caution, either because of pride that prevents the second officer from observing danger or because of failure to take suitable precautions lest the companion interpret caution as cowardice. When an officer is alone in a patrol car he knows that he has no one else to rely upon in the event of trouble. Consequently, he is cautious in stepping into dangerous situations, and he is better prepared to take care of unexpected emergencies.<sup>17</sup>

AND CRIMINOLOGY, 40 (1950) pp. 736-752. JOHN LEWIS GILLIN, "The Wisconsin Murderer," SOCIAL FORCES, 12 (May, 1934) pp. 550-556.

<sup>12</sup> WOLFGANG, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 189-194, 206-207.

<sup>14</sup> FRANK D. DAY, "The Issue of One Man vs. Two Men Patrol Cars," JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY AND POLICE SCIENCE, 46 (January-February, 1956), pp. 698-706.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted by MICHAEL BANTON, THE POLICEMAN AND THE COMMUNITY (London: Tavistock, Inc., 1965), pp. 151-152.

<sup>12</sup> If the police officer was killed on or near the grounds of a private home or business place, and the reason for his being at such place was directly related to his death, he was considered to have been killed at that private home or business place.

<sup>13</sup> MARVIN E. WOLFGANG, PATTERNS IN CRIMINAL HOMICIDE (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958). For additional information on the use of firearms in homicide, see HOWARD HARLAN, "Five Hundred Homicides," JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW

Investigating whether these assumptions held true for the present data, we found that 51 per cent of the police were alone on patrol, while 49 per cent were on a two-man patrol. Little variation resulted when size of area was held constant. However, no adequate data on the percentages of police departments throughout the country employing one- or two-man patrols was available for comparison. Such data would strengthen the arguments either for or against two-man patrols.

Although the question of safety by size of patrol involves several difficulties, it is generally known that most criminal activity occurs during the evening and early morning hours. For those on duty the hours between 6:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. appear to be the most dangerous. Nine officers, or 8 per cent, were killed between 6:00 a.m. and 12 noon, 20, or 17 per cent, between 12 noon and 6:00 p.m., 45, or 39 per cent, between 6:00 p.m. and midnight, and 42, or 36 per cent, between midnight and 6:00 a.m.<sup>18</sup> These findings are consistent with those of Wolfgang and others who have been concerned with the time when crimes, especially homicide, are committed.<sup>19</sup> No significant variations were found when size of area was held constant. Because no data were available on the proportion of police on duty for each time period, we have no conclusive evidence as to which period offers the greatest risk of being killed.

#### POLICE SAFETY AND THE DEATH PENALTY

Despite the considerable discussion that the death penalty has provoked in the area of police safety, much of it is based almost entirely on emotional grounds and few people have looked at this issue objectively.<sup>20</sup> Thorsten Sellin is an exception in this regard, and in an earlier study he compared the rates of police homicide for the six states which had no death penalty with the neighboring or bordering states.<sup>21</sup> One of the

<sup>18</sup> For those officers "off duty," the same trend prevailed. One was killed between 6:00 a.m. and 12 noon; three between 12 noon and 6:00 p.m.; six between 6:00 p.m. and midnight; and six between midnight and 6:00 a.m.

<sup>19</sup> WOLFGANG, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>20</sup> For an excellent review on the issue of capital punishment see *THE DEATH PENALTY IN AMERICA: AN ANTHOLOGY*, edited by HUGO ADAM BEDAU (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1964). See also the recent issue edited by THORSTEN SELLIN, *CAPITAL PUNISHMENT* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1967).

<sup>21</sup> THORSTEN SELLIN, *THE DEATH PENALTY* (Philadelphia: The American Law Institute, 1959). See also his "Capital Punishment," *FEDERAL PROBATION*, 25 (September, 1961), pp. 3-11.

purposes of his study was to arrive at some answers to the argument that the abolition of the death penalty adversely affects the safety of the police. No major differences were discovered among both groups and Sellin concluded:

It is obvious from an inspection of the data that it is impossible to conclude that the states which had no death penalty had thereby made the policeman's lot more hazardous. It is also obvious that the same differences observable in the general homicide rates of the various states were reflected in the rate of police killings.<sup>22</sup>

In the light of the above findings, identical comparisons, using the present data, were made to determine whether the same results would be obtained. Six abolition states and the nine bordering death penalty states were included for comparison. Rates of death per 1,000,000 inhabitants were computed for each state. In addition, we computed the rate of police killed per number of police employed by each state. Table 4 presents these results.

