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Incorporation of Latino Police Officers into the Milwaukee Police Department: How a Group of Latino Police Officers Shed the "Blue Shield" for a Latino Identity

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INCORPORATION OF LATINO POLICE OFFICERS INTO THE MILWAUKEE POLICE
DEPARTMENT: HOW A GROUP OF LATINO
POLICE OFFICERS SHED THE “BLUE SHIELD” FOR A LATINO
IDENTITY

by

Antonio Guajardo Jr.

A Dissertation Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirement for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
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December 2015

ABSTRACT

INCORPORATION OF LATINO POLICE OFFICERS INTO THE MILWAUKEE POLICE DEPARTMENT: HOW A GROUPS OF LATINO POLICE OFFICERS SHED THE “BLUE SHIELD” FOR A LATINO IDENTITY

by

Antonio G Guajardo Jr.

The University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee 2015
Under the Supervision of Professor Joe Rodriguez

This study examines the issue of ethnic identity and its importance to the Latino police officers in the MPD. The study also explores the relationship between these officers and Milwaukee's Latino communities, analyzing historical incidents of activism within these communities meant to pressure the Department into hiring Latino officers. It also examines the officers' experiences and views regarding the importance of their ethnic identities and their identities as professional law enforcers. The study also historically analyzes the organizations formed by the Latinos officers, the National Latino Peace Officers Association (NLPOA) and their effect on the police subculture within the MPD. The study reveals that identity was an important factor in their professional experiences for the members of the Latino Peace Officers Association interviewed. Further, the organizations they formed, the National Latino Peace Officers Association, had an impact on the influence of the police subculture. The NLPOA helped Latino officers pull away from the police subculture, shedding the “Blue Shield,” moving to identifying with the Latino community.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

“They did not know us and we did not know them. Therefore, it was standstill between two groups. We saw policemen in the Southside; we did not interact because we did not know each other” (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013). This was the reply from Ernesto Chacon, Latino community activist, to my question, “How did the police treat Latinos during that time?” This question was just one of my questions regarding the treatment of Latinos in Milwaukee during the 1960s by the Milwaukee police. I was stunned, not by the answer, but the simplicity it lent to a complex issue: the relationship between Latinos and the MPD. This study, *Incorporation of Latino Police Officers into the Milwaukee Police Department: How a Group of Latino Police Officers Shed the “Blue Shield” for a Latino Identity* might seem simplistic in title; however, this too, is misleading.

This study examines the incorporation of Latinos into the MPD. Although Latinos were present in Milwaukee as early as the 1920s (Valdes, 1991), there were not significant numbers to have a political voice (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013). Consequently, the need for Latinos in MPD was not an issue until the late 1960s through the 1970s, when the Latinos were increasing in number and started to demonstrate and march for equal rights. This study examines how a group of Latino police officers in a large police department, the MPD, shed the “Blue Shield,” and moved to a “Brown” identity, identifying with the Latino community in Milwaukee. In moving into the “Brown” identity these Latino offices provided leadership not only within the MPD, but within the Latino community in dealing with problems between the MPD and the Latino community.

The 1960s brought a social awakening in this country regarding civil rights and the use of force by the police against minorities in the United States. The 1967 President's Report on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice addresses the relationship between police departments and minority communities. It recommends the hiring of minority police officers as well as increasing the educational requirements for police officers to four-year college degrees; most departments in the 1960s only required high school diplomas.

Police departments across the U.S. increased the hiring of Latinos and African American police officers during the 1970s and 1990s; studies (Hahn, 1971; Gould, 2000; Woody, 2005) showed that the police bonding process (police subculture) was influencing the way minority officers policed. Further studies showed that Latino and African American police officers had the same police styles as white officers, and in some cases, there was evidence that minority officers profiled more than white officer (Brunson and Miller, 2006; Sanchez and Rosenbaum, 2010).

Latinos were assimilated into the police subculture; however, a difference appeared to counter the influence of the police subculture for some Latinos in MPD. The difference was the organizing by Latino officers and joining the National Latino Peace Officers Association (NLPOA). The NLPOA is a group of Latino officers organized in California in 1972 with the goal of improving both the advancement of Latinos within law enforcement and the relationships within the Latino community. In Milwaukee, African American police officers had organized The League of Martin in 1974 to address the issues of discrimination of African American officers by the MPD. It was not until 1988 that a small number of Latino police officers banded together and joined the NLPOA. The working relationship between the NLPOA and League of Martin was also important in the relationship between Latinos and African American officers when competing for jobs within MPD.

Another issue that kept coming up is the race issue. It is a common thread throughout the study. Whether it is the relationship between the minority communities and the MPD or the minority officers and the MPD, race is an issue that stands out. Racial consciousness was also an underlying characteristic among the officers that joined the NLPOA. There was also a social consciousness which was aligned with a sense of social responsibility in police related issues affecting the Latino community. These underlying themes, although, not directly mentioned by the officers interviewed for this study, were driving factors in their experiences.

On July 2011 MPD, officers arrested Derek Williams for an armed robbery in the city of Milwaukee. Officers placed Williams in the rear of a police squad car while the investigation was conducted. The squad car video camera captured William's pleas as he struggled to breathe.¹ Williams died in the back of the police car. The officers' responses to William's pleas for help are currently under investigation (Barton, 2013).² Williams was African American, which led the local newspapers to compare the incident to an event 25 years earlier of another death in police custody: that of Ernest Lacy. MPD officers' stopped Lacy and questioned him regarding a sexual assault that he did not commit and he also died while in police custody (Barton, 2013).

Historically, incidents involving the police and ethnic-minority communities are cyclical. Police departments are one of the institutions of social control and, as such, some friction with the communities they serve and the individuals with whom they interact always exists. Sociologists writing about social inequality and social justice question the fairness of how the

¹ During first responder training, police are taught that as long as the person is breathing or talking, they are not in need of emergency attention, rather they should be monitored. The question is whether it would have mattered in light of police -community relations; emotions were not favorable to the police when viewing the video.

² Gina Barton's Milwaukee Journal article points out that the Milwaukee County Inquest Jury's recommendation to charge the Milwaukee police officers involved in the incident was the first such vote in 25 years, although the special prosecutor opted not to issue charges due to the difficulty of proving the case against the officers.

police provide services to different ethnic minorities and lower socioeconomic classes (Sanchez and Rosenbaum, 2010). Some of these issues include racial profiling, the use of force, and disparity in arrest and incarceration.

This research is a historical study of the incorporation of Latino police officers into the MPD through the collection and examination of their experiences. My focus on the City of Milwaukee is driven by several factors. The primary factor is my own familiarity with the City of Milwaukee and the access afforded to individuals I interviewed, as well as the access to data that these individuals afforded me, their extensive historical knowledge of the Latino, African American communities and their relationships with the MPD.

Other factors that prompted me to choose Milwaukee include the number of negative incidents between the MPD and the African American and Latino communities from the 1960s to 1990s. While these incidents might not be more numerous or uncommon than those in other large urban centers, nonetheless, they involved citizen deaths while in contact with police officers, when the citizens were either stopped for questioning or in custody. In response to these incidents, members of the minority communities (African American and Latino) pressed for the hiring of minority officers. There was also an effort to force the MPD to create a community relations program to improve relationship between the police force and the community at large. Another factor is the involvement of two police organizations formed by African American officers and Latino officers that have been involved in social issues affecting both the MPD and the minority communities of Milwaukee.

Police jobs are high paying jobs that support families, but often the paths to these jobs were blocked by barriers in employment for minorities during the 1970s to 1990s. When these barriers were overcome, the path to advancement was still blocked, primarily due to their

membership in these minority groups. African-Americans and Latinos were not getting promoted at the same rate as whites in the police department.

In the 1970s and 1980s, there were constant parallels and alliances between African American officers and Latino officers in Milwaukee. There was an informal alliance between the African American association (League of Martin) and the Latino group (National Latino Peace Officer Association). The reason for the formation of these groups is also examined, primarily because both groups were dues-paying members of the Milwaukee Police Association, the labor organization that represented police officers.

The early Irish experience in policing mirrors many of the problems facing Latinos and African Americans today. Historically, police officers of Irish background faced discrimination within police departments in the New York, Boston, and Philadelphia (Repetto, 2011). Studies of African American police officers in the New York Police Department reveal that although some advances have been made, these officers still face racism and discrimination. Identity by race is still a central theme within police departments in terms of officers and community (Bolton and Feagin, 2004).³ In conducting this study, I found that scholarly studies of the Latino police officer experience (as opposed to that of African Americans) is generally lacking.

Questions

My main research question is; did the hiring of Latinos in the MPD have an impact on relationships between the department and the Latino community? If there was an impact, what was the nature of the impact?

³ Bolton and Feagin's 2004 study of African American police officers points out that those African American officers are seen not just as police officers, but are seen as black officers.

My argument of the dissertation is that a group of Latino officers hired from 1977 through 1983 were socially oriented and reached out to the Latino community and were able to create a positive impact on community relations between the MPD and Latino community. These officers were independent minded, aware of the racial disparities prevalent within the MPD, as well as the racial biases by MPD in policing the Latino community. These officers joined a national Latino officers association, the National Latino Peace Officers Association, which became the vehicles for their activism. In this process, Latino officers came to more strongly identify with the community and shed the blue shield.

In studying the Latino officer experience within MPD, I added further questions once it was apparent that the NLPOA played a major role in the Latino police officer experience. One of the officers interviewed, Ruben Burgos said, “You can’t write about the history of Latino officers without including the NLPOA” (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012). In addition, other questions came to the forefront as I conducted the study, such as:

1. How did Latino police officers understand and or deal with the issue of race, compared to African Americans police officers?
2. What influenced Latinos in responding to community relations between MPD and the Latino communities?
3. What was the importance of the National Latino Peace Officers Association (NLPOA) in improving relations between the MPD and the Latino community?
4. Did the NLPOA offset the influence of the police subcultural for Latino officers in MPD?

5. Was there a sense of social responsibility among Latino and African American police officers?

Defining Identity

I selected a historical approach due to the lack of existing research documenting the experiences of Latino police officers in MPD. Two issues of identity became a problem. First, assimilation became an issue. Some individuals chose not to call themselves “Latino/a,” even if they have one or two Latino parents. Second, people who had only one Latino parent, were they still considered Latino? If the person was fully assimilated into the Anglo culture, were they still considered Latino? In addressing the issue of identity, I decided to simplify the issue and used self-identification. I simply asked the individual interviewed how they identified themselves.

Defining identity is also important in that the term Latino covers many groups with Spanish speaking roots. These different groups are grouped into one in this country for easier identification, whereas the reality is that this group self identifies differently. However, the Latino officers in Milwaukee and the organizers of the National Latino Peace Officer Association (NLPOA) understood that to identify oneself as Latino meant bringing all the different groups into one united front. Additionally, members of the NLPOA also understood that if they identified themselves as peace officers rather than police officers, it would include a variety of other professions within the criminal justice system, thus giving them a larger membership base.

Latino police officers in many US departments also had to face the additional problem in that they were seen as “sellouts” by members of their ethnic groups, causing these officers to further entrench themselves in the police subculture. Once these officers obtained density in numbers within police departments, they challenged department discriminatory practices,

reached out to their respective ethnic communities for support, and supported these communities (Dempsey and Frost, 2012, p. 197).

History and Demographics of Milwaukee Police Department

In looking at the demographics of the MPD, it historically mirrors the city's roots. When the MPD was organized on October 4, 1855 (Wellauer-Lenius, 2008, p. 9) the major ethnic groups in the city were German, Irish and what Gurda (2006) referred to as "Yankees." According to Gurda, by the 1860s, German immigrants and their children made up a "comfortable majority" of Milwaukee's population (Gurda, 2006, p. 59).

MPD operated under both a patronage and spoils system. Elected officials appointed police officers and the Mayor appointed the police chiefs. After complaints of patronage and corruption of MPD, the city created the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission in 1885 to appoint police officers. The Fire and Police Commission instituted a system of "merit rather than patronage" (p. 203) for hiring police officers. Members of the Fire and Police Commission are appointed by the mayor (Gurda, 2006).

The first police chief for MPD was Chief William Beck, who was born in Germany and was appointed on September 1855. The Milwaukee Common council originally appointed ten patrol officers to the MPD. All MPD police chiefs were white males until the appointment of Phillip Arreola who was appointed chief in 1989. Arthur Jones was the first African American police chief appointed in 1996 and Nannette Hegerty was the first female police chief appointed in 2003 (Wellauer-Lenius, 2008).

The first African American officer, Judson Waller Minor Jr. was appointed in 1924 and served until 1926. In searching for other early minority hires a 1949 photograph shows 4 African

American uniform officers, 4 African American officers in suits and the 1st African American female police officer, Dorothy Strong are all photographed together (Wellauer-Lenius, 2008, p. 85). I was unable to locate records to show the demographic for the MPD for the 1940s. There were no recorded Latino hires for the MPD prior to 1964 when Procopio (Nick) Sandoval was hired.

Tracking the demographic make-up of the MPD was a challenge since the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission reports posted on the web site only provided information from 2000, and many of the ethnic categories were not tracked before 2000. I obtained information from dissertations by Krzewinski and Snyder to come up with MPD demographic information from 1980 to 1990. Krzewinski was able to get MPD demographic information from a report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights written by the Wisconsin State Committee on Civil Rights 1972 investigation (Krzewinski, 2000). Snyder's demographic information was obtained from articles in the Milwaukee Journal. Snyder obtained information on Latinos in MPD from 1973 articles, *Latins Complain to Breier* and *Rights Case May Affect City Police*, as well as a Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission eligibility list of Police Appointees from 1964 to 1983 (Snyder, 2002). I also did a hand search of the published Fire and Police Commission reports in the Milwaukee Public Library dating from 1950 to 1964. There was no demographical information on the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission web site reports for that period.

Table 1. Demographic Comparison of Sworn Personnel for the Milwaukee Police Department
Versus City of Milwaukee 1980–2012

Milwaukee Population Demographics	White	African- American	Latino	Native- American	Asian
*1980					
636,295	453,970	145,850	26,487	4,859	4,239
Percentage	71.40%	22.90%	4.20%	.08%	.70%
Police Officers					
2079*	1832	162	**	**	**
Percentage	88.11%	7.79%			
1990					
628,088	381,714	189,409	39,409	5,213	11,429
Percentage	71.40%	30.20%	6.30%	.80%	1.80%
Police Officers					
1820	1391	217	122	29	2
Percentage	76.42%	11.92%	6.70%	1.53%	.10%
2000					
596,974	270,989	220,432	71,646	4,313	17,561
Percentage	45.40%	36.90%	12%	.70%	2.90%
Police Officers					
2076	1261	416	191	37	11
Percentage	60.74%	20.03%	9.20%	1.70%	.52%
2010					
596,833	266,339	237,769	103,007	4,695	20,851
Percentage	44.78%	39.97%	17.32%	.79%	3.51%
Police Officers					
1924	1272	377	217	28	25
Percentage	66.11%	19.59%	11.27%	1.45%	1.29%
2012***					
Police Officers					
1890	1253	271	227	27	28
Percentage	65.90%	14.33%	12%	1.42%	1.48%

**Data on Milwaukee Police Officers obtained from Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission reports.

Milwaukee Census data obtained from U.S. Urban Census

*Data obtained from Krzewinski Dissertation, 2000, demographic data on Milwaukee Police Department in 1980 unreliable and not available on Milwaukee Fire and Police commission reports.

***Data not available.

Table 1a. Milwaukee Police Department 1980-2012 Demographics

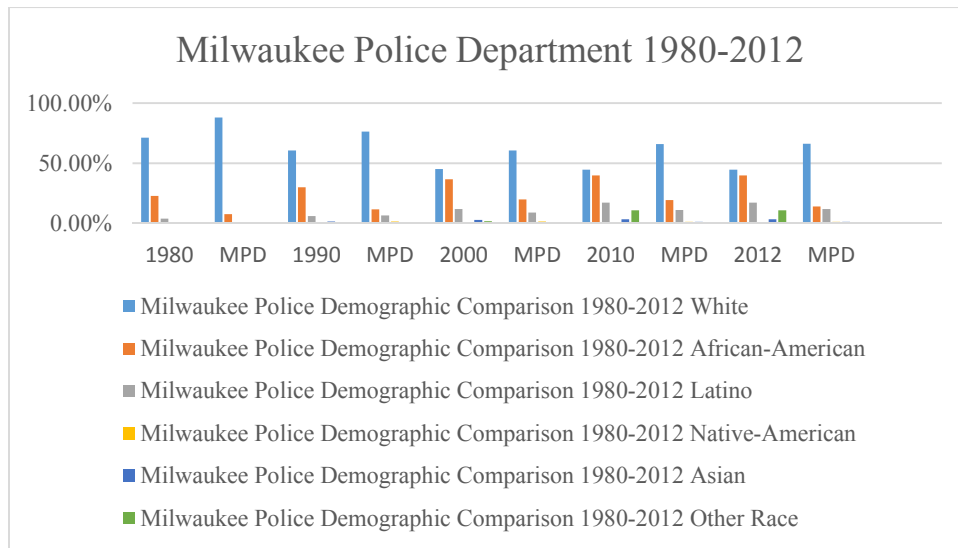


Table 1 and 1a shows that in the MPD there was a significant under-representation of number of African Americans in 1980, compared to the African American population of Milwaukee. Table 1a includes the use of colored bars to show a better picture for comparison of the data in table one. While African Americans were 22.9 percent of Milwaukee's population, they were 7.79 percent of MPD. The data for Latinos was not reliable and I decided to exclude it. There were Latinos in the department in the 1980s. However, the official count is not clear. The only data available was for applicants accepted not for the number that successfully completed the process and became police officers. Snyder's dissertation has a total of 57 appointments between 1964 and 1980 (Snyder, 2002). Counting for attrition from those not completing the police academy to dismissals, I would guess there 47 Latino police officers in 1980. Again, that would be a guess. Additional categories for race and ethnicity were added after the 1990 census; I excluded those numbers because there were no comparable categories for MPD data.

According to data obtained by the *Milwaukee Sentinel* between 1984–1994, the number of female officers rose from 114 to 211, Black officers increased from 164 to 278 and Hispanic officers from 73 to 107.

When I refer to the unreliability of the count, the process for hiring a police officer has to be taken into consideration. Having gone through the process as well as having worked as a police instructor my experience is that once the applicant is appointed, the process (from start to finish) is important in determining retention of applicants to the MPD. The applicant has to go 23 weeks of rigorous training that includes physical fitness training, defense and arrest tactics, and emergency vehicle operation training, first responder training, firearms training, criminal investigations training, criminal law and city ordinance training. The applicant is constantly given examinations for each topic. The applicant must pass all subjects to graduate. Once the

applicant graduates, they are assigned to a district station for further training. The police recruit is assigned to a field-training officer who monitors the recruit's ability to perform the duties of a police officer. The field-training officer gives the recruit either a positive review or negative review, which determines whether the recruit will be allowed to graduate and become a police officer.

Once the recruit graduates from the police academy, they are assigned to a district police station where they will work and will be on probation for a full year. While under the probationary status, the police officer may be dismissed for cause. The police officer is not allowed to join the police union and has no union representation, nor can they appeal their firing. There is an internal review board that reviews the circumstances of the probationary officer's dismissal, other than that review board the probationary officer has to restart to the courts for relief. The process from academy to getting off probation is lengthy, and many applicants are terminated before the process is complete.

The table shows a clear increase in African American officers during the 1980s; however in 1990 the percentage of the African American population in Milwaukee was 30 percent compared to 11.9 percent African American officers in MPD. The Latino police officers are close to the population, which was at 6.3 percent in 1990. Interestingly, the highest percentage of African American officers was in 2000 with the percentage of African American officers was at 20.03 percent, and that number declined in 2012 to 14.33%.

The peak years for Latino hires were 2000 at 9.20% and 2012 at 12 percent, both ahead of the Latino population. The white population declined in Milwaukee during the same period however the percentage of white officers consistently exceeded the percentage of the white population.

The increase of both Latino and African American police officers in Milwaukee parallels that of minority officers in the U.S. (Zhao, He and Lovrich, 2005 study). Zhao and his colleagues report an increase in the hiring of Latinos, African Americans and other minorities in law enforcement as minority populations and increased hiring of minority police chiefs in major police departments. The data in table 1 and 1a in the MPD shows a steady increase of African American officers in the 1980s and a larger increase for Latinos in the 1990s. The increase of minority officers prior to the hiring of Chief Arreola could be attributed to a discrimination lawsuit filed against the MPD by a group of African American police officers in 1974. The African American officers had organized and called themselves the League of Martin and were led by Arthur Jones, who would become the first African American police chief in 1996. The lawsuit was settled on August 20, 1975 with a consent decree in which MPD was required to hire African Americans, Latinos and American-Indian applicants; the ratio was one minority for “every three white applicants” (Snyder, 2002, p. 56).

The numbers seem to support the findings of Zhao, He and Lovrich, (2005) that the size of the minority was the most important factor in the increase of minorities in police departments as well as the hiring of minority police chiefs. The other factor, in Milwaukee at least, was the active role taken by both the League of Martin as well as the NLPOA in helping recruit candidates for the police department and in both cases prepping minority candidates for entrance examinations. In the case of the League of Martin there was also the battle for removing what they deemed to be training officers who were eliminating African American candidates. However it would be hard to measure or assess the effectiveness of these groups since there is no data available as to individuals recruited and prepped by these organizations (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).

Table 2. Demographical comparison of Milwaukee Police Department vs National Average 1990 to 2000

Year	African American	Latino
1990		
National*		
Average	9.5%	5.4%
MPD**	11.2%	6.3%
2000		
National*	10.38%	7.7%
Average		
MPD**	20.03%	9.20%

*Data retrieved from Zhao, He and Lovrich, 2005

**Data retrieved from Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission Annual Report

Table 2a. Demographical comparison of Milwaukee Police Department vs National Average 1990 to 2000

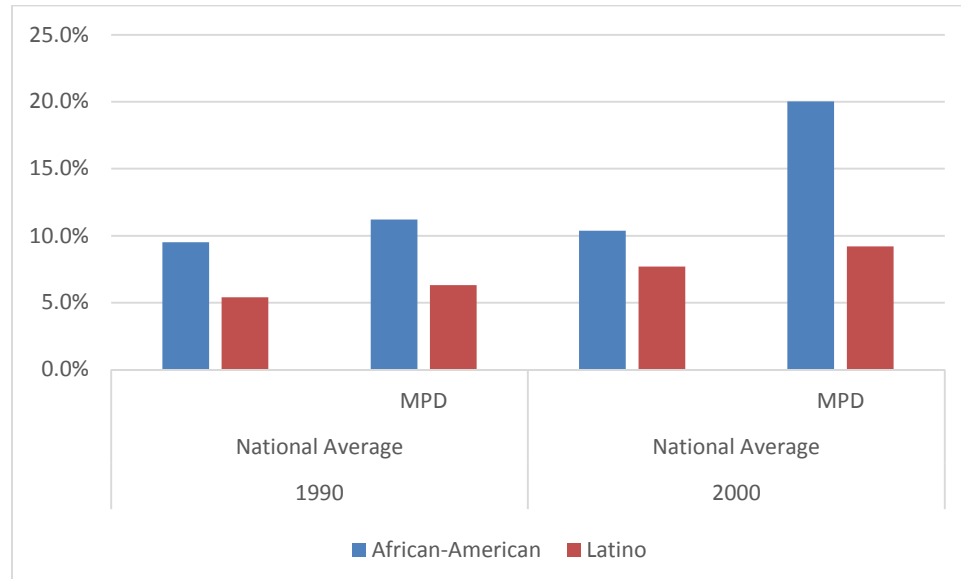


Table 2 and 2a illustrate a comparison of the demographical comparison of the MPD demographical make-up of African Americans and Latinos against the national average. I used the information from the 2005 Zhao, He and Lovrich study. The data shows that the MPD was slightly ahead of the national average. This could be in part the result of the League of Martin and the NLPOA involvement in recruiting. The growth of the Latino and African American populations in Milwaukee as well as the hiring of a Latino police chief might also be an important factor. I was unable to find information regarding other police departments and ethnic police organizations involved in the recruiting process to make a determination if that was the case; based on the information regarding Milwaukee's NLPOA and League of Martin interviews that seems to be an area that could be studied further.

Table 3. Demographic Use of Force by Race of Officer and Complainant 2009–2012

White	African American	Latino	Native-American	Asian/Pacific Is
2009				
Complainant				
13.7%	58%	7%	*	1%
City				
Demographic				
40.4%	38%	15.7%	*	*
Officer				
60%	15%	12. %	2%	*
MPD				
Demographic				
66.2%	20.2%	10.9%	*	*
2010				
Complainant				
28.6%	63.6%	6.5%	*	1.3%
City				
Demographic				
44.8%	40%	17.5%	*	3.5%
Officer				
75%	13.6%	7.6%	1.5%	0%
MPD				
Demographic				
66.1%	19.6%	11.3%	1.5%	1.3%
2011				
Mid-Year Report **				
2012				
Complainant				
31.9%	61.2%	6%	*	0.9%
City				
Demographic				
44.8%	40%	17.3%	*	3.5%
Officer				
64%	19%	13%	1.5%	3%
MPD				
Demographic				
66.3%	19%	11.6%	1.5%	1.4%

Data obtained from The Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission Annual Reports

*Data not available

**Report was a mid-year report data incomplete.

Table 3a. Milwaukee Police Use of Force Demographic

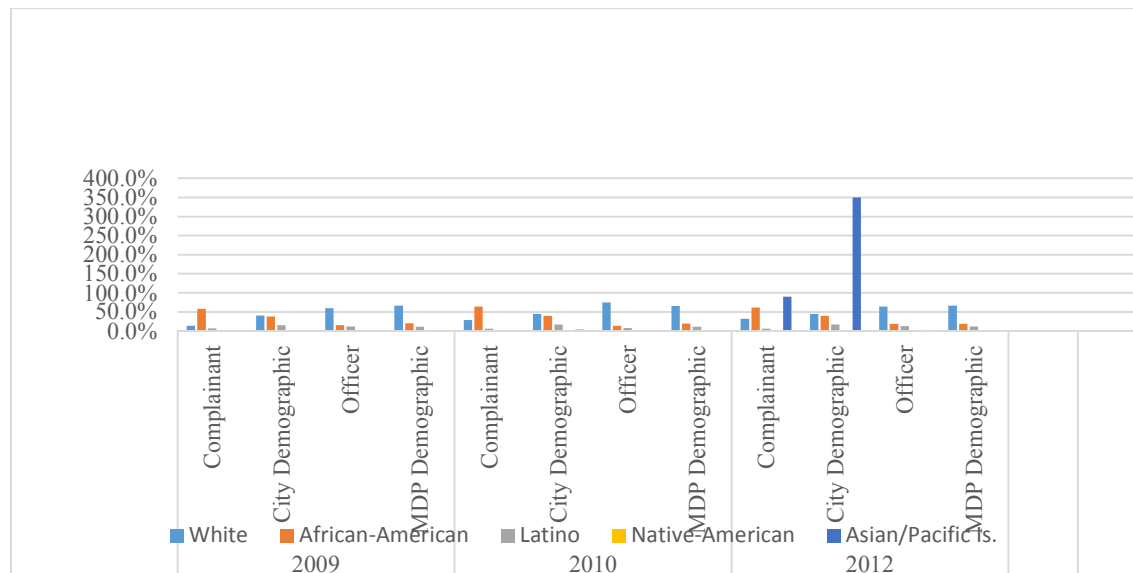


Table 3 and 3a show the use of force by race and complainant from 2009–2012 of the MPD by race of officer and complainant. In my search of Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission reports, I was unable to locate records of the use of race complaints for years prior to 2009. Table 3a is a graphic representation of the statistical information in table 3. The demographic bar is divided into the years 2009, 2010 and 2012. Each year is further divided into the race of the complainant and it is then compared to the city wide demographic and department demographic. There seems to be a continuation of the original problems discussed in the president's 1967 report, a higher rate of use of force in the African American communities; while there is a larger white population the rate of complaints filed against the MPD comes from the African American community.

One of the factors that might determine the frequency in using force against an individual is the type of assignment the officer might have. For example, an officer assigned to a specialized unit, such as a gang unit, would be placed more often in situations where there is a higher frequency in the use of force as compared to an officer assigned to a higher socioeconomic area. There was no category regarding the type of assignments. The other factor is the Fire and Police records were for complaints filed. If complaints were substantiated, the investigation and litigation of a complaint can be a lengthy process, and the officer may be cleared of any wrongdoing. This process is similar through the U.S. for police departments. Hearings are held just like jury trials, in some cases there is a negotiated settlement. All police departments are structured differently, many police departments have the complaints handled through an internal affairs division, in Milwaukee aside from MPD having an internal affairs department, the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission has its own investigators who handle citizen complaints.

Regarding the race of the officer, white officers used force more often while the rate for white complainants was lower than African Americans; interestingly, for Latinos, it was high compared to their ratio in the MPD. Again, I have to emphasize that I was unable to locate comparable data from the 1970s to 1990s.

It was hard to compare MPD to Sanchez and Rosenbaum's study on the frequency of use of force. Sanchez and Rosenbaum's study was based on the use of force against African American youth. In comparing Milwaukee's statistical information in table 3 and 3a, there is a higher frequency of use against African Americans; however, the statistical information did not distinguish between youth or adult. There was a higher frequency in the Milwaukee statistical data, which is similar to the results of Sanchez and Rosenbaum's study. Because African Americans are concentrated in low-income neighborhoods, an inference could be made. Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission reports for 2009 to 2012 did provide information on the districts that generated the most complaints, which were the districts that were located within low-income neighborhoods. However, I was hesitant to use that information because the information did not indicate whether the complaints had been substantiated. The data was not available for the years 1970 to 1990 and so I could not compare the complaints over time.

Interestingly, in looking at the statistical information from 1990 to 2000, the MPD seemed to diversify its police force at a higher rate than the national average. The diversification of MPD included the hiring of minority police chiefs; however, the number of incidents of uses of force in minority communities, especially the African American community, did not seem to decrease. This correlates with other findings by simply "diversifying" a city's police officers and administrators, it is not possible to lower the use of force incidents.

About the Author

I am a retired Milwaukee police officer. I retired in 2006 with the rank of police detective. I worked uniformed patrol, mostly within Milwaukee's Latino community. I also worked the Vice Control division, working undercover to combat illegal drugs, as well as working assignments in the gang intelligence unit (Latino gangs), dignitary protection, the Violent Crimes Unit, the Property Crimes Division, the Crisis/Hostage Negotiations Unit, and as an instructor for both the recruit section and in-service section. As an instructor at the police academy, I was a certified Defense and Arrest Tactics instructor, a diversity instructor, and a first responder and emergency vehicle operations course instructor.

I have also been involved in martial arts training most of my life. I started training in the martial arts at the age of 16 and I eventually received the grade of black belt in Moo du Kwan Tai Kwan do. I did study other forms of martial arts, such as Judo, Jujitsu, and Chinese Kempo. I stopped my training to pursue both my master's degree course and PhD.

As a former police instructor, I recognize that race is not a determining factor as to whether a police officer is good or bad, nor does race exclude a police officer from engaging in either unethical practices or excessive use of force. Race or ethnicity is not a measure of character; however, this is one of the characteristics that differentiate a police officer from others. Race and/or ethnicity helps bond them to the communities in which they grew up. In the numerous interviews I conducted of Latino officers, race/ethnicity was an important theme.

I was one of the original members of the Milwaukee Chapter of the NLPOA, as well as being a current member and President of the Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship Foundation for

eleven years. I retired from the MPD and I am currently employed as a campus director for a Springfield College School of Human Services, Milwaukee Campus.⁴

I started my career with the MPD in 1978 and my experience as a patrol officer early in my career was mundane. I patrolled Milwaukee's near Southside, which has the largest Latino population in Milwaukee. I had just been discharged from the army and there were a large number of veterans working as police officers in the MPD. I felt comfortable and was readily accepted within the police department, I would attribute that to my military background. Although I grew up in the community I was patrolling, I was detached from the Latino population because after I served six years in the military I lost track of friends within the Latino community. I was fluent in Spanish and that made me useful for the MPD and other officers. I was often used as an interpreter and, as a result, I worked on homicide cases early in my career assisting veteran police detectives. This gave me an advantage when the police detective examination was administered in 1989 and I was promoted to the rank of police detective on March of 1990. I was able to navigate the different assignments within the police department.

I resigned from the MPD to work as a Deputy Sheriff in Texas in 1982; I was divorced and my ex-wife had moved to Texas. I moved to attempt a reconciliation; however, the reconciliation was not successful. I briefly worked for the Hidalgo County Sheriff's Department in Texas; Hidalgo County is located in the southern part of Texas and borders Mexico. The county seat for Hidalgo County is Edinburg and the largest American city is McAllen; the largest Mexican city near the border is Reynosa. The Rio Grande River was often my southernmost

⁴ The Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship Foundation is the parent organization of Mexican Fiesta, one of the ethnic festivals held on Milwaukee's lakefront. Mexican Fiesta is a fundraising event for the WHSF. Mexican Fiesta has raised over one million dollars for college scholarships for students of Latino descent.

border depending on the sector I patrolled. I opted to return to the MPD in 1983 because the pay and opportunities were better and I had a family to support.

Having joined the police force out of the military, I fully embraced the police subculture; however, it was not until I became a member of the National Latino Peace Officers Association, in 1988 that I started to reconnect with the Latino community. Joining the NLPOA enabled me to view the concerns of the Latino community regarding the use of force as well as reinforced the importance of giving the community a voice in how they were policed. It allowed me to move away from an “us vs. them” attitude (Blue Shield) to an “us” view of policing the Latino community.

As a member of the NLPOA, I discussed the relationship between the MPD and the Latino community. I started to volunteer in community events through the NLPOA. I was elected vice president of the Milwaukee Chapter of the NLPOA in 1988. As vice president, I met with the different leaders within the Latino community, like Ernesto Chacon, and discussed their concerns regarding the MPD. I was also aware of the growing number of Latinos within the MPD and lack of promotion to the upper ranks. I became a member of the NLPOA after meeting with representatives of the Association and discussing issues of promotion. My knowledge of Latino issues on a national level broadened, and my attachment to the police subculture diminished.

Although an argument could be made regarding my bias (because I was a member of the MPD), I am also a member of Milwaukee’s Latino community, as well as a member of several of the organizations that I will include in this study as this involvement provided me the opportunity to conduct this study.

I chose the historical approach, documenting the oral history of the Latino police officers as well as community leaders involved within the minority community, using their voices to provide a balance to the study.

My experience will give a unique insight into the police subculture, as well as allow me to provide a unique analytical perspective since I have been in contact with individuals on both sides of the issues. During my career as a Milwaukee Police officer, I was pursuing my Master's degree in Cultural Foundations of Education from the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. I then realized I was in the unique position of observing the issue of identity from both an academic perspective and a personal perspective. I also was aware of the fine line that some police officers of color walked in relation to both being members of the MPD and members of an ethnic community. African American as well as Latino police officers have had troubled relationships within the MPD.

Another aspect of my personal experience was my service in the U.S. Army, especially my assignment overseas. I was stationed in a military intelligence unit in Panama. The unit was attached to a Special Forces detachment and part of the duty of was to provide training for military personnel of both South American countries and Central American countries. My assignment lasted from 1973 to 1974, during the latter part of the Vietnam War. Part of my duties was to translate military training manuals, which stressed the importance of knowing the population that any military unit would come in contact with; the cultural aspect of the population was important. This assignment would later contribute in forming an important part of my policing philosophy, become familiar with people I policed as well as their cultural views.

During my 26 years with the MPD I was assigned to the patrol division, I was assigned primarily to a heavily Latino police district. During the emergence of the Latino gangs in

Milwaukee, during the late 1970s, I was assigned to work the gang detail. I was assigned to the Milwaukee Police Gang Crimes Unit when it became a permanent unit with MPD. I worked primarily Latino gangs, including investigating gang-related homicides, drug crimes, as well as gathering intelligence on Latino gangs. I also alternated between the gang unit and the Vice Control Division investigating illegal drug trafficking in Milwaukee. During my tenure with the MPD, I was temporarily assigned to work on Federal Task forces to include an assignment with the Alcohol Tabaco and Firearms task force investigating gun trafficking in Milwaukee.

Other assignments included Intelligence Analyst, Crisis/Hostage Negotiator, as well as two different tours as an instructor at the Milwaukee Police Training Academy, where among other police-related courses; I was involved in both recruit and in-service diversity training.

I also was the subject of several citizen complaints for the use of force, one of which resulted in an award for the citizen in 1984. I was one of several officers named in an excessive use of force complaint; there were no departmental charges or criminal charges issued against myself or any of the other officers involved. I was not charged with any criminal allegations during my policing career.