In comparing the rates for the abolition and the death penalty states, we note very little difference. For both groups, only one police officer was killed for every two million people during the three years analyzed. Two of the six abolition states recorded no police deaths over the three-year period, while three of the nine death penalty states recorded no police deaths. The differences in the rates based on the population for each state are quite small. The range for both groups is very similar according to the rates per employed police, and the overall group rates are almost equal.

Because of the small numbers of police killed for each state, conclusions are tentative. Because so few police were killed in several states, the addition of one or two police deaths to either group of states could change our results considerably. However, our data lend no weight to the argument that the death penalty states afford *more* protection to the police. As Sellin has stated:

... the death penalty, as we use it, exercises no influence on the extent or fluctuating rates of capital crimes. It has failed as a deterrent. If it has utilitarian value, it must rest in some other attribute than its power to influence the future conduct of people.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> SELLIN, *THE DEATH PENALTY*, p. 57.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63. In a sense the argument as to whether or not the death penalty should be abolished is no longer viable in criminology. Much of this is due to the fact that the death penalty itself is rarely carried out today. Only one prisoner was executed in 1966. Rather,

TABLE 4

RATES FOR ABOLITION VS. DEATH PENALTY STATES FOR POLICE KILLED FOR THE PERIOD 1961-1963<sup>a</sup>

	Police Killed	Rate Per 1,000,000 Population <sup>b</sup>	Total No. of Police Employed	Death Rate Per 1000 Employed Police
Abolition States				
Maine.....	—	—	1,050	—
Rhode Island.....	—	—	1,524	—
Michigan.....	2	.256	11,023	.181
Wisconsin.....	4	1.012	5,172	.773
Minnesota.....	2	.586	3,439	.582
North Dakota.....	1	1.582	665	1.504
Totals.....	9	.510	22,873	.393
Death Penalty States				
Massachusetts.....	4	.777	10,642	.376
New Hampshire.....	—	—	647	—
Connecticut.....	1	.394	4,131	.242
Ohio.....	5	.515	10,813	.462
Indiana.....	4	.858	5,556	.720
Illinois.....	4	.397	17,079	.234
Iowa.....	3	1.088	2,345	1.279
South Dakota.....	—	—	600	—
Montana.....	—	—	903	—
Totals.....	21	.570	52,716	.398

<sup>a</sup> Death penalty states used are those bordering the abolition states.<sup>b</sup> Based on 1960 Census.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A perusal of the cases utilized for the present analysis would convince the reader that few of the homicides were planned in advance. Most of the deaths occurred when an officer attempted to arrest an offender engaged in some criminal activity, suggesting that most deaths were situational contacts leading an offender to resort to violence. Because so many police were killed by firearms, the availability of weapons may be an important consideration. This appears to be especially true when we contrast the United States

the important questions, it appears to this author, should be centered on the treatment and adjustment of those prisoners who are serving their prison sentences in the "limbo" of the death cells, not knowing whether they will be executed or not. Thus, according to a recent report in *THE NEW YORK TIMES* (Tuesday, July 11, 1967, p. 20) we find that there are 58 men currently on death row at San Quentin Prison. The adjustment of these prisoners to prison life is an important issue for consideration.

with England. McClintock in an analysis of violent crimes in London comments:

The increase during the last decade in the incidence of crimes against the person, especially those that are classified as of a violent nature, has led to great uneasiness and even anxiety among a large proportion of the population as well as among those concerned with the maintenance of law and order.<sup>24</sup>

Yet, at the same time, in spite of a rise in the number of assaults against police over a three-year period, only one police officer was killed in London in 1960. Some of the explanation for this evident