Methodology

The methodology employed for this study is a historical examination of the incorporation of Latino police officers in to the MPD. I focused on the experience of individual Latino officers within the MPD, who were some of the first hired by MPD. This is an oral history of those officers, as well as interviews with Ernesto Chacon one of the early Latino community organizer. I also interviewed John Torres, a Latino journalist who has a rich history of working with local news media covering Latino events since the 1970s who currently owns his own radio station. I interviewed Jose Flores, a Latino gang specialist who has worked in gang intervention dating

back to the formation of the MPD gang crimes unit in the early 1980s. I interviewed two African American police officers that were involved in the League of Martin and early anti-discrimination lawsuits against the MPD as well as elaborate on the relationship between the League of Martin and NLPOA. The Latino officers and African American officers that I did interview were willing informants who agreed to participate in this research. I did attempt to interview other non-members of the LPOA however the individuals I approached who were not members of the NLPOA or League of Martin were not willing to participate in the study.

Regarding oral history, the problem is that memory is not necessarily the most reliable source; having said that, it is important to document the voices of parties involved in the desegregation of the MPD. In conducting the research, I relied on multiple sources to document the narrated events. For example, I searched the files of the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* for specific events that I felt were significant reference points involving the MPD and its minority communities. I followed up by conducting interviews with individuals involved in some of those events. I also searched records of the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission; this was done via a hand search of records in the Milwaukee Public Library's Humanities section.

I searched the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission website. However, police reports are limited to current reporting which caused me to search elsewhere for older data. In the files of the Milwaukee Public Library, I was able to obtain records on the MPD dating from 1956 to 2000. I was searching for reports from 1964 to 2000, which included the administration of the following Milwaukee Police chiefs, Harold Breier, Robert Ziarnik, Phillip Arreola and Arthur Jones. I was searching for the statistical break down of the MPD regarding the racial makeup of the Milwaukee Police. Interestingly, when I looked through the annual reports of the Milwaukee Police from 1956 through 2000, I found that the only administration that provided racial

breakdown of the MPD was that of Phillip Arreola. Arreola not only provided the racial make-up of the MPD, but his administration also provided the racial make-up of the applicants.

I also used documents that I produced in my career with the MPD. During my 26-year career with the MPD, I was assigned to the gang units where I interviewed confidential informants regarding gang activity. I have the original memorandum books as well as computer discs in which I saved the information. I coded the archival files that I used with the code LPEARC and the number. The code stands for Latino Police Experience Archival Record, followed by a number for the file. I also blocked out names and any other type of identifiable information.⁵

Historical events concentrated on efforts of Milwaukee's minority communities to have members of their communities represented within the MPD. The effort was highlighted by the campaign to remove then Milwaukee Police Chief Harold Brier due to lack of response to minority concerns regarding police practices when it came to policing of the African American community and, to a lesser extent, the Latino community. I also focused on the implementation of the Community-Oriented Policing philosophy that was initiated by Chief Philip Arreola, as well as organizing of the Latino officers within the Milwaukee Police Department that led to their involvement in the implementation of the Community-Oriented Policing Philosophy.

Previous work by Snyder (2002) proved to be an important resource in my research. I focused on Milwaukee's Latino experience in an attempt to add to the existing work by Ronald Snyder, whose dissertation on Chief Harold Breier (Snyder, 2002) focused on the period from

⁵ Police officers were required to keep memorandum books with information regarding all assignments. My memorandum books were not collected upon my retirement. When the MPD started using computers, I saved my reports to computer discs, which were also not collected and are in my possession.

the 1960s to the 1980s and the incidents that led to the Chief's removal and contentious relationship between the MPD and the African American community.

Michael Krzewinski's dissertation on the effects of affirmative action on the Milwaukee Police Department focused on the battle over affirmative action and the consent decree; however, his work concentrated on the African American community, African American police officers, and the white response (Krzewinski, 2000). Although Krzewinski did address some Latino involvement, it was minimal.

Krzewinski concluded that although the MPD had diversified, there were still racial problems within the MPD (Krzewinski, 2000). In analyzing Krzewinski's dissertation, one of the causes of the friction was the constant challenge against affirmative action by white officers who organized in 1991. The organization of white officer known as Law Enforcement Officers Coalition Against Reverse Discrimination filled a series of lawsuits challenging affirmative action within the MPD.

Previous research on African American and Latino police officers focuses on public attitude towards officers, the use of force, and if the use of force by minority police officers was comparable to white officers. In the case of Latinos, often the officer's ability to speak Spanish is used as a measure of their value. One of my other arguments is that identity bonds them to the community, and the importance of their value. Reforms to combat police corruption and ineffectiveness produced police subcultures, which bonded the officers to the profession rather than the community. The majority of the officers prior to the 1970 affirmative action plan to integrate police departments were white, with very few police officers of color (Bolton and Feagin, 2004).

As a result of the professionalization of police departments, unique characteristics formed between these officers causing them to bond together and protect each other. This created a wall between themselves and communities they served (Woody, 2005, p. 525). As African American and Latinos were integrated into police departments, these officers formed organizations separate from their labor unions to fight what they saw as discriminatory practices, and it was these organizations, which served to combat the effects of the police subculture creating, in essence, community advocacy groups among the officers.

The growth of the Latino community on a national level as well as on a local level in Milwaukee gives this particular topic current importance. At the risk of being repetitive, police departments are important agencies within any community, rural or urban. Historically, however, urban areas are where riots are sparked in part by the negative relationship between minority communities, and police departments. Although factors such as high unemployment and lack of response to the minority community concerns were present, incidents between the MPD and minority members sparked the unrest.

In studying the experience of Latino police officers, it is important to not only document individual experiences of the officers, but also the organizations that they formed to both protect their interests within the MPD and to improve their relationships within both the Latino community and in Milwaukee.

I researched the history of the Latino community from a national perspective to include the 1960s Latino civil rights movement and how the national movement influenced the Milwaukee Latino Community. This issue was highlighted in an interview of Ernesto Chacon, who was involved with Cesar Chavez and the Grape Boycott of the 1960s. Although Chacon and

other Latino activists traveled to California and met with Chavez, their focus was bettering the Latino condition in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Rodriguez highlights the influence of the Mexican American (Chicano) connection to Milwaukee, from the farm workers to the activism of the 1960s civil rights movement (Rodriguez, 2011). Rodriguez (2011) documented the farm-worker migration out of Texas to the west as far as California, north to North Dakota, and east to Ohio. These migration patterns helped set up networks for Latino civil rights movement to include Milwaukee. Organizations such as the League of United Latin-American Citizens (LULAC) and the American G.I. Forum spearheaded the Latino civil rights movement in the 1960s, and moved out of Texas and across the United States addressing education, housing, and other civil rights concerns for Latinos (Rodriguez, 2011). Often, the Latino struggle paralleled the African American civil rights movement, and some thought that the Latino advance came at some expense to the African American civil rights movement.⁶

The Latino police officer experience was similar. The first Latino police officer hired by the Milwaukee Police Department was originally from Texas, and many other Latinos hired by the Milwaukee Police Department were not originally from Milwaukee.⁷ The NLPOA expanded eastward in the 1980s enabling Latino officers in MPD to become members. The NLPOA had expanded to Puerto Rico by the late 1990s.

While conducting my research on the National Latino Peace Officer Association, I became aware of the group's efforts at trying to forge a Latino identity. Although the members

⁶ In interviewing a Milwaukee civic leader who wished to remain anonymous, he raised the issue when he went off the record to express a comment made by a former high-ranking police official. The official commented that the "brown man had advanced on the back of the black-man."

⁷ Interview of Procopio Sandoval first Latino hired by the MPD in 1964.

were of Puerto Rican, Mexican, Cuban, and other Latino descent, they focused on their commonalities starting with their professions and extended from there to those characteristics and issues that they shared.

The final reason for choosing the historical method and not the quantitative method was the difficulty in measuring the impact of the political influence in the changes that occurred, both internally and externally. While conducting the research, it became apparent that politics was an important component in the changes that occurred within the Milwaukee Police Department and politics drove many of these changes.

The Interviews: Latino and African American Police Officers

In selecting the subjects for the interviews, I chose Latino MPD officers who were members of the National Latino Peace Officers Association. I also attempted to interview Latino MPD officers who were not members of the NLPOA, but the result was that all members who I approached had some connection with the organization. Not all were active members; some of the interviewees paid their dues, but were not active within the organization. I also selected three African American police officers since there was a working relationship between the NLPOA and The League of Martin; the African American officers had important information to offer regarding the relationship between both the organizations.

Included in these interviews are prior high-ranking Latino members of the Milwaukee Police Department. These past high-ranking members of the police department served under different police chiefs and were open regarding their personal experiences within MPD; they elected having their identities disclosed. They are Ramón Galaviz, Oscar Perez both Deputy Inspectors of Police. Galaviz was still active in the MPD when interviewed, However Perez was retired when interviewed. I also interviewed Denita Ball, a retired Deputy Inspector of Police.

Denita is African American and at one point in her career was the commander of the Milwaukee Police Department's equivalent of Internal Affairs. The interviewees were selected based on the factor that they had been hired during the late 1970s and 1980s and they were some of the first Latinos hired. Galaviz, Perez, and Ball were selected, because they were both minority officers that had reached upper level command positions in MPD and had important insight into polices. José Luis López was selected because he had strong ties to the Puerto Rican community and was the force behind organizing Latino officers into the Latino Peace Officers Association.

Another important interview was Lenard Wells, although he is not Latino he is a former president of the League of Martin, an African American police organization within MPD. Wells was a wealth of information as far as historical events pertinent to the relations between the League of Martin and the NLPOA was concerned. Wells moved to Milwaukee from Alabama in 1973, he came to Milwaukee looking for a job, and he worked at the A.O. Smith Corporation for about five years. He was recruited to MPD as a recruiting effort by Walter Beach of the Urban League because of an accidental shooting by a Milwaukee Police detective in the African- American community (L. Well, personal communication, November 10, 2012). According to Well's account of the incident sometime around 1971 or 1972 an African American female, Viola Thompson was shot by a MPD detective who was searching for her brother. The detective was walking up the stairs of Thompson's residence with his gun drawn. The detective slipped and the gun discharged, the bullet went through the door and struck Thompson who died from the gunshot wound. There was an outcry from the African American community; they felt that had there been more African American officers, this would not have occurred (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).

Well's contact with the recruiting effort occurred while he was leaving the A. O. Smith Corporation; he was greeted by community activist handing out recruiting flyers for MPD. Wells had trouble passing the MPD's background check. Wells had no criminal record; however, his father had a criminal record in Clark County Alabama. Milwaukee Police background investigators called the Clark County Sheriff who discussed Wells' father with the officers. Wells' father had a police record and based on the fathers background Wells was initially denied based on information obtained from the Clark County Sheriff's department (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).

Wells appealed the denial and had to go in front of Chief Breier and Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission to explain why he should be allowed to join MPD. The Fire and Police Commission reversed the police department's denial and Wells entered the Milwaukee Police Academy on May of 1973 and retired as a police lieutenant in 2001.

I interviewed a retired Milwaukee Police detective who was active within the League of Martin, until he retired. He did not want his real name used; I used Bill Robinson as pseudonym. Robinson joined the Milwaukee Police Department in 1977, shortly after graduating from college. Robinson majored in mass communication and sociology; he joined MPD on a dare from his wife (B. Robinson, personal communication, September 25, 2013). His wife had taken the police exam, but failed, she was unable to get over the 6-foot wall. The 6-foot wall was a deal breaker for many individuals, especially females. The wall is a matter of technique and mental preparation. Most males learn to jump over walls and fences while growing up, while the majority of females might not have had the same rough and tumble experience growing up. The wall also had a reputation as a major obstacle to get over for both male and female police applicants.

I also interviewed Latino community members who interacted with members of the MPD from the late 1960s to the 1990s, a newspaper reporter, working intervention specialists, or as community activists during the same time period, late 1960s to the 1990s.

The interviews were conducted using open-ended questions to allow the interviewee to tell his or her stories. I also asked probing questions to clarify certain points that I felt were important. In interviewing police officers, I asked specific questions during the interviews; however, I let the interviewee elaborate and address any additional issue they felt were relevant. I recorded the interviews with a digital recorder and will provide the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee a copy of the recordings at the end of the study.

I asked the police officers the following questions:

1. To provide general biographical information, to include where they grew up, where they lived prior to joining the Milwaukee Police Department, the level of education attained, why they joined the Milwaukee Police Department, and any type of training that they might have received while a member of the Milwaukee Police Department.
2. If they identified with any ethnic or racial group.⁸
3. If they joined the National Latino Peace Officers Association.
4. Why they joined the National Latino Peace Officers Association?
5. I asked regarding their experiences within the Milwaukee Police Department, and to recount any experiences he or she felt were discriminatory.
6. If they were active as volunteers within the communities, they policed (Latino).
7. If the volunteer work was a direct result of their membership in the National Latino

⁸ Although I interviewed Latinos and African Americans, this was not a guarantee that they identified with their respective communities, either the African American or the Latino. Variables such as acculturation to the mainstream culture or in some cases prior military service made it easier to identify with the police culture as police departments are quasi-military.

Peace Officers Association.

8. If the interviewee was a member of the National Latino Peace Officers Association, I asked the interviewee if their volunteerism was a result of their membership in these organizations.
9. I asked the interviewees who volunteered because of membership in the National Latino Peace Officers Association if they would have done volunteer work if they weren't members of these organizations.
10. I allowed the interviewees to expand on any topic they felt was important or identify any issue they felt was important and asked how they got into police work.

When conducting the interviews, I gave interviewees the option to remain anonymous or have their identities revealed. The majority of interviewees elected to be identified. Those interviewees that elected to have their identities revealed also agreed to be recorded, which I did. I used a digital recorder and I downloaded the interview file on to a separate hard drive, which was password protected and was kept in a secure place. Some of the interviewees made comments off the record, and in cases where I used those comments, I used them in the footnotes as general commentary or background information, far removed from the original interviewee in order to prevent the comments being traced to the interviewee. The interviews were all coded LPE 1, LPE 2, etc., with LPE standing for Latino Police Experience and the numbers simply record-keeping numerals that were assigned to each digital file.

The Chapters

Chapter Two: Literature review.

Chapter Two is the literature review. Works regarding the importance of the police subculture as well as other theories discussing the police subculture will be reviewed. The question that I sought to answer, was whether the hiring of minority officers (Latinos in particular), would improve the

relationship between the police department and the Latino community? By reviewing the existing work on police subculture, there is sufficient evidence that shows the police subculture (also known as the police brotherhood) prevails and community relations are not necessarily improved by simply hiring minorities.

Additionally, I will also review work on history of policing to include the historical relationship between Latinos and American policing. This chapter will also cover the historical relationship between Latinos and American policing, in particular Mexican Americans, who were the largest of the Latino groups represented in the U.S.

The different policing strategies will also be covered in relationships to the different chiefs and the impact on Latinos within the police department. The issue of the Latino identity is also examined as far as the movement of the different Latino groups to unite under one common umbrella, that of Latino.

Chapter Three: Milwaukee Police and Latino Community Relations.

Chapter Three covers the history of Mexican Americans in Milwaukee and Puerto Ricans in Milwaukee, the larger of the Latino groups. This chapter covers the organizing of both of these communities in Milwaukee and the building of social networks within Milwaukee. In particular, the chapter examines the violent confrontations between the MPD and Latino activists during demonstrations and protest marches from the 1960s and 1970s. The social networks that were created were important due to the working relationship that developed in the 1990s between the association of Latino officers in MPD who were members of NLPOA and these organizations to help improve relations between the MPD and the Latino community. Chapter three also examines the early use of force incidents by the MPD directed against members of the Latino community.

Chapter Three also covers the working relationship between the Latino and African American communities and the efforts to remove Chief Breier who opposed outside help in trying to develop a community relations program.

Chapter Four: Latino Police officer experiences –The First wave.

Chapter Four examines the experiences of the first Latino and Latina police officers hired by the MPD. Additionally, the experiences of other Latino police officers are also examined. In examining the early experiences of these officers, I found a correlation between the Latino officers and the early civil rights issues within the Latino community, which drives a number of these officers to join a national organization of Latino officers (National Latino Peace Officers Association). The NLPOA is from California and organized in 1972 to deal with discriminatory practices within law enforcement as well as improving relationships with the Latino community.

Chapter Five: Latino Officers and the Latino Gang Problem.

This chapter argues that Latino officers in the MPD had increased their presence and influence by taking the lead in police-community relations. Latino officers increased their power within the Latino community by taking the lead in dealing with the Latino gangs in Milwaukee and working with the community to control the Latino gang problem. Latino officers adopted a Latino identity, which influence how they reached out to the Latino community in order to control the Latino gang problem in Milwaukee.

Chapter Six: National Latino Peace Officers Association: Latino Officers Get Organized in Milwaukee.

This chapter argues that Latino police officers in MPD that joined the National Latino Peace Officers Organization were able to shed the “Blue Shield” and move towards a Latino identity. Once the Latino officers moved towards a “Brown Identity,” they took the lead in working on police-Latino community relations.

Chapter Seven: Milwaukee NLPOA Relationship with the MPD Chiefs and Latino Community.

Chapter Seven argues that Latino officers gained power through the NLPOA and responded to lawsuits by white offices challenging affirmative action. Latino officers shed the “Blue Shield” and moved to a “Brown” identity, identifying with the Latino community, and helped in repairing the relationship between the Latino community and MPD after negative incidents took place between MPD and the Latino community.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion.

This chapter reviews the argument that Latinos in MPD who joined the NLPOA were able to shed the “Blue Shield” and move towards a “Brown” identity, identifying with their Latino background and played a major role in relations between MPD and the Latino community.

Conclusion

At the macro level, the experiences of the Milwaukee Latino community’s relationship with its police department mirror those of other Latino communities across the nation. Studies by Duran (2009), Rodriguez (2011), Reppetto (2010–2011) and Meier, Rivera and Montejano (1987) provided the historical background for the oppressive posture taken by law enforcement

in dealing with Latino communities in the Southwest and California, as well as other American cities like Chicago and New York City. This study looks at the experiences of a group of Latino police officers in Milwaukee as individuals and the organizations they created.

Historically, it is important to examine the history of Latinos in Milwaukee, and the way they organized from a small number to a methodically established networks, social organization to address both civil rights issues and social needs. This led to a vibrant community that was able to help Latinos officers get organized and later work with these officers to address the issue of crime and help provide a voice within the MPD (L. Gonzales, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

It is also important for this study to examine the individual Latino officer's perception of how they viewed themselves as Latinos with a connection to the community or as police officers with a connection to the organization. This becomes an important issue when it comes to addressing the police subculture and the isolation police officers often experience from the rest of the community they serve (Woody, 2005). The pull of the police subculture or the blue brotherhood as it is sometimes called affected Latinos officers in MPD; this study examines how a few MPD Latino officers went from Blue to Brown, reconnecting with the Latino and in the process became a positive force in for both the MPD and the Latino community.

This study has its limitations; it is not quantitative in nature. However, it does address how a few Latino officers contributed to the relationship between MPD and the Latino community.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews work in the area of affirmative action, police reforms because of police corruption, and the relationship between police agencies and Latino communities in the United States. The chapter also examines the development of the emergence of the police subculture because of the police reforms to include the different police strategies/philosophies developed to improve relations between police agencies and the communities they police. Also discussed are the importance of identity for Latinos, and the way all the different groups moved toward a singular identity, i.e. Latino. This section analyzes the importance of the move towards a single identity, and the importance of this identity for Latinos in MPD. The literature review also considers how this identity facilitated the move away from the “Blue Shield” toward a “Brown Identity” and established a closer relationship with the Latino community in Milwaukee.

One of the criticisms of affirmative action is that standards were lowered to allow the hiring of minorities into policing. Having worked for 26 years in the MPD, this view was often voiced by white police officers.

Additionally, racism within American police departments was not only a response to African Americans or Latinos. Racism has deep roots in American policing (Reppetto, 2010). Thus, it is important to review the history of policing in the U.S. to set the stage for the reforms that followed.

The treatment of Latinos and African Americans in Milwaukee was a part of a larger pattern across the United States. The treatment Latinos and African Americans received by American police departments is similar and created natural allies in responding to discriminatory treatment. Both the African American and Latino communities as well as African American and Latino officers in Milwaukee responded to mistreatment by the MPD. African Americans formed

the League of Martin, a group of African American police officers who filed affirmative action lawsuits against the City of Milwaukee and MPD (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012). Latino police officers in MPD joined the Latino Peace Officers Association in 1988 and took an active role in affirmative action lawsuits as well as community relation programs within the Latino community (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013). The LPOA added National to their name in 1992 to reflect their national growth (NLPOA).

The theories that are reviewed, including the police subculture (Hahn, 1971; Woody, 2005; Gould, 2000), credit the efforts to reform American policing by creating a better-trained and educated officer as one factor in the improved relationships between police officers and the population that they policed. Other theories like the Urban Advantage (Brugmann, 2006) propose that urban centers allow for different groups to exchange ideas creating an urban advantage. Police Subculture and race theories examine the issue of negative views regarding race within the police subculture. Police Subculture and Symbolic Representation which examines the background of a police officer's prior to employment and its effect on the police subculture (Hahn, 1971) and Racial Realism, Skrentny's (2014) argument that the use of minorities in the fields of health care, education and policing has a negative impact on minorities themselves, although legally justified.

Urban Advantage.

In my study, I found constant cooperation between the African American communities and Latino communities during the 1960s civil rights movement. Alliances formed between the two groups, both in the civil rights movement of the 1960s–1970s, as well as the alliance between Latino and African American police officers in MPD, in addressing discriminatory practices by the MPD. Their experiences were influenced by the civil rights movement, and they both were influenced by the group's migratory patterns (Brugmann, 2009, p. 27).

Brugmann points out that the African Americans moved to the northern industrial states from the Southern states and established social structures that would help them in the civil rights movement. Mexican Americans migrated to the Midwestern states, following the harvesting seasons as migrant workers, but Mexican Americans as well as other Latinos also migrated to the Midwestern states looking for work in the tanneries and factories (Gurda, 1999; Rodriguez, 2011; Valdes, 2011). Brugmann (2009) coined the phrase “urban advantage” and claimed that urban centers have an “economy of density,” which is a concentration of people that allows them to pursue economic opportunity. The sheer size of a city is the building block of this advantage. The economics of association allow people with different areas of expertise to be close together and collectively find solutions to problems. A final advantage is “the combination of all the advantages which allows them to pass on this knowledge to other cities (p. 27). “

Although Brugmann (2009) described the economic advantages of urban centers, many of these same principles can be applied to the importance of the development of the civil rights movement, the struggles of individual ethnic groups within police departments, and the civil rights activists' responses to problems facing communities in dealing with police departments. In the case of Latino officers in MPD, their contact with officers from California who had

organized the NLPOA allowed them to get organized, through an exchange of ideas with these officers and assistance in organizing (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

In the process of gathering data, it became apparent that Brugmann's argument of the "urban advantage" (2009) also applies to the Latino civil rights movement. The argument is important in explaining the process of both the Latino and the African American civil rights movements, and in particular, these influences on the MPD's minority officers. Some will argue that Latinos were latecomers to the civil rights struggle, especially in Milwaukee. This is where the density argument applies. Ernesto Chacon outlined the strategy employed by Latinos in Wisconsin. Chacon argued that in the 1960s, Latinos lacked population density, which led to a lack of voting power (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013). Robert Welch, former staff member for Mayor Henry W. Maier (Maier was mayor of Milwaukee from 1960 to 1988), stated that during his tenure on Maier's staff, there was a lack of an awareness of Milwaukee's Latino community, and this was attributed to the lack of density of the Latino population.¹ Welch said that there were not enough Latinos present and they were living in the near Southside. The near Southside had a predominantly low economic Polish and Serbian population, and the Mayor's office had not paid attention to the growing Latino population (R. Welch, personal communication, November 8, 2012).

There was also a similarity of the civil rights movement in terms of the migration patterns of both African Americans and Latinos. The civil rights movements of the 1960s was established by the earlier migration patterns by the African Americans in the 1920s and 1930s. These patterns led to the organization of the African American churches, where the civil rights

¹ I interviewed Robert Welch, who spent 13 years as a staff member for Mayor Henry Maier and was Mayor John Norquist's chief lobbyist from 1988 to 1992. In 1995, Mayor Norquist appointed Welch to the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission where he served for 4 years. He is also a current member of the Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship Foundation.

movement developed its leadership (Brugmann, 2009). Many of the same patterns developed within the Latino community in Wisconsin (Rodriguez, 2011). Many of the early Latino civil rights leaders had roots in Texas and worked for the Catholic Church on issues affecting migrant workers throughout the United States, including Wisconsin.

Brugmann's main argument is that cities revolutionized modern society by providing depositories of ideas and networking. He described the early migration to cities by different ethnic groups. Irrespective of whether they were of lower class or middle class, there was a connection of ideas and a facilitation of change, simply due to the nature of cities. People had access to each other and established their own social organizations, which provided a springboard for many of the social changes that occurred. Churches became centers for change for both African Americans and Latinos (Brugmann, 2009).

The urban advantage clearly applies to both the Latino civil rights movement and the Latino police officers. Both were helped in the urban setting, where they were in contact with African Americans and their civil rights movement where they could form alliances and work to bolster their voices, especially in Milwaukee, where they lacked density in population (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

Milwaukee's Latino police officer experience was greatly influenced by Latino activism in Texas and California. The Latino civil rights movement influenced Latino police officers within the MPD. While researching the Latino police officer experience, I was unable to locate any extensive literature on the Latino officer experience; rather, most of the work was on the attitude of the public towards law enforcement, and the assimilation and impact of bilingual officers.

Police Reforms

Research into the history of minorities into policing focuses on primarily African Americans and authors such as Thomas Reppetto highlight the early police experience, which dealt with both corruption and the early issues of race within American police departments (Reppetto, 2010). The early American experience in policing included political corruption; politicians appointed the police officers, and thus police officers were obligated to the politicians (Reppetto, 2010). The historical content of policing became important in my research; a constant comment made regarding the incorporation of minorities into policing is the claim that standards were lowered to admit minorities into policing. While reviewing the problems with policing from a historical perspective, there seemed to be a lack of standards to begin with or if there were any, these standards had to be questioned.

In 1857, the New York State the Protestant majority attempted to control the Irish Catholics in New York City by forming a metropolitan police department. New York City had a large Irish Catholic population, which was subjected to police brutality, until the Irish took control of the police department (Reppetto, 2010). There was a constant battle by the mainstream groups (which were mainly Protestant) to undermine the growing influence of immigrant groups, in this case the Irish (Irish who were Catholic) to gain political influence. The police department was an important government agency in this process (Reppetto, 2010).

Tammany Hall's control of the New York Police Department is an example of corruption that occurred as a result of politicians appointing police officers and police officials. Tammany Hall was named after Tammany Tweed, who controlled the New York City Democratic Party appointed the police commissioners, which lead to patronage and other forms of police corruption (Reppetto, 2010).

The Irish in Boston had a unique problem in that the Irish were predominantly Catholic and the majority population referred to as Yankee was Protestant (Reppetto, 2010). In 1870, Boston witnessed conflicts between Irish Catholics and Protestants, who were in power.² However, with the growth of the Irish population by the early 1920s, the Irish were in control of the Boston Police Department (Reppetto, 2010). African Americans were not hired in any significant numbers in the northern states and were absent in the southern states. Northern states practiced racial discrimination and southern states did not hire any African American police officers from the 1890s to the 1960 (Bolton and Feagin, 2004). According to Bolton and Feagin (2004), during the 1960s, the hiring of African Americans into the police departments increased; however, discriminatory practices continued. African American officers were regulated to patrolling African American areas and were forbidden from arresting white criminals and during this period (1950s–1960s) many white officers were members of the Klux Klux Klan (Bolton and Feagin, 2004).

On comparing the experience of Latinos to African Americans, Filipe Ortiz, Senior Advisor to the National Latino Peace Officers Associations, cited the large number of Mexican Americans in the Southwest, stating that historically there have been Latinos in law enforcement, especially in states like New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013).

Corruption was another issue plaguing early American policing and prohibition presented Americans with policing their own set of problems. Bootlegging became a major industry and led to the growth of ethnic gangs in Philadelphia (Reppetto, 2004). In 1920, Philadelphia had 80,000 speakeasies and 1,500 brothels, and the alliance between the politicians and criminals was worse in

² Reppetto refers to the White Protestant as Yankees referring to the dominant white population who controlled Boston.

Philadelphia than in any other major American city (Repetto, 2004, p. 145). Philadelphia also experienced anti-Irish and anti-African American riots similar to Boston and New York. In an attempt to clean up the Philadelphia Police Department, Marine Brigadier General Smedley Darlington Butler was appointed the head of the Philadelphia Police Department; however, he was not successful in eliminating the corruption in the Philadelphia Police Department. Butler expressed that being head of the Philadelphia Police Departments was one of his worst experiences (Repetto, 2004, p. 147).

Chicago also was experiencing the same problems as Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Prohibition allowed the ethnic gangs to get a foothold on Chicago politics. Gangsters Johnny Torrio, Al Capone, and Dean O' Banion were engaged in a turf war in prohibition era Chicago. The gangsters had alliances with the politicians and police, paying politicians and police officers. Reforms were ineffective and although commissions were established to investigate police corruption, there was little effort in attempting to clean up corruption (Repetto, 2004).

The West Coast did not fare any better; in Los Angeles, the police ran the bootlegging business; San Francisco, being a port city, had a booming gambling and prostitution racket, and payoffs to the police and the politicians kept these industries in business (Repetto, 2004).

The treatment of the minority and immigrant population was similar across the country, with the Irish and African Americans on the East Coast suffering discriminatory practices, including the use of excessive force to police the population, while on the West Coast, it was the Mexican population and Asians.

Southern policing is traced to controlling of slaves (Bolton and Feagin, 2004); Walker and Katz attribute development of southern policing to slave patrols of the south (2011). African

Americans were targeted for lynching while police disarmed African Americans. After reconstruction, white police officers failed to protect African American citizens (Bolton and Feagin, 2004).

Vollmer and Wilson's Modernize Policing Creating the Police Subculture

Police corruption and lack of training prompted police reformer August Vollmer to professionalize policing in California, and a new era in American policing started to take a foothold (Reppetto, 2010). August Vollmer was elected city Marshall of Berkeley California in 1905. Vollmer went on to reform policing by adopting a scientific approach to police investigations. He used automobiles as patrol cars, established a working relationship with the university, and advocated for college-educated police officers and viewing police officer as social workers (Reppetto, 2010).

There were two distinct approaches to the reforms of policing, which were seen as professionalizing police work. During the 1930s to 40s reformers Arthur Woods, Raymond Fosdick and Bruce Smith developed a vision of professional policing which was different from Vollmer's (Reppetto, 2010, p. 243). Woods, Fosdick and Smith's vision of policing was a bureaucratic model with some "emphasis" on "social sensitivity" while Vollmer's was more in line with the actual meaning of a profession, more of the corporate model (Reppetto, 2010, p. 243).

In 1932, Vollmer established the School of Criminology in Berkeley with O.W. Wilson as Dean of the school. Wilson's model emphasized the bureaucratic model of policing more than the school aspect (Reppetto, 2010, p. 248). All the reforms in professionalizing policing had little impact in policing of minority neighborhoods. Although the reformation of policing was taking place in California, Latinos in California were experiencing discriminatory treatment, especially in Los Angeles.

During the Great Depression, Los Angeles grew 75 percent with most of the whites coming from the Midwest, however the Mexican population outpaced the white population of Los Angeles. According to Escobar the Mexican population of Los Angeles grew by “1000 %,” and this same Mexican population was at the bottom of the social and work scale (Escobar, 1999, p. 22). One incident has been examined by many researchers is the Zoot-Suit riots, which is a misnomer. The incident highlights historical racial disparity facing the Mexican American population in Los Angeles when dealing with the Los Angeles Police Department.

In the 1940s Los Angeles, the Mexican American youth wore a Zoot-Suit (style of dress; long coat pleated pants) as a symbol of rebellion from the rest of American society. Zoot-Suitors were constantly harassed by the LAPD and were often beaten when arrested (Escobar, 1999). This style of dress was also associated with a Mexican American gang known as “pachucos” who were primarily from the “El Hoyo Maravilla” a poor Mexican American barrio in Southern California (Escobar, 1999).

During the period from 1942 to 1943, newspapers in Los Angeles were reporting a Mexican American crime wave; reportedly, the “pachucos” were to blame for increase in crime. Escobar’s analysis of so-called crime waves revealed that crime actually fell during this period (Escobar, 1999).

On May 8, 1942, all the hysteria came to a head as “white high-school students” spread rumors that Mexicans had taken over the “beachfront” and that a sailor had been stabbed (Escobar, 1999, p. 230). There was no evidence of sailors being stabbed however, mobs of whites and sailors started attacking Mexican American youth, whether they were wearing Zoot-Suits or not. Several days of fighting broke out with mobs of sailors beating up Mexican Americans, and the police arrested only the Mexicans. Mobs of sailors and whites would strip Mexicans of their clothes and

beat them up without the intervention of the LAPD. Naval officials confined the sailors were to their bases to stop the fighting, however police did not arrest any of the sailors involved in the rioting (Vargas, 2011, p.254).

A federal investigation concluded Los Angeles officials who could have prevented the press from publishing sensationalistic reports of Mexican American crime (which was greatly exaggerated) and could have prevented the riots. California Governor Earl Warren's investigation revealed that lax police procedure had contributed to riots (Vargas, 2011, p. 255).

The 1960s gave rise to a new set of problems for policing; the civil rights movement was in full force with demonstrations. Although the African American experience of the civil rights movement has been covered, there has been generally held that Latinos were late comers to the civil rights movement and were the benefactors of Richard Nixon's lack of success with African – Americans. The inability of the Republican Party to make headway with the African American voting block resulted in Nixon reaching out to Latinos to include them in the affirmative action programs (Skrentny, 1996).

The 1967 presidential report titled *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* set the tone for many modern initiatives on police reform. Many of the recommendations of the commission were the basis for programs such as Community-Oriented Policing, and effort to hire minorities and women into policing in the 1970s (Presidential Commission Report 1967).

In the wake of high crime rates in urban areas as well as civil disturbances of the 1960s, President Johnson empaneled a commission to study crime in America. In 1967, the President's Commission released *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*. Recommendations of the report became the basis for reform in the Criminal Justice System and the beginning of policing reforms in the 1970s.

The 1967 presidential report concluded that there was unfairness within the criminal-justice system, and the goal should be to remove the unfairness to gain the respect of all the citizens (A Report By The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, p. viii). The presidential report stressed that the relationship between the police and "urban poor" needed special attention. The report stressed large departments with "substantial minority populations" (p. viii) should have a community relations program. The report also recommended that these departments should have "effective citizen advisory committees" in minority neighborhoods as well as a special effort be made to recruit minority groups into policing and "deploy" these officers fairly (p. viii). The report also recommended that police departments should have internal investigation units to investigate citizen complaints.

The 1967 presidential report also recommended that baccalaureate degrees should be required for all supervisor and executive positions. The requirement for police or "agents" was set at a two-year college degree (p. 110). The 1967 presidential report also challenged the police officer tests and physical requirements as "arbitrary," especially the height and weight requirements. The report went on to point out those cities with large Puerto Rican populations would have trouble recruiting that segment of population due to height restrictions (p. 110).³

The report stresses not only the hiring of minority officers and women into policing, but that they also be assigned to special investigative units, such as the internal affairs division to investigate citizen complaints (p. 116). The 1967 presidential report was comprehensive in addressing the entire criminal justice system. The recommendations made by the commission in the area of hiring minority officers and establishing a community relations program in

³ That height restriction could be applied to other Latino groups as later noted by Filipe Ortiz senior advisor for the NLPOA. This was a source for a court challenge to the police height restriction by the NLPOA on the behalf of an Asian-American applying for the California Highway Patrol.

Milwaukee's urban areas (as opposed to public relations unit) would lay the foundation for African American activists (and later Latino activists) to battle Milwaukee Police Chief Harold Breier over the integration of the MPD and implementation of community relation programs.

Goldstein's Problem-Oriented Policing emerged as the dominant philosophy in the late 1970s. Goldstein argued that the improvements in policing had been focused on "structure, staffing and equipping of the police organization" (Goldstein, 1990, p. 1) rather than on solving the problem. Police had to be effective and fair in dealing with problems the public expected police to handle (Goldstein, 1990, p. 1).

Goldstein's wrote that law enforcement was a "misnomer" when referring to police (Goldstein, 1990, p. 2); the traditional view on police was skewed by focusing only on one method that the police used to solve problems, which was enforcement of laws. This focus solely on enforcement of laws distorted functionality of the police and most of the resources and methods that were used for these purposes. Goldstein's Problem-Oriented Policing advocated expanding the officer's role. According to Goldstein, it was more than a "program" or "tactic"; it was about redefining the relationship between the police and community (Goldstein, 1990, p. 3).