<sup>24</sup>I. H. McCLINTOCK, *CRIMES OF VIOLENCE: AN ENQUIRY BY THE CAMBRIDGE INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY INTO CRIMES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST THE PERSON IN LONDON* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1963), p. 1. For a general discussion of homicide in England, see TERENCE MORRIS AND LOUIS BLOM-COOPER, *Homicide—The Statistical Picture, from A CALENDAR OF MURDER: CRIMINAL HOMICIDE IN ENGLAND SINCE 1957* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1964), Chapter III, pp. 277-282.

contrast is directly related to the infrequent use of firearms in England.<sup>25</sup> In his analysis of 1,111 indictable crimes of violence in 1950, McClintock found that only 17, or 1.5 per cent, involved the use of firearms, while 44, or 2.3 per cent of the same type of crimes fell into this category in 1957. The low number of police killed by firearms is possibly due to stricter measures passed in 1953 regarding the carrying of firearms and especially the long history of a culture in which the possession and use of weapons is discouraged.<sup>26</sup>

In the United States, however, the positive sanction of owning a weapon was established in our Bill of Rights and reinforced with the expansion of the West. Even today, weapons are easily accessible to the general public, and the belief that an individual should own a weapon for protection still prevails.<sup>27</sup> In conjunction with the above thoughts Wolfgang writes:

Although there are many factors which must converge before homicide occurs, there can be little doubt that accessibility of a weapon, cultural traditions of carrying and employing certain types of weapons, and individual perspectives associated with various means of inflicting death are important factors... [and] that the relationship between the offender and his victim often plays a significant role in the type of weapon used.<sup>28</sup>

The positive value of owning a weapon was also evidenced in the present study where almost every offender was in possession of a gun at the time of

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264, Table XIII.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 235-240.

<sup>27</sup> See for instance, MABEL ELLIOTT, *Crime and the Frontier Mores*, AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW (April, 1944) 9: 185-192; DAVID ABRAHAMSON, *CRIME AND THE HUMAN MIND* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 149. See also, Carl Bakal's discussion on the Bill of Rights and the use of weapons in his *THE RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), pp. 294-308.

<sup>28</sup> WOLFGANG, *op. cit.*, p. 79. See also his *Victim-Precipitated Criminal Homicide*, JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY AND POLICE SCIENCE, 48 (June, 1957) pp. 1-11.

the officers' deaths. This prevalence of weapons leads us to believe that violence was already a part of the individual's value system before the commission of the offense.<sup>29</sup> It is doubtful that this potential resort to violence is meant to apply only to the police, but would probably be directed toward any person who appears to be a threat to the "safety" of the offender. Since violence may be valued as a "solution" to stressful situations, the individual who contemplates the commission of a serious crime may be led to acquire a weapon not only to carry out the crime but also to lower the risks of being shot and apprehended by a police officer. In short, the possession of a weapon could serve as a means of "self-protection" for the criminal if he is discovered while committing a crime.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to the widespread use of firearms, we also noted that most police are killed prior to ten years of service, and most commonly while performing duty on the street or highway. We found no evidence of substantial difference in states with or without the death penalty. Furthermore, our findings suggest that stricter measures and safety precautions should be taken when the police officer is making an arrest on the highway or responding to a call where gunshots have been reported.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For a discussion of violence as part of the individual's value system, see WOLFGANG, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-329. See also the recent issue, *Patterns of Violence*, edited by Wolfgang and published by THE ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, March, 1966; AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD, *CULTURES OF VIOLENCE* (Fort Worth, Texas: Leo Potishman, 1965).

<sup>30</sup> In this regard it must be noted that five offenders took their own lives after shooting the police officer, while fifteen offenders were shot to death by the police. For an analysis of "justifiable" homicide, see GERALD ROBIN, *Justifiable Homicide by Police Officers*, JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY AND POLICE SCIENCE, 54 (June, 1963), pp. 225-231.

<sup>31</sup> In fact, ten of the police were killed, by their own guns, through an offender's either removing the officer's gun from his holster or grabbing it from his hand while being arrested.