In the 1960s, the police not only had to deal with the pressure of the increasing crime rate, but also the civil rights movement, which saw police engaged in monitoring civil rights demonstrations as well as civil disturbances. Goldstein (1990) points out that the problems of racism, crime, the Vietnam War and how the police responded led to five separate studies to include the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in 1967.

One of the points made by the reports was that the police deal with more than crime and that although in the past with police depending heavily on criminal prosecution, this was not an effective method to handle any of the problems. Goldstein points out that in making the police

“apolitical,” the police had become autonomous and not accountable to the public (Goldstein, 1990, p. 9).

Latino and African American Comparative Treatment by Police

Latinos did not fare better at the hands of police. Mexican Americans in the Southwest and California had been at the receiving end of biased policing. Mexican Americans have had a long history of struggling for civil rights, and as Filipe Ortiz mentioned, Latinos have long had a history of unfair policing in New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013). Latino authors have documented the civil rights struggles of Latinos in the United States (Gutiérrez, 1995; Korrol, 1983; Meier and Rivera, 1972; Montejano, 1987; Rodriguez, 2011; Acosta-Belen and Santiago, 2006); however, the focus has been on the treatment of Latinos and there has been no mention of the Latino police officers themselves, or of their reactions toward the treatment of Latinos.

Early response to racism in this country by Mexican Americans was to band together and rebel against the lynching and racist laws passed by Anglos targeting Mexican Americans (Vargas, 2011). In 1849, citing “the right of conquest,” Mexican American miners were robbed of their mines by Anglo miners; those who did not give up their lands came under attack by Anglo miners (Vargas, 2011, p. 115). California passed what was known as the “Greaser Law,” which punished Mexican Americans who were armed (p. 116). Mexican American landowners became the target of violence and their lands were taken from them. When the Mexican Americans responded by protecting themselves they were met by force, and often innocent Mexican Americans were executed (Vargas, 2011).

In South Texas, Anglo residents relied on the Jim Crow laws charging Mexican American voters a \$1.75 poll tax. The Democratic Party that dominated South Texas politics

known as the “White man’s party” prohibited Tejanos from joining the Democratic Party or voting in primary elections (Vargas, 2011, p. 151).⁴ A federal law passed in 1872 only allowed Caucasians and Africans to become US citizens. This became an issue in 1896 when a San Antonio Street cleaner, Ricardo Rodriguez applied for citizenship. Rodriguez did not meet the qualifications for citizenship because Texas did consider him neither white nor African (Vargas, 2011, p. 152).

Rodriguez’s attorneys argued before the courts that “since 1836, the Republic of Texas and the United States” (Vargas, 2011, p. 152) through various “acts of naturalization” had “conferred” the right of naturalization to Mexicans. In 1897, a Federal Court granted Rodriguez the right of citizenship under the Fourteenth Amendment, which extended the right of citizenship to all regardless of race or color; further the court classified Mexicans as “White” (Vargas, 2011). The classification of Mexican Americans as white would affect the classification for Affirmative-Action purposes. In researching statistical information prior to the 1990s, Mexican Americans were classified as white.

In the early 1900s, Mexicans banded together in different mutual aid societies as well as organizing around the Catholic Church for protection. In the early 1900s, there were two pay scales in the Southwest and California, one for white laborers and the other for Mexican laborers; this was known as the Mexican scale (Vargas, 2011, p. 179).

Mexicans were not allowed to join the AFL since membership was redistricted to white workers. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) a Socialist labor union, supported striking Mexican railroad workers in 1910, and in 1913, the IWW sent organizers to help during a strike outside the Wheatland, California. The strike was short lived, however, as California National

⁴ Tejano is a term used to describe Mexican Americans born in Texas, they could also be known as Chicanos although Chicanos applies to all Mexican Americans.

Guard was sent out to suppress the strikers, killing several during a confrontation, effectively ending the strike (Vargas, 2011, p. 179).

In 1915 racial conflict in South Texas broke into an open rebellion by bands of Mexican Americans and a small number of African Americans. Mexican Americans demanding equality or liberty started to raid Anglo ranches, these ranches were a symbol of Anglo power in the South Texas (Vargas, 2011, p. 186). Vargas places the number of “Tejano” raiders at 60 and Texas responded by sending Texas Rangers, law enforcement and vigilantes to suppress the rebellion. According to Vargas, the Texas Rangers killed 500 Tejanos, including women and children. The Texas Ranger theme was to make Texas white man’s country (Vargas, 2011, p. 187).

There is little written regarding the Latino experience in policing, with the exception of Escobar’s study of the Los Angeles police and the Mexican American community 1900 to 1945. The Mexican American community in Los Angeles grew rapidly between 1900 and 1930 and the LAPD hired Mexican American officers to patrol the Mexican neighborhood; these officers were accused of corruption by members of the Mexican neighborhoods (Escobar, 1999, p. 22).

The Houston Police Department’s racial divide was highlighted by Dwight Watson in his study of the HPD from 1930 to 1990. Watson focuses on police officers’ use of force against African Americans and Mexican Americans. His study identifies racial prejudice leading to the excessive use of force against minorities (Watson, 2005). Watson quotes an African American police officer as saying, “Man, there was times when I thought I had to choose between being a police or a Negro. Well, I couldn’t stop being a Negro (Watson, 2005, p. 37).” The quote was related to the enforcement of the Jim Crow laws by the HPD, and in particular, African American police officers (2005).

According to Watson, the HPD had a goal to maintain the racial inequalities of the South and although the HPD had unions, there were two white unions (which represented white officers only) and African American unions (that represented African American officers).

The city of Houston, Texas, had taken steps to keep the police department from becoming politicalized by passing a Civil Service Act in 1945 extending protection to police officers, allowing them to unionize. Segregation was a strong tradition within the HPD where segregated unions were established. The white unions lobbied against any mayoral candidate that wanted to reform the HPD. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, NAACP, and other African American groups filed lawsuits and tried to assert pressure for reform on the HPD without success. Pressure was brought against politicians from the 1930s to the 1990s (Watson, 2005).

The HPD was one of the few agencies in the South that hired African Americans, although they were not allowed to work traffic duty, limiting the type of jobs within the HPD that were open to African Americans (Watson, 2005). The HPD included “at least two Blacks” in each academy class (Watson, 2005 p. 49) from the 1930s through the 1940s, although the number did increase after the 1950s (Watson, 2005). Until the 1960s, African American recruits were segregated at the police academy. They were required to enter through a rear door at the cafeteria and were required to eat lunch at the cafeteria kitchen (Watson p. 52). In 1964, Houston Mayor Holcombe was pressured to increase African American police officers. He stated that he would hire more African American police officers “if more Negro jobs were available” (Watson p. 48); Holcombe was referring to the limited roles for African American officers within the HPD.

African American police officers in Houston formed the Texas Negro Peace Officers Association (TNPOA) in 1935 (Watson, 2005). The TNPOA was the first African American police

organization in the United States, organized by African American police officers from the Houston and Galveston, Texas area (Texas Peace Officers Association website). Watson stressed that the TNPOA was a social organization when first organized eventually it evolved into what Weston called a clearinghouse for African American issues. The TNPOA did not have the bargaining power of a union, but served as a forum to discuss issues affecting African American police officers. In 1974, the TNPOA became splintered over promotions of African American police officers. One faction wanted strictly a test for black officers and another wanted to compete with white officers. The second faction felt that the faction promoting a test strictly for African American officers was a throwback to the Jim Crow days (Watson, 2005).

In 1936, the TPOA “adopted a constitution and became a statewide organization” (Texas Peace Officers Association website). The TPOA attempted to unsuccessfully form a southern black officer’s organization in 1954 with African American officers from Louisiana and Oklahoma; by 1954 the TPOA dropped the Negro designation from its name, this was to “remove the stigma” of being different from other police officers (Texas Peace Officers Association website). The current website of the Texas Peace Officers Associations indicates that they are reorganizing; however, it appears to have several chapters throughout the state of Texas. I was unable to locate any record of Latinos joining the TPOA prior to the dropping of the term “Negro”.

Mexican American police officers were not that much better off, although the HPD had what they called a “Latin Squad” which eventually evolved to the “Mexican-Squad” (Watson, 2005). Watson writes that although the officers of the “Mexican-Squad” were Mexican (Mexican American) these officers had no connection to the Latino community or as Weston points out they had “no sense of community identity” (Watson, 2005, p. 111).

Conditions did not improve for minorities within the HPD or citizens of the City of Houston until the influx of African Americans and Latinos changed the political landscape within the city of Houston. Despite efforts by minority groups on local politicians, white unions had most of the politicians intimidated; white police officers were fighting to preserve segregation within the HPD (Watson, 2005).

The HPD was conducting surveillance of civil rights leaders and organizations (Watson, 2005). The mid-1960s saw political in-fighting between the Houston based civil rights organizations and on May of 1967 there were clashes between the HPD and Black Power groups at the “Houston’s Texas Southern University” (Watson, 2005, p. 77).

The beating and drowning death of a Mexican American military veteran on May 5, 1977 by Houston police officers gave Mexican American activists the “spark” (Watson, 2005, p. 113) that they needed to mobilize against the HPD. Houston Police officers arrested Jose Campos, a Mexican American who had served in the U.S. Army and saw combat in Viet Nam (Watson, 2005, p. 111). Torres had become an alcoholic who was combative with Houston Police officers. On the night of May 5, 1977, Torres had gotten into a fight at a Houston tavern and fought with police when police were summoned to arrest Torres (Watson, 2005, p. 113–116).

Houston Police officers Terry Denson, Stephen Orlando, and Eugene Elliot responded to the disturbance at the Houston tavern. Torres became combative with the officers and after subduing Torres he was taken to police gathering spot where he was taken out of the police squad car and beaten. Also involved in the beating of Torres were white officers Janish, Louis Kinney, and Glenn Lee Brinkmeyer who were called to the meeting spot by the arresting officers (Watson, 2005, p. 112). Torres was taken to the Houston city jail where the sergeant in charge of the jail instructed officers to take Torres to the hospital to be cleared before he was accepted into the jail

(Watson, 2005, p. 113). Officers disobeyed the order and decided that they were going to teach Torres to respect the law. Torres was taken from the city jail to the edge of a bayou where he was again beaten by six Houston PD officers and pushed into the lake where he drowned (Watson, 2005).

The officers were indicted with the murder of Torres by the Houston District Attorneys' office. Mexican American civil rights groups, LULAC as well as other Chicano groups pressured the Harris County District Attorney's officer to take "quick and decisive action" (Watson, 2005, p. 117), newly appointed Houston Police Chief Caldwell fired the officers involved in Torre's beating (117).⁵

The officers were eventually tried; however, the trial was moved out of Houston to Huntsville, Texas. The officers were found guilty of "misdemeanor negligent homicide" and given probation and a fine of "one dollar each" (Watson, 2005, p. 121). Member of Houston's African American community joined the Mexican American activists in pressuring the federal government to step in and charge the officers with violating Torre's civil rights (Watson, 2005).

On January 23, 1978, officers in the Torres death were tried in Federal Court on charges of conspiring to "injure and intimidate Jose Torres Jr." (Watson, 2005, p. 122), the officers were found guilty of the charges; however, they were found guilty of misdemeanor battery and sentenced to one year in prison and a "ten year suspended sentence" (Watson, 2005, p. 122). Although the sentences were appealed and found to be in error, the "Fifth Circuit Court" did not modify the sentence (Watson, 2005, p. 124).

⁵ Watson did not elaborate on the role of LULAC or the other Chicano groups played in the pressuring of the Houston D.A.'s office other than to indicate that the groups set aside any differences they might have had and formed a united front on this case.

The increased migration of both African American and Latinos into Houston changed the political landscape between 1981 and 1990. The HPD of the 1980s had a reputation as a racist and brutal police department. The Latino population had reached 17 percent and the African American population 27 percent which led to an increase in political representation of both the Latino and African American communities. Houston elected Katherine Whitmore Mayor in 1980 who appointed a new Houston Police chief from outside the HPD (Watson, 2005, p. 138–139).

White Houston Police unions battled Whitmore attempting to prevent changes; however, divisions between the two white police unions allowed her to make changes. Although the white police unions kept the political pressure on Whitmore and other politicians, the HPD eventually appointed an African American police chief, Lee P. Brown in 1982 (Watson, 2005, p. 138–139).

Although white unions were upset at the consideration of Brown as a candidate, Brown was the only candidate with a Ph.D. in criminal justice. According to Watson, white police unions opposed Brown, because not only he was black but also they claimed that he would promote unqualified blacks. The unions accused Brown of discrimination; Brown had openly supported racial quotas in promotion because the HPD did not reflect the ethnic make-up of the city (Watson, 2005).

Theoretical Framework

Police Subculture.

The police subculture or the group bonding that separates the police officer from the community they police is the result of an occupation filled with danger and one that isolates the police officer from their families and the rest of society. Police officers feel that the rest of society does not understand the stress and dangers they face. They consequently rely on each other and form bonds, which are a false sense of loyalty, meaning that they will protect each

other from criticism (Woody, 2005, p. 527). The influence of the subculture is so strong that it may marginalize law enforcement officers that have an orientation towards “social service” (p. 525). According to Woody (2005), there are “high levels of stress” (p. 526) and “dysfunctional conduct” (Woody, 2005, p. 516) in the police subculture.

Early police departments were plagued by problems that ranged from outright corruption that included taking pay-offs from criminals, committing acts of police brutality, and doing favors for politicians, to generally being incompetent due to lack of training (Reppetto, 2011). In the 1930s, police departments modernized, developing training methods, and recruited better-educated individuals who consequently developed their own sub-culture. That ironically, caused another separation between police departments and the communities they served (Peak, 2009).

Vollmer and Wilson’s model of professional policing was used in most American police departments. Early reforms produced what is referred to as the Professional Policing Model, which developed in the 1930s (Peak, 2009).⁶ The professional policing model fosters the “us vs. them mentality (Institute for Law Enforcement Administration, 2004).” A survey of Los Angeles in 1991 showed that racial bias was a part of the police subculture. According to the Law Enforcement Center study, other elements of the police subculture were “Isolationism, us vs. them, favoritism [professional courtesy], misplaced loyalty, cynicism, slow to change and stereotypes” (Institute for Law Enforcement Administration, 2004).

Milwaukee Latino police officers were no different from officers of other races in feeling isolated. Moreover, it is important to note that there were not that many Latino officers and that might have played a role in their assimilation into the police subculture. By the 1960s, African

⁶ Professional Policing model focused on improving the individual officer’s skills as well as improving police organizations. (Peak, 2009)

American officers had a larger presence within the MPD and that prompted conversations in the 1960s regarding discrimination within MPD as well as the relationship between MPD and the African American community (L. Wells, Personal communication, November 10, 2012). Similarly, by the 1980s, as the number of Latino officers within the MPD increased, with an increase in numbers, some Latinos also joined the NLPOA.

Police Subculture and Race

Gould's study of police subculture identified subculture as police personality and focused on race and gender differences. Gould labeled the elements of police subculture "negative symptoms" which caused police officers to drop out of the profession. Gould claims that if these "negative symptoms" could be identified early, police officers could be retained in the profession (Gould, 2000, p. 41). Gould measured the experiences of 320 officers from the academy to the first forty-two months as a police officer.

Gould's results revealed the highest numbers of dropouts during this period were black females (22.5 percent); this was the result of terminations or resignation. White males left at a rate of 2.16 percent and black males were at 5.12 percent. There was no measurement for Latinos (Gould, 2000). Gould's research did not really cover new ground, Gould claimed that there has not been any research into the development of police personality; however, research to police subculture has been well documented, the only difference is that Gould identifies subculture as personality (Gould, 2000). Gould's conclusion is that there is a change in personality of individual officer's over a period, with black females having the greatest change in the forty-second month and white males with the least. This should not have been a startling finding since based on Gould's own research the police subculture is based on the white, middle class male culture (Gould, 2000).

Skolnick's (1994) study goes into more detail of the development of police personality which explains its infusion into the police subculture. According to Skolnick the police personality is developed in response to their environment. Skolnick identifies elements of police work, "danger, authority and efficiency" which combine to form part of the police personality (Skolnick, 1994, p.41). Skolnick makes a comparison between policing and the military in which he points out that both are more than occupation rather they are a "life style" (p.42). Skolnick differentiates between policing and the military highlighting the shared experiences in policing as opposed to the military. In the military there is a division of labor in that the upper ranks can attend a military academy and become supervisors while in police work all officers start at the uniform ranks thus sharing the experiences (Skolnick, 2014). The officers' response to the danger and the use of authority forms a pattern of behavior which can be seen as best practices. Since the experience is shared by all officers and would explain why Latinos and African Americans would share the same bond to the subculture. It would seem that for police officers coming out of the military and to police work the attachment to the subculture would be easier. It would be interesting to examine Gould's police candidates for military service to see if it impacted the dropout rate in police work.

Kappeler, Sluder and Alpert cite Alpert and Dunham's 1997 work that argues that police work attracts recruits that are more autocratic than others and their personalities are aggressive, conservative cynical as well as having rigid behavior (Kappeler, Sluder and Alpert, 1998, p.85). Kappeler et al also cite work by Carpenter and Raza that argue that police applicants are more aligned with military recruits personality wise (Kappeler, Sluder and Alpert, 1998, p.86). Kappeler, Sluder and Alpert also discuss the "Sociological Paradigm of Police Character" (p.97) which argue that the police personality is not an individualistic characteristic rather a collective

or socialization process of shared experiences thus forming the police subculture (Kappeler, Sluder and Alpert, 1998, p.87).

Britz, 1997 argues that the police subculture has to be re-examined because much of the work on the police subculture was based on work by Skolnick 1966, Baldwin 1962 and other earlier work that did not take into consideration the changing demographics of police officers. Britz argues that the early research did not take into consideration smaller police departments as compared to larger departments (Britz, 1997, p. 128). Britz argues that part of the changing variables in discussing police subculture should take into consideration differences such as “gender, race, age, and past military experience (Britz. 1997, p.128). While Britz’s argument has some merit it ignores the socialization process that takes places in the police academies and the experiences on the streets, which reflect the dangers that force the police officers to depend on each other as well as bond them to the profession.

Sanchez and Rosenbaum’s 2010 study revealed that African Americans and Latinos encountered more police involuntary stops compared to white citizens (Sanchez and Rosenbaum, 2010, p. 152). The research concluded that minority youth were more likely to be stopped and that the use of force or threat of use force is more likely to be used against minority youth. They also concluded that environment such as low income neighborhoods might also be a factor in the higher number of “involuntary contacts” by the police (Sanchez and Rosenbaum, 2010). Lower income neighborhoods usually have higher crime rates and consequently more police officers are assigned to patrol these neighborhoods increasing the probability of police contacts for minority youth.

Sanchez and Rosenbaum interviewed 40 police officers regarding their views on race. The officers with varied backgrounds were selected by their sergeants to participate in the study.

The officers were assigned to Latino or African American neighborhoods; they varied in age, education, and race. They were asked how they constructed race and their views were consistent with the elements of the police subculture (Sanchez and Rosenbaum, 2010, p. 159). Sanchez and Rosenbaum found the attitudes of youth in the low-income neighborhoods towards police were understandably negative; however, police officers interviewed felt misunderstood, claiming that they were not conducting racially biased policing rather their stops were the results of high crime rates in neighborhoods that they worked in (Sanchez and Rosenbaum, 2010).

Brunson and Miller argue that police strategies are different when policing low-income neighborhoods as opposed to middle class and upper class neighborhood.⁷ Brunson and Miller surveyed 75 African American youth in St Louis (authors did not specify Missouri or Kansas) and asked them about police behavior in policing their neighborhoods, results of the survey reveal that four out of five surveyed responded police treated African American youth impolite during stops and often harassed and mistreated African American youth. Additionally, Brunson and Miller reported that “21 young men and 14 young women” reported instances of police misconduct towards their family and friends, additionally “10 young men and 3 young women” reported police violence directed towards them (Brunson and Miller, 2006). The research did not identify the race or gender of the officers, nor provide details of the circumstances around the encounters.

Police strategies in lower-income neighborhoods have traditionally been aggressive. Recently the New York City Police Department was taken to task by Federal Judge Shira Schedindlin for using stop and frisk as a strategy in low-income neighborhoods, the Judge

⁷ Interestingly low-income neighborhoods seems to have become a code word for poor urban neighborhoods populated by predominantly African Americans, while Latino neighborhoods are specifically identified as Latino neighborhoods.

referred to this tactic as “indirect racial profiling” (Vaughn, 2013). The strategy is based on *Terry vs. Ohio* (392 US. 1[1968]) which gave police officers the authority to stop and frisk an individual based on reasonable suspicion under certain circumstances. The rationale for the stop and frisk is for the safety of the officer (Hall, 1999, p. 302–303). New York City Mayor Bloomberg defended the practice to keep reduce violent crime in low-income neighborhoods, citing statistics that show that African Americans are victims of violent crime at a disproportionate rate. A similar strategy, Broken Windows targeted small disorderly acts, such as vandalism and loud noise complaints because those acts were seen to lead to larger disorders. The unintended consequences of these strategies are that there are a larger number of stops and arrests, which ultimately led to confrontations between police officers and residents of the low-income neighborhoods.

Theobald and Haider-Markel’s study on race and symbolic representation comes closer to the measuring of the importance of the race of a police officer in citizen interaction. Theobald and Haider-Markel developed a set of hypotheses for symbolic representation, as opposed to active representation. Active representation was defined as groups who had elected officials act on their behalf, whereas in symbolic representation the officials do not act on behalf of the group (Theobald and Haider-Markel, 2008, p. 410).

The data used was from random samples of individuals stopped by police. The analysis examined the extent that race of a police officer “shaped the perception of legitimacy” of a traffic stop, whether the stop and search by a police officer of the same race is seen as a legitimate stop as that of an officer of a different race (Theobald and Haider-Markel, 2008). The theoretical overview was that human perception was important, even though the perception might be wrong. Theobald and Haider-Markel’s further expanded this theory using Skolnick and Fyfe’s

theoretical view that if citizens believed that agents of government acted illegally they would mistrust the government (Theobald and Haider-Markel, 2008). The results of the test were not surprising; African Americans had a low distrust of government. However, when officers of the same racial group stopped African Americans, African Americans were more apt to give the stop legitimacy and the same held true for whites stopped by officers of the same racial group (Theobald and Haider-Markel, 2008).

Brown and Frank's 2006 study of race and officer decision process revealed that there were some differences in outcomes due to race. Brown and Frank conducted a study of the Cincinnati Police Department between April 1997 and April 1998. The study consisted of 84 white officers and 54 black officers (Brown and Frank, 2006). Trained observers who rode along with the Cincinnati police officers and recorded the officers' actions during encounters with citizens conducted the study; there were 614 encounters recorded (Brown and Frank, 2006, p. 108).

The study revealed "that all things being equal", white officers were more likely to arrest suspects in an encounter (Brown and Frank, p. 118). A breakdown of the data revealed that white officers were more likely to be influenced by legal factors and "only a few external factors" (p. 188) were involved in the arrest decision-making process. White officers were more likely to arrest males' than females in an encounter.

Brown and Frank's study also revealed that black officer' decisions to arrest suspects decreased with experience in the police department; however, there is little difference between white and black officers in the arrest of males. The report did reflect that black males were arrested at a higher rate with encounters with black officers. Latinos were not included, or if they were included, they were not identified in a separate category (Brown and Frank, 2006).

Sklansky points out that American policing today includes more minority, female, and gay members within its ranks, and includes minorities and females as police chiefs (Sklansky, 2006, p. 1210). According to Sklansky, African Americans in 1970 made up roughly 6 percent of the law enforcement ranks, by 2006 it was 18 percent. In cities with a population of “over 250,000, 20 percent of sworn officers are black and 14 percent are Latino” (Sklansky, 2006, p. 1213). Sklansky cited various studies that indicated that although the demographics of the police department had changed, there was no difference as far as the use of force; however, black officers were “less prejudiced” against blacks and black officers also received better cooperation from the black community (Sklansky, 2006). Some of the research indicated that minority officers were seen as more repressive towards minorities than white officers (2006).

Roberts’s 2005 study of the construction of professional image construction within organizational settings in part explains the lack of upper mobility for minority officers. Traditional they are not seen in a leadership role. Although not directly addressed in an interview an analysis of the training provided by the NLPOA would highlight that there was an awareness by the Latino peace officers to address the leadership image. NLPOA training programs include leadership training as well as promotional exam training (Latino Peace Officers Association Original Articles of Incorporation, 1974).

Roberts’s study on the importance of social identity within the work force argues that ethnic minorities formed special images as a strategy to combat stereotyping and increase their value to the organization (Roberts, 2005, p. 687). Roberts argues that “professional image construction” (p. 685) is an important “element” in interactions in diverse organizations. Roberts defines professional image as “the aggregate of key constituents (i.e. clients, bosses, superiors, subordinates, and colleagues) perceptions of one’s competence and character” (Roberts, 2005, p.

687). Roberts work in the area of diversity management argued that social identity was an important piece to professional identity, which according to Roberts added, “a complex layer to professional image” (Roberts, 2005, p. 687). Roberts integrates social identity theories and impression management theories to demonstrate that they have value to an organization based on certain characteristics that they possess. Roberts further claims that the professional image is “culturally biased” in that professional image is associated the white Anglo/Saxon culture (Roberts, 2005).

Roberts lists three components of impression management: 1.) Impression monitoring, the awareness of how image is perceived in a given situation, 2.) Impression motivation, the identification of threats and negative image discrepancies and 3.) Impression construction, the blending of personal and social identities to create a desired professional image (Roberts, 2005).

Relying on Roberts work, the argument can be made that Latinos as well as African Americans organized themselves into the special groups to improve their professional image and value to the police department and the community. The argument goes beyond the organizing for self-help simply because the groups could have not reached out to the minority communities, rather they could formed on study groups for promotional exams and continued to file discrimination lawsuits for promotions. Did the Latino officer and African American officers commit to work with the minority communities within their cities to improve their value as a group or was the outreach truly ultraistic?

Police Subculture and Symbolic Representation.

Hahn’s 1971 study of police subculture showed a correlation between the officer’s background prior to employment and its effect on the police subculture. Hahn studied two police academy classes in New York City and found that 83 percent of the fathers of police officers

were employed as laborers or service workers (Hahn, 1971, p. 45). The white blue-collar values are re-enforced throughout different police departments since the majority of those departments are white male and blue collar. An analysis of Chicago police sergeants revealed that two-thirds of the officers of Irish descent had police relatives in the police department and that “three-fourths were members of the immediate family” (p. 450). Hahn concluded the tradition of policing within families was hindering the hiring of African American officers within the Chicago police department (Hahn, 1971). Hahn’s research also revealed that not only were police departments hiring white males; the educational level of these individuals was not very advanced with fewer than 30 percent of those hired having a college education.

The importance of this finding is that most police officers are white and blue-collar workers, which brings those values into the police subculture. The Chicago study is saying the same thing, just in a different manner; the sergeants were Irish, white males.

Hahn also found a high degree of solidarity among police officers because of organizational goals, and the isolation of the profession, which kept them from socializing outside the department, causing reinforcement of attitudes and views. According to Hahn this led to police officers and families to restricting their social activities to other police officers and their families. Hahn also writes that many civilians feel uncomfortable having police officers in their inner circles which also leads to the restricting of social activities outside the police culture by police officers and their families (Hahn, 1971, p.453). The study also revealed that organizations such as the Patrolman Benevolent Associations and the Fraternal Order of the Police served to reinforce police attitudes, such as “us vs them,” contributing to the isolation from the rest of society and re-enforcing the police subculture (Hahn, 1971).

Racial Realism

Skrentny refers to “racial realism” as the use of minorities in fields such as health care, education, and policing to deliver better service. He concludes that this is not necessarily the case, and as an example, he refers to these decisions as business decisions. He further writes that “racial realism” is “legally unjustified” and it hurts minorities in the long term (Skrentny, 2014). He also concludes that “racial realism” is hard to stamp out and rather than trying to eliminate it there should be effort made to prevent it from “blocking opportunities for minorities” (Skrentny, 2014). One of the problems with tying this type of effort to legality is the reality that judicial decisions are not necessarily made out of the context of politics, which is not necessarily a stamp for reality.

In discussing racial realism, it is easy to forget that racism is still alive and well, the use of unnecessary force against minorities has not stopped, and although as individuals, minorities in policing might not police any differently than white officers, collectively some form associations and organizations that eventually reach out to minority populations and serve as role models. This is not to say that white officers cannot be effective in educating or policing minorities but there is more to the equation than just effectiveness. The role modeling is also an important part of the equation, seeing people that look like them makes these professions as attainable for many minorities. Skrentny’s racial realism goes to the argument as to who determines the qualifications for these professions. Who are the gatekeepers and can they give elevate the ability to function across cultures as well the soft skills necessary in poling a diverse society.

An example of the lowering of the standards argument is Lott’s assertion that police departments had lowered their standards in the 1980s to increase the hiring of minorities (Lott,

2000). In the 1980s, police departments recruited minorities consequently increasing the participation of Latinos in policing; however, controversies sparked debate regarding the quality of candidates recruited into law enforcement. Lott argued entrance standards were lowered increasing the participation of minorities in law enforcement while also lowering the quality of both minority and non-minority officers. Lott's research focused on African American officers and women (Lott, 2000). The problem with this study is that it ignores that totality of policing history to include the prohibition era when police corruption was at an all-time high in cities like Philadelphia, New York and Chicago and there were no affirmative action policies.

Police officers have had labor unions, dating back to the early 1900s (Reppetto, 2010). These organizations were referred to as labor unions or Fraternal Order of Police. In 1919, the Boston police officers were affiliated with the AFL and were engaged in a salary dispute with the city of Boston (Reppetto, 2010, p. 110). Police unions are involved in labor disputes with major American cities over salary and benefits, yet they were used in the early 1900s by American companies to help break strikes. Police had close ties with politicians who controlled police departments and in some cases the unions. Police were used as a private army against the strikebreakers (Reppetto, 2010). In the 1960s and 1970s the police unions reached their peak in influence, they were able to negotiate better salaries, benefits as well as working conditions (Walker and Katz, 2011, p. 47). According to Walker and Katz (2011), the police unions spread quickly in the 1960 and 1970s due to what they perceived as anti-police ruling by the courts and the attacks on police power by civil rights groups.

According to Leinen, Bolton and Feagin, most police labor unions were controlled by white males. African Americans were discriminated against by mostly white police departments; further African American officers could not ignore the treatment of African American citizens by

many of the white officers. African American officers organized black police organizations and sued police departments over discriminatory hiring and promotional practices forcing police departments across the country to review and rewrite their entrance exams as well as their promotional exams (Bolton and Feagin, 2004; Leinen, 1984). Bolton and Feagin make an interesting point, the hiring of African Americans in the police departments do not perform their duties differently than white officers, quoting research that showed African American officers were involved in a higher rate of shootings than white officers; however, that was attributed to African American officer generally being assigned to higher crime neighborhoods (Bolton and Feagin, 2004, p. 22). Bolton and Feagins' 2004 study of African American officers revealed little change over time of how African Americans officers viewed their experiences in policing.

In Chicago, an organization of African American police officers was trying to address the relationship between African American community and African American police officers. Pihos, 2012 article *Genocide or Suicide: Black Chicagoland on Crime and Policing in the 1970s* offers an insight into 1970s Chicago's African American dilemma in dealing with both crime and police brutality (2012). Pihos highlights the Reverend Curtis Burrell's efforts to address both black on black crime as well as unjust treatment of African Americans within the criminal justice system. Burrell had a criminal past, having served time in prison before becoming a pastor in 1966 (Pihos, 2012, p. 1–2).

Burrell's envisioned an alternative path for African Americans in the criminal justice system. Burrell felt African Americans could not get fair treatment within the current criminal justice system. Burrell become president of the Kenwood-Oakland Community Association and was awarded \$100,000 towards a three and a half million project called "Toward Responsible Freedom" (Pihos, 2012). Burrell collaborated with the Chicago Black P. Stone Nation, which put

him at odds with the Chicago Police Department in their efforts to reach out to youth gangs (Pihos, 2012, p. 3).

Burrell eventually distances himself from the P. Stones, and Burrell's KOCO headquarters was firebombed and shot at and Burrell blamed the P. Stones for the incidents. Pihos highlights the efforts of a Chicago African American police organization named "Afro-American Patrolmen's League." Efforts to address the issue of police brutality against African Americans these officers challenged the Chicago power structure like the League of Martin in Milwaukee years later. The AAPL challenged Mayor Daley's administration according to Pihos, the AAPL turned the anti-police motto "Off the Pigs" into "Black Power through Law" (Pihos, 2012, p. 8).

The AAPL tried to change the image of the police officer in Chicago's African American community from that of "hoodlum and thug" and improve relations between "Black power movement and the law (Pihos, 2012).'

According to Pihos, the AAPL was formed in 1968 with the intent of not just having their self-interest in mind but with the purpose of reaching out to the African American community and improving the relationship of the African American community and African American officer in Chicago (Pihos, 2012, p. 9).

The AAPL's approach is what could be considered Community Oriented Policing before the philosophy was put into practice. The AAPL did recognize that in order for them to be effective they had to have the backing of the African American community. Pihos quotes one of member of the AAPL, "Our clout is in the community. Our clout is not in the members themselves (Pihos, 2012, p. 10)."

It is difficult to compare the City of Chicago to that of Milwaukee; the size of the Chicago Police Department is huge compared to that of Milwaukee. The city and its politics is also different, however, when comparing the AAPL to Milwaukee's League of Martin and NLPOA in my view these organizations recognize that their value was in their ability to navigate both police and community.

I was unable to find any articles on Latino police organization although California had several and some of these organizations came together in 1972 to form the NLPOA. According to Felipe Ortiz, a historian with the NLPOA during the late 1960s and early 1970s there were numerous organizations formed by Latinos, this was due to the influence of Cesar Chavez's farm workers labor movement of the 1960s (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013).

An important part of the NLPOA was how it changed the image of the Latino officer, to be viewed as a leader within the department and more important in the community. This transformation was purposefully done through training and preparation, the NLPOA changed the image of the Latino officer both nationally and in MPD.

Importance of a Latino Identity

Sommers refers to *Latinismo* as an example of Panethnicity (Sommers, 1991), a 1960s era movement that tried to bind Latinos together despite their differences. The 1960s movement was an attempt to unite the different Latino groups into a single group with a common object and according to Sommers this was a result of the rise of "affirmative action programs, growing urbanization, and diversification of the Latino population in the United States (Sommers, 2014)." Sommers used the San Francisco Bay area for her study; San Francisco mirrored Milwaukee in many ways. The largest of the Latino groups was the Mexican and consequently many of the festivals that arose to celebrate Latino holidays were of Mexican origin (Sommers, 2014). The

Mexican community in Milwaukee organized a festival, Mexican-Fiesta to celebrate both Mexican culture and raise money for Latino students going to college. Mexican Fiesta grew to be the largest paid attendance festival in Milwaukee (T. Mercado, personal communications, April 29, 2014).

There was some resentment in San Francisco by the other Latino groups, and this led to the inclusion of other Latino groups into the festivals and in some cases changing the names and scope of festivals from Mexican to Latino (Sommers, 2014). The problem was the Mexican population was the largest group and a dominant factor overshadowing other Latino groups. One of the main points is that although there was a movement towards *Latinismo*, many of the individual Latino groups did not want to lose their identities. One of the important factors in the National Latino Police Officer Association is that although they sought to unite under one banner, Latino, there was no effort to modify the culture, rather there was recognition of the difference and the focus was the issues facing the different Latino communities, and shared power. This was accomplished by dividing the country into regions with each region having their own vice president (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013).

Sommers claims that Mexican influence still overshadows organizations due to size of Mexican population in the United States (Sommers, 2014), this dilemma also applied to the NLPOA. The states with the most chapters are California and Texas, which are primarily Mexican American and their agendas drive many of the issues within the organization as well as the power structure.

Irlbeck's study of Latino Police Officers in 2008 concluded that Latino officers were involved in "projects in the Latino community" (Irlbeck, 2008, p. 491). The study did not mention if the officers were part of any organization or if they acted on their own accord.

Irlbeck's study was based on interviews with 34 Latinos officers with at least "one year" of experience in Omaha, Nebraska (Irlbeck, 2008, p. 476–477). Irlbeck contrasted the Classical Assimilation Theory, which Irlbeck concluded was not applicable to Latinos, primarily because the Classical Assimilation theory was based on conformity to Anglo culture, with Contemporary Assimilation theory which addressed new immigrants. Unlike Classic which had straight-line assimilation patterns, in stages which "all immigrants were expected to progress" (p. 472), the Contemporary Assimilation suggests "alternative paths" (p. 472) into assimilation. Further, Irlbeck concluded that there were different "factors" (p. 474) in negotiating ethnicity, "generational status, bilingualism, parent's ethnicity, and growing up in an ethnic Latino community" (p. 475). Irlbeck's study concluded that not all Latino officers in the study identified themselves as Latinos and not all the Latino officers felt connected or committed to the Latino community (p. 491).

Mexican civil rights centered on labor laws in the southwest and California. However, the Midwest was also a center of Mexican labor rights activity. Mexican laborers were recruited to the Midwest, Chicago, and Milwaukee as strikebreakers during the 1920s; Mexican labor was 14 percent of the "work force" in the steel mill industry (Vargas, 2011, p. 196). Mexican laborers faced discrimination in housing and employment similar to the African Americans, who also had been recruited to work the steel mills (Vargas, 2011, p. 196). In Milwaukee, Mexicans were recruited at Pfister and Vogel tannery. The number of Mexican laborers grew as other industries in Milwaukee recruited Mexican labor, and this was the start of the Mexican community in Milwaukee (Gurda, 1999, p. 262–261).

In 1927, several Mexican labor unions merged in California forming the Confederation of Mexican Workers and Peasant Union, the union numbered 3,000 workers. The union's goals

were to seek better wages and protection against deportation of Mexican workers (Vargas, 2011, p. 203). In 1918, the Mexican Protective League sought to halt the “exploitation” of Tejano farmers by Anglo landowners; in Arizona, the Alianza Hispano-Americana that was formed in 1894 fought against the discrimination of Mexican workers in the early 1900s in the State of Arizona (Vargas, 2011).

In researching the different law enforcement agencies and the issue of identity there is one exception where the issue of a Latino identity seems unimportant, that is among U.S. Immigration officers of Latino heritage (Heyman, 2002). Heyman’s study of U.S. Immigration officers of Mexican ancestry reveals that Mexican American officers, although sympathetic to the plight of the undocumented Mexican immigrants, did not identify with the immigrants who, according to the author, should have because these officers were of Mexican descent. The immigration officers use job identity as well as citizenship to separate themselves from a cultural connection with the undocumented immigrants (Heyman, 2002).

Policing Strategies

Police Department and Professional Organizations.

Police departments in urban centers gain both benefits and problems when incorporating minorities into their forces. In the case of Latinos, many Latinos speak Spanish and can communicate with Spanish-speaking citizens in the community. In police work, African American and Latino cops are of value in infiltrating the illegal drug trade in the community.

Ethnic minorities formed their own workplace organizations to combat the negative stereotypes that Roberts refers to as “professional image construct,” which is an important element in diverse organizations (Roberts, 2005, p. 687). A consistent theme in the interviews of Latinos involved with the National Latino Peace Officers Association, was that they joined these

organizations to address the racism they experienced within the MPD. These organizations also worked at obtaining promotions for their members, as well as addressing what they saw as racial bias in policing the Latino community in Milwaukee.⁸

Historically, police officers have formed benevolent organizations and fraternal organizations, as well as labor unions. The Boston police affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1919. Many unions that were involved in labor disputes in major American cities in the early 1900s also gained political influence through their support of politicians (Repetto, 2010). Police labor unions reached their peak of influence in the 1960s and 1970s (Walker and Katz, 2011, p. 47). If these labor unions indeed represented the interests of all police officers, then why did African American officers and Latino Officers form their own separate organizations that were, on occasion, at odds with the very unions that nominally represented their interests?

During the 1960s and 1970s, police departments came under federal court orders to increase minority and female officers through affirmative-action policies enforced through Consent Decrees (Ross and Parke, 2009). The Consent Decrees were agreements between police departments and the U.S. Department of Justice under which police departments agreed to hire minorities. Community activists marched and demonstrated to force police departments to hire ethnic minorities with the hope that this would eliminate racially biased policing. Once members of ethnic minorities were integrated into police departments, these new police officers were discriminated against in promotions, assignments, and other work conditions (Bolton and Feagin, 2004), which led to the organizing of these new race-based police organizations. This organizing

⁸ Interview of Lenard Wells, retired Milwaukee Police Lieutenant and former president of the League of Martin; Interview of Ruben Burgos retired Milwaukee Police Lieutenant and former president of the Milwaukee Chapter of the National Latino Peace Officers Association.

led them to expand their social consciousness and address the issues influencing the minority communities that they policed. The police unions represented a general police population, which was overwhelmingly white, and African American police officers as well as Latinos felt that these labor organizations did not represent their interests. Once organized, these groups expanded their mission to take on the issues of race-based policing. Pihos' study of Chicago's African American police organization, the Afro-American Patrolman's League, quotes co-founder Curtis Cowsen as thinking in terms of "solidifying the black policeman with the Black community (Pihos, 2012, p. 9)."

An initial reason for organizing the National Latino Peace Officers Association in 1972 was to address issues affecting minority officers within their departments as well as improving the relationship with the Latino community (NLPOA Charter). The NLPOA was a form of leverage to increase the value of minority officers within the department and the community (Roberts, 2005). This is an argument that is supported by the officer's constant challenges, both locally and nationally to what they perceived as unequal opportunities. This is not to say that it is a negative view of the organization's purpose. The Title VII, Affirmative Action battles were the result of a small group of individuals trying to improve their working conditions and eventually these actions benefitted other groups (Smith, 2008). Latinos in Milwaukee joined the NLPOA, which was a national organization and had a record of accomplishment of dealing with affirmative action situations.

The different policing philosophies/models are important in that law enforcement attempts reforms using these philosophies. One of these philosophies, the Professional Policing Model, improved the individual skills of the individual officer while promoting the development

of the police subculture, which isolated that police officer from the rest of society (Hahn, 1971; Woody 2005; Gould, 2000).

The community policing strategy attempted to bring law enforcement agencies into a closer working relationship with communities they policed, this philosophy also allowed Latino and African Americans more involvement in daily contact between Latino and African American communities. Arreola had also attempted to change the police subculture within MPD prior to implementing community policing.

Problem Oriented Policing.

Herman Goldstein's Problem Oriented Policing (POP) of the 1970s was designed to "develop a form of policing uniquely equipped to fulfill the complex needs of a free and diverse society (Goldstein, 1990, p. 1)." Goldstein wanted to transform the role of the police officer from reactionary to problem solver. This required standing the tenants on their head. The police subculture was us vs them, Goldstein recognized the ambitiousness of the change and the resistance of the police subculture (Goldstein, 1990, p. 29). Goldstein's criticism of the Vollmer and Wilson's professional policing model was that it focused on the organization rather than engaging the community. Goldstein's model of policing called for using the officer's full skills to engage the community and solve problems working together as a team (Goldstein, 1990). This was not what police were trained to do; there was a level of mistrust among police officers working with members of the community. Another level of engagement in POP was the recognition that police did not have the sufficient skills and knowledge to deal with the different ills afflicting both individuals and the community, thus they would have to engage with experts in different fields (Goldstein, 2009, p. 17).

Officers were to receive training to work with the different community groups to try and solve the overall problem, however this required that the police officer get to know the different social organizations in their area and develop a working relationship. This required that police officers be removed from their traditional duties, additionally a community service division would have to be added (Goldstein, 2009). One of the biggest criticisms of this philosophy was that traditionally police departments rate their officers on number of arrests, this required prevention and prevention is hard to measure when it comes to counting activity.

This philosophy required the developing of different police supervision skills and decentralizing police departments which meant providing services at precinct or district levels. According to Goldstein the strategy of community, policing was hard to categorize and was the subject of study at Harvard by academics and police chiefs. The studies were conducted at the Harvard John F. Kennedy School of Government. Over a three year period a group of police chiefs, mayors and academicians” (p.24) explored several strategies using community oriented and problem solving policing. The end result included two strategies one which involved what he referred to as a new relationship with the community in an effort to solve tension with the community and the other was a narrower focus to solve a “specific problem” (p.24). “Goldstein further added that POP was a more focused strategy of community oriented policing (Goldstein, 1990). The two strategies Community Policing and Problem Solving Policing eventually evolved to Community-Oriented Policing. When the strategy was implemented in the Milwaukee Police Department, the names were interchangeable.

Other researchers like Bolton and Feagin point out that “advocates of community oriented policing” deal better with complaints from African American communities; however, they also pointed out studies that “policing styles” were not that different between white or African

American officers; however, studies also show that African Americans officers want to improve their communities (Bolton and Feagin, 2004, p. 22). There was no literature available on the effectiveness of the COP within Latino communities; however, the assumption can be drawn that it was effective across most if not all minority communities if they were engaging the different groups.

Broken Windows.

George Kelling and James O. Wilson wrote an article for the *Atlantic Monthly* in March of 1982 entitled “Broken Windows The police and Neighborhood Safety.” The premise of the article was ordinary citizens are not concerned with major crime; rather, they worry about small disorders, like loud noise and vandalism. The reasoning is that citizens are more likely to be affected by the effects of small disorders rather than the major crimes (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). The metaphor used by Wilson and Kelling was if a vehicle was left parked and unattended, the windows would be broken, and gradually other damage would be done leading to further damage to surrounding property, thus the Broken Window philosophy was born.

Wilson and Kelling based their article on a 1969 experiment by a psychologist named Philip Zimbardo from Stanford. In his experiment, Zimbardo parked a car without license plates in the Bronx, New York and Palo Alto, California and the results were basically the same. The automobiles in both locations were damaged; the only difference was that in the Bronx, it was within ten minutes and in Palo Alto, it took 24 hours (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Wilson and Kelling argued that unattended property became “fair game for people out for fun or plunder” (Wilson and Kelling, 1982).

Wilson and Kelling’s argument is based on conservative views of law enforcement, order-maintenance, which was the practice by police at the turn of the century (Harcourt, 2001, p.

11). As police departments across the country adopted the “Broken Windows” theory, Milwaukee’s Mayor John W. Norquist also embraced the philosophy. When Arthur Jones was appointed chief in 1996, one of the first things he did was increase the size of the Internal Affairs Department. At the time of the re-organization of the police department’s internal affairs division there were two rumors circulating among police officers, one was the increase in internal affairs was to investigate citizens’ complaints quicker, however another rumor was based on the officers understanding of Broken Windows, which appeared to take more discretion away from the officer.

A tenant of Broken Windows was officers were to stop individuals for minor offenses that they might have over looked in the past, and this would lead to more contacts and interruption of criminal events. This was implemented differently by different police departments. An example of this is the introduction of Community Oriented Policing. Each department practiced it differently. In an interview with Ray Galaviz, a Deputy Inspector in the Milwaukee Police Department, Galaviz felt Community Oriented Policing was vague and was hard to implement. In his view, it was hard to determine if Community Oriented Policing was a philosophy or strategy (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).

The criticism of Broken Windows was it based on faulty research according to Harcourt (2001). In their book *Fixing Broken Windows Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in Our Communities*, Kelling and Coles argue Broken Windows was an extension of the Community Oriented Policing philosophy and the outcome of people stopped for minor offenses was referral for remedies other than incarceration (Kelling and Coles, 1996).

Kelling and Coles pointed out “ideas presented by broken windows” (p. 22) were already employed by police officers in cooperation with citizens within their areas. Officers enforced dispense informal justice by targeting undesirables with the cooperation of the local citizenry (p.

22). Kelling and Coles also pointed out that as different departments experimented with the “Broken Windows” concept each police chief implanted broken windows to suit their agendas. The Houston Police Department implemented broken windows as part of a community policing effort, Kelling and Coles argue that the Houston model had nothing to do with order maintenance (1996) while Newark concentrated their efforts on “crackdowns,” which Kelling and Cole argue was not the model suggested by Broken Windows (1996).

Kelling and Coles further cite studies by research conducted by Westly Skogan establishing a “causal link” (1996) between disorder, fear and crime (1996).⁹ Harcourt’s response to the research conducted by Skogan was that there was “no significant relationship between disorder and crime in four out of five tests (Harcourt, 2001, p. 7).” Harcourt cites 1999 statistical data by Sampson and Raudenbush studies to challenge the “Broken Windows” theory arguing that the data did not support the “oretical expectations” of the “broken windows” thesis (Harcourt, 2001, p.7). According to Harcourt the theory was a throwback to the early 20th century order-maintenance policing and what was taking place was severed punishment for both serious and minor offenses (Harcourt, 2001, pp6-7).

Harcourt replicated Skogan’s statistical data analysis and focused on Skogan’s findings regarding the relationship between “neighborhood disorder and crime victimization” (p. 59) re-analyzing data on surveys used by Skogan to measure the relationship between social disorder and crime in neighborhoods. A critique Harcourt had with Skogan’s analysis was that he was cherry picking his data. According to Harcourt, Skogan did not report that in four of the five tests there was a connection between disorder and crime (p. 61). Harcourt identified the areas of “burglary, rape, physical assault or purse snatching victimization” (p. 60) as having any connection with

⁹ Skogan is a professor at the Northwestern University Department of Political Science who conducted a study through the Police Foundation on “Broken Windows” (Kelling and Coles, 1996).

disorder. Harcourt also found problems with design and data due to Skogan not accounting for important missing values for the “disorder-crime nexus (p. 65).” Harcourt points out that a 1981 study conducted by Skogan and Maxfield on neighborhoods in Philadelphia and San Francisco were missing values for noise, litter, trash, gangs, public drinking and insults, which were variables which were among the “main variables” used to measure the relationship between physical and social disorder (p. 66).

Milwaukee Police and Chief Breier.

In 1911, the Wisconsin State Legislature passed a law making the police chief of class “A” cities in Wisconsin independent from any form of political control. MPD Chief Janssen had been engaged in a series of political battles with Milwaukee Mayors, which led to the “chief for life” law (Snyder, 2002, p. 12).

Police accountability was a cause of conflict between the Milwaukee Police Department and the African American community in Milwaukee in the 1960s. In 1964, Harold Breier was appointed to head the Milwaukee Police Department. The department was the target of a John Doe investigation and Breier was appointed in 1964. Snyder’s dissertation on Harold Breier used Anthony Bouza’s profile of the police chiefs of the “Twentieth Century urban police chiefs” as a longtime resident of his community, little or no formal education past high school and in their 50s (Snyder, 2002).

Breier embraced the Professional Policing model, not allowing any input from community groups; one of the first acts, as Chief of Police was to shut down an ongoing corruption investigation into MPD regarding fixing traffic tickets and refused to cooperate with the States Attorney’s office investigation (Snyder, 2002). The Professional Policing Model involved much needed improvements in policing, however the model stressed technical

developments, highly trained police officers, and administrative developments, however these developments led to a disconnect with the general population (Woody, 2005).

During the 1967 open house demonstrations, the MPD was accused of excessive use of force against African American protestors. The MPD was constantly criticized for using excessive force against African Americans and not being responsive to complaints by members of the African American community throughout the late 1960s and 1970s. Chief Breier resisted attempts to form community relations programs opting for public relations programs. Breier's attitude was that only police officers were capable of running a police department and refused to allow anyone else outside of the Milwaukee Police to assist in matters dealing with the Milwaukee Police Department (Snyder, 2002).

Affirmative Action and the Milwaukee Police.

The Duke Power Company of North Carolina hired African American laborers without high school diplomas; however, it required that for higher paying jobs those employees without the high school diploma take a promotional exam. While that was the policy, the Duke Power Company promoted many whites without giving them this exam (Smith, 2008).

William Boyd, an African American employed at the Duke Power Company filed a lawsuit with the help of civil rights attorney's. The importance of the ruling extended the civil rights movement to the employment, the Supreme Court ruled that employers did not have to intentionally treat black workers "disparately" to show discrimination; basically the court ruled that "intent" to discriminate did not have to be present, that policies and practices that caused discrimination were equally important (Smith, 2008).

The importance of the Griggs vs. Duke Power opened the door for the League of Martin in Milwaukee to pursue the notion of fairness in employment within the Milwaukee Police

Department and it empowered the National Latino Peace Officers Association in California in 1972. Smith argued in his analysis of the *Griggs vs. Duke Power* that although Johnson's Executive Order 11246 "written in 1965" prohibiting discrimination in Federal employment (Smith, 2008, p. 180–181) employers were getting around the policy by creating a two tier work force with whites on top and African Americans on the bottom. He furthered argued that the Supreme Court's favorable ruling, "Title VII" allowed for other forms of "activism" (p. 180). Not only had Title 7 open the door for promotions for Latinos, African Americans and women. The ruling also forced police departments to re-access their entrance exams for females.

Traditionally police entrance exams were designed to measure upper body strength, which favored the male anatomy, because of the Title 7 ruling police departments across the country re-designed their physical agility exams to fall in line with what the police job required. MPD applicants were required to jump a seven-foot wall, which eliminated a high number of females as well as hang for 45 seconds from a chin up bar, which required upper body strength. Many females did not pass the physical agility exam, failing those two portions of the exam, although many males also failed that phase of the exam.¹⁰

Krzewinski's dissertation on the development of the effects of affirmative action within the MPD outlines the legal actions undertaken by African American officers within the Milwaukee police department following the *Griggs vs. Duke Power* ruling.

The MPD had a promotional policy for the rank of detective. Uniformed officers were assigned to the rank of acting detective, which existed until 1977 (Krzewinski, 2000, p. 97). Prior to being promoted to the rank of detective police officers were assigned to the detective bureau

¹⁰ I was assigned to the Milwaukee Police Training Academy when the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission redesigned the physical agility exam. Members of the commission had working police officers take the exam to determine what was practical. Because of this re-evaluation, the physical agility test the 7-foot wall was lowered to 6 feet.

to work as the title infers as acting detectives. Acting detectives challenged their status by suing the MPD, their claim was that they were doing the identical work of detectives, but were not getting equal pay (Krzewinski, 2000). In 1978 110 police officers were promoted to the rank of detective as result of the legal action, eight out of the 110 were African American (p. 97).

The MPD's promotional exam to the rank of detective became the target of African American police officers who argued that the exam itself was biased against African Americans. The Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission's exam score was set at 40 percent for the written portion, ten percent for seniority, 20 percent on the oral exam and 30 percent was determined by a department grade (Krzewinski, 2000). The department grade was the target of contention by African American Officers. The 30 percent of the grade was given by a member of the MPD command staff, which was predominantly made of white males. Former Milwaukee police Chief Arthur Jones then a police officer successfully challenged the process in a 1988 lawsuit. The League of Martin was organized in 1974, in response to discriminatory practices against African American police officers within MPD. Arthur Jones was its first president (Krzewinski, 2000).

The League of Martin actively challenged discriminatory practices within the MPD against minority officers, filing lawsuits against the department when discriminatory practices were identified (Krzewinski, 2000). The League also monitored how African American community was policed forming alliances within the African American community in Milwaukee (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).

There is little doubt that Latinos in Milwaukee and within the MPD benefited from the activism of the League of Martin, however, it should be noted that the Latino population in Milwaukee lacked the density and organization to mount any type of challenge within the MPD. Latinos within law enforcement started organizing in 1972 in California and eventually reached

Milwaukee in 1989 with the arrival of the National Latino Peace Officers Organization. The NLPOA was already organized at the national level making it easy for Latinos in MPD to organize locally.

Zero Sum Hiring.

There have been attempts to research the race issue in policing as well as Latinos in policing. Zhao, He, and Lovrich write the “Civil Rights Movement” and later the “Viet Nam War” resulted in a greater effort to incorporate more minorities into policing in the United States (Zhao, He, and Lovrich, 2005, p. 337). Although not referenced or mentioned this was probably a direct result of the 1967 Presidential Commission report on crime in the United States. There was growth in the hiring of African American officers from “9.5 % in 1990 to 10.38% and Latinos grew from 5.4% in 1990 to 7.7% in 2000 (Zhao, He, and Lovrich, 2005, p. 337–386).” Zhao, He and Lovrich contrasted the growth of the African American population, which was 12.3 percent in 1990 to 12.8 percent in 2000 (2005) while comparing the growth of the Latino population from 9.0 percent in 1990 to 11.8 percent in 2000, with the fastest growth in the Southwest and Midwest. Zhao, He and Lovrich attempted to identify key factors for the increase in representation of minority officers within police departments and concluded a key factor was the size of the minority populations for the increase of the minority representation within police departments (Zhao, He, and Lovrich, 2005).

The study also showed a correlation between departments that had minorities as police chiefs and the increase in hiring of minority police officers. An interesting finding was also pointed out, that an increase in the hiring of either Latinos or African American officers could mean a decrease in the other. This point was also brought out by Lenard Wells (President League of Martin) in an interview; he stated that both he and José L. López (Former President of the

NLPOA) were aware that they were competing for promotional spots within the Milwaukee Police Department; however, they were able to work around it. This conflict was highlighted by Skrentny referring to African Americans and Latinos in California competing for jobs in the public sector (Skrentny, 2001, p. 9).

Zhao, He and Lovrich referred to that dilemma as the “zero sum hiring” impact of Affirmative Action; however this was always a double edge sword which minority officers were aware of, if there were quotas, once filled there was no more room at the inn.

Conclusion

In comparing the experience of the Latino police officer within MPD and contrasting it to that of African American police officers, the experiences often mirrored each other, and at times their organizations worked with each other (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012). The roots of the Latino police officers activism was not in Milwaukee, but in California and their sense of identity was transformed as a result of the this activism. The organizers realized that the power was in the whole group, as Latinos rather than in the individual groups, such as Mexican and Puerto Rican (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013). In reaching out to the Latino community in Milwaukee, the NLPOA fostered the Latino identity, which contributed to the uniting of the different groups of Latinos in MPD.

The affirmative action programs that were in place were often criticized for lowering the standards of entrance to the policing field; however, it is important to recognize that historically there were a lack of standards, or if they were in place, these standards have to be questioned. Corruption, racism, and excessive use of force against minorities was a common occurrence in American policing (Repetto, 2010).

Reformers such as Vollmer and Wilson transformed American policing by not only employing technology but by providing better training for police officers, as well as employed college educated police officers. Studies showed that these better-trained officers bonded, forming what is referred to as the “police subculture,” which caused a separation between the officers and the communities they policed (Gould, 2000).

Although these reforms were in place, the treatment of minorities by police did not improve, other strategies, such as Goldstein’s Problem Solving Policing were used by the police departments in an attempt to engage communities that they policed. POP became an element of the Community Oriented Policing strategy, which was employed by police departments in the 1980s and 1990s; however, resistance by the police subculture gave way to a different strategy, Broken Windows. Broken Windows also had its critiques, to include the authors Wilson and Kelling who wrote that many police departments did not properly implemented (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Harcourt criticized Broken Windows on faulty research methods (Harcourt, 2001).

The number of Latinos and African Americans increased because of Affirmative Action programs researched revealed that there was little difference in the policing styles of minority police officers, although in Chicago a group of African American officers organized and reached to the African American community (Pihos, 2012).

In Milwaukee, a group of African American police officers organized, calling themselves the League of Martin and challenged a strong police chief, Harold Breier on discriminatory practices by MPD towards African American officers resulting in a consent decree leading to the hiring of more minorities into the MPD. Although this study is about Latinos in the MPD, it is

important to acknowledge the accomplishments of the African American officers who challenged the status quo within MPD, which facilitated the growth of the Latinos within MPD.

Chapter 3

MILWAUKEE POLICE AND LATINO COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The process of hiring Latino police officers into the Milwaukee Police Department would eventually improve Latino-police relations in Milwaukee. However, the improvement in such relations did not happen immediately; it was a slow methodical process. The first step in the process was the organization of the Latino community. The early organizing of the Latino community and the community's criticism of police abuse was an important first step for the Latino officers' reform role in MPD. Community protests provided the necessary eternal pressure on Latino officers to encourage some of them to break away from the "Blue Shield" and help them move toward a closer identification with the Latino community.

This chapter looks at the poor relationship between the Latino community and the MPD from the late 1960s to 2000. It also examines the effort by both the Latino community and the African American community to improve relations with the MPD and the resistance of Police Chief Harold Breier to help improve relations with both the Latino and African American communities from outside the MPD.

The chapter also examines a series of confrontations between the Latino community and the MPD over the use of excessive force by MPD officers against the Latino community. In one particular incident, the shooting and killing of two off-duty MPD officers by James Ray Mendoza set back the efforts to improve relations between MPD and the Latino community (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

Finally, the chapter uses articles in two community newspapers, *La Guardia* (Latino publication) and *The Milwaukee Courier* (African American publication) to get a view from their perspective of events that were unfolding in police-community relations. These publications are located in the Milwaukee Public Library.

In researching the community relations aspect (or lack of community relations as it applies to the minority communities in Milwaukee), the presence of Chief Breier stands out as an obstacle in bettering community relations between MPD and the minority communities in Milwaukee. The resistance of Chief Breier to what he referred to as outside and academic influences becomes an issue in both community relations and for minority officers seeking equitable treatment, once hired. The other thread that flows through the Latino experience is that of race, both from the perspective of organizing of the community and organizing the National Latino Peace Officers Association, the NLPOA.

The process of organizing the Latino community is important, because this would later mirror the way Latinos in the MPD would respond to their own problems and the relationship with the Latino community. The issue of identity became a constant issue; there was a strong sense of ethnic pride among the different Latino groups, but also an awareness that there was strength in numbers. This awareness drove the issue of an alternative identity as Latinos to the forefront.

Although MPD hired the first Latino police officer in 1964, I was unable to locate any records of Latino officer involvement in the Latino community; although the temptation would be to blame the assimilation of Latino police officers into the subculture there as an alternative explanation. Chief Breier had a strong hold on the MPD; there was no community involvement by police officers without his approval (Snyder, 2002).

An example of the complexity of the dealing with Latino problems is the Latino gang problem and trying to find a solution to it. Another important factor to consider while discussing the organizing of Latinos in Milwaukee is the importance of alliances formed between the African American community and Latino community in addressing both civil rights issues, the

lack of equal treatment of both African Americans and Latinos by members of MPD. The National Latino Peace Officer Association and the League of Martin would also mirror the alliance between both community groups.

The 1960s Milwaukee population was 741,324; 675,572 were white, 62,458 were identified as Negro, and the only Latino group identified were Mexicans at 3,218. There was no mention of Puerto Rican or other Latino groups (1960 Milwaukee census tract).

In the 1970s, Milwaukee had 3,657 residents of Mexican or Mexican descent (the Census does not differentiate), 512 of Cuban descent/Cuban and 1,429 listed as “other” Americans (Milwaukee Census, 1970). Although the Latino population was only .76 percent of the total Milwaukee population there were strong structural changes taking place within the Latino community. Interestingly, there is no mention of the Puerto Rican population in the 1970 Milwaukee Census report; there was a Puerto Rican presence in Milwaukee and they were working with other Latinos to make structural changes within the Latino community in Milwaukee. The Milwaukee Latino population in the 1980s was 26,111 according to the Milwaukee Census (1980 Census of Population and Housing Milwaukee WI). The 1980 Census of Population and Housing for Milwaukee had Latinos listed as “people of Spanish origin” 26,111, and further broken down to 15,363 Mexican origins, 7,708 Puerto Rican origins, 390 Cuban origin and 2,650 other Spanish (1980 Census of Population and Housing Milwaukee, WI).

In 1979 a *Milwaukee Journal* article, a prominent Latino leader/activist of Puerto Rican heritage was interviewed regarding his tenure as an activist in Milwaukee (Esquivel, 1979). The activist, Tony Baez, was leaving Milwaukee for New York when interviewed. Baez, a UW

Milwaukee graduate was active in trying to develop bilingual education programs in Milwaukee as well as establishing programs to work with troubled Latino youth.¹

When asked by reporter Mary Ann Esquivel to reflect on the state within the Latino community in Milwaukee for the 1980s, Baez said, “Its leaders have looked elsewhere, notably the American Southwest, and problems in Milwaukee too often have been handled with imported strategies (Esquivel, 1979).” Baez further criticized how social agencies and police were handling the start of Milwaukee’s Latino gang problem (Esquivel, 1979). Baez saw the formation of Latino gangs in Milwaukee not as a gang issue, but as youths venting their frustrations (Esquivel, 1979).

Baez was also critical of the social agency heads in Milwaukee calling them “poverty pimps” (Esquivel, 1979). In the same interview, Baez stressed different Latino groups would have to work together to come up with solutions for Latino problems in Milwaukee. Initially, the interview sounds critical of the Latino leadership in Milwaukee; however, a close historical analysis of the interview provided a good road map in dealing with Latino issues in Milwaukee.

The only disagreement I have with Baez is the assessment of the youth gang problem taking hold in Milwaukee. The gang problem was a complex problem, which in my view, was misjudged by not only social agencies, but also by law enforcement. The root of the Milwaukee gang problem was not only local, but the influence of the Chicago also caused the problem to take root. The “1-94” connection to Chicago provided the influence necessary for the problem to take a foothold. I was a rookie patrol officer when the “Walker Square” incident led to the initial Latino gang problems of the late 1970s in Milwaukee.

¹ This information was obtained from archival documents from the Wisconsin Historical Society Tony Baez collection.

A newly transplanted Chicago family with connections to Chicago moved to Milwaukee, and it was this connection, which provided the leadership and influence for the gang to take root.² The family moved from Chicago to Milwaukee so its children would not be involved in Chicago gang activity; however, the children had ties to the Chicago Spanish Cobras and the children of these families started a chapter of the Spanish Cobras in Milwaukee (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013).³ I was assigned to walk beat patrol around the area of Walker Square. One of the reasons I along with other uniform officers were assigned beat patrol around the park was that Spanish Cobra gang members were harassing young Latinos in the area of Walker Square Park. Walker Square Park is located on So. 9th Street and West Walker. Walker Square Park covers one block directly across from The United Community Center a popular Latino community based organization in Milwaukee's near Southside. The park was a popular recreational area for Latino families complete with swings for toddlers.

The response to the Spanish Cobras harassment of Latino youth was the formation of other groups of Latino youth to defend themselves against the Spanish Cobras, these groups eventually evolved into youth gangs with connections to Chicago gangs. Police and other social agency response to the problem were not initially coordinated; the MPD organized a gang squad to suppress the gangs originally started as a temporary detail evolving into an official unit. The Milwaukee gang squad received training by the Chicago Police Department gang officers in response to the Chicago gang ties.

² I was assigned to patrol Walker Square Park in Milwaukee's near Southside where a group of young Latino males formed the Spanish Cobra gang and claimed the park as their turf. I had several conversations with these individuals who proudly admitted their connection to the Chicago Spanish Cobra gang.

³ José Flores is a gang intervention specialist that has been working with Latino gang members since the early 1980s. Flores also grew up with some of these gang members.

The complexity of the different Latino groups led to confusion in responding to the gang problem. The Chicago Latino gangs were predominantly of Puerto Rican descent; however, the Milwaukee near Southside was mixed Mexican and Puerto Rican. The traditional neighborhood divisions that existed in Chicago were not in place in Milwaukee's Latino community consequently Milwaukee Latino gangs were more diverse.

There were both Puerto Rican and Mexican American social workers who were gang intervention specialists. Many of the Puerto Rican gang intervention specialists were familiar with the Chicago gangs; however, on a national level the Mexican American Southwest has the largest Latino population. The Mexican American community in the Southwest was dealing with the gang problems; however, these gangs were different than Chicago based gangs and different strategies developed in addressing their problems. Milwaukee police officers were traveling to different gang seminars throughout the country, but much of the gang training was out of California causing different views on the response to the Latino gang problem.⁴

The Southwest strategies that Baez mentioned had their roots in the Mexican American migrant labor movement, the number of Mexican Americans migrating to Milwaukee eventually outnumbered the Puerto Rican population making the Mexican American the dominant population in Milwaukee, consequently, many of the ideas of dealing with the Latino population had their origins in the American-Southwest, especially Texas and California (Rodriguez, 2011).

⁴ I was assigned to the Milwaukee Gang unit in the early 1980s both on temporary bases and eventually on permanent bases. I also attended the different training sessions throughout the country and experienced the different types of views on the Latino gangs.

Mexican Americans

The recruitment of Mexican Americans began in 1918 to work the sugar beet fields of the Midwest. The Mexican American laborers worked in rural areas well into the 1970s and worked in poor conditions. Although many Mexican migrants followed the seasonal agricultural trail, there were also Mexican labors recruited into urban areas as in the recruitment of Mexican laborers in the 1920s to work the Pfister and Vogel tannery in Milwaukee (Valdez, 1991).

One hundred Mexican males were recruited to work the tannery, and these Mexicans are known today as “Los Primeros” (Gurda, 1999). A study by Agnes Fenton had an estimated 4,000 Mexican Americans living in Milwaukee by the 1930s. The number was based upon a report by Fenton for the YWCA in 1930; the report, however, is very suspect; it is filled with unsupported stereotypical observations about the Mexican immigrants (Fenton, 1930).

The wave of Mexican Americans from Texas also referred to as Tejanos and or Chicanos changed the nature of the Milwaukee Latino civil rights movement. Large groups of Mexicans settled in South Texas in the 1900s; Rodriguez used the number “thousands”, these Mexicans became blended in with the older Mexican Americans that were already settled in South Texas (Rodriguez, 2011). Many of these “Tejanos” were farm workers and followed the harvest trails north to the mid-west to include Wisconsin as well as westward to California (Rodriguez, 2011).

In Texas, “Tejanos” had been subjected to discriminatory practices and in response formed organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the G.I. Forum to combat these discriminatory practices (Rodriguez, 2011, Meier and Rivera, 1972). Mexican Americans had been confronting the discriminatory practices in Texas continually since the early 1900s by forming groups such as LULAC (which is one of the oldest continuous Latino civil rights groups), the founding of the American G.I. Forum by returning World War II

Mexican American veterans marked the start of better organizing. Therefore, Latino groups increased their political power (Skerry, 1993; Meier and Rivera, 1972).

The 1960s also saw the Mexican American movement evolve to a more politically radical movement, which mirrored the African American movement of ethnic pride (Rodriguez, 2011). The Catholic Church became an important aspect of the Mexican American culture, to the extent that it exercised some political control over education. It was out of the Catholic parish system that the Mexican American fight over Wisconsin migration work rights was rooted. Eventually the migrant worker rights movement evolved into the larger civil rights movement in Wisconsin and in Milwaukee (Skerry, 1993; E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

Ernesto Chacon, was originally from Piersall, Texas where he started working with the Catholic Youth Organization (CYO). Chacon was a sophomore in high school when he started working for the CYO buying food and interpreting for the farm workers. He was assigned to work with migrant farm workers who traveled from Texas to Wisconsin.⁵ Chacon also monitored treatment of the farm workers and report any abuses to the Catholics Church (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

Chacon traveled to the Midwest as well as the West Coast working with the farmworkers, but spent most of his time traveling in Wisconsin. Chacon estimated the number of farm workers somewhere around 30,000 to 40,000 during the mid-1960s (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013)⁶. Chacon started working with the farmworkers in Wisconsin in 1959, traveling back and forth from Texas to Wisconsin. In 1965, Chacon was hired by the United

⁵ I have worked with Ernesto Chacon in a volunteer capacity. Chacon sat on the board of the Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship Foundation at the same time I was a member of the board.

⁶ The estimate of farm workers provided by Chacon was strictly from his recollection and not necessarily accurate.

Migrant Occupational Services (UMOS) in Milwaukee as a job counselor, working with the farm workers. Chacon visited the same migrant camps he had been visiting as a Texas CYO worker. Chacon said that made the job easier because he was familiar with the camps as well as most of the people in the camps (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

Chacon worked with field workers as well as the workers in the canneries. Once migrant workers would finish their work in Wisconsin, they would travel to Michigan and Indiana returning to Texas in August.⁷ In analyzing the priority of addressing migrant field worker needs and focus on education needs of migrant workers, a 1954 Michigan study of European-American children in Van Buren County addresses problems of the educational issues. The survey revealed that 25 percent of white parents had a fourth-grade education in contrast to a 1957 survey in Michigan's Bay County on Mexican Americans that revealed Mexican Americans working the fields had less than three years of formal school and one-fourth had never attended school (Valdes, 1991).

The same survey had only fewer than 40 percent of Mexican American children speaking English, among Tejano children, 12 percent never attended school, and of those that attended school 75 percent were at least one grade behind (Valdes, 1991).

Although laws were in place requiring mandatory schooling for children as well as child labor laws, they were seldom applied to the Mexican American farm workers, local school boards, police departments and the large farm corporations controlled local officials. Local residents and growers argued that the Mexican family worked as a unit and parents needed children in the fields in order to earn more money (Valdes, 1991). Latino activists recognized the

⁷ The interview with Chacon brought back memories for the author regarding his childhood in South Texas. In the early 1960s, my parents found jobs in South Texas outside of farm labor allowing them the opportunity of stabilizing their family life. As a result I recall school friends leaving for the fields of the Midwest during spring and returning in August before the start of the new school year.

importance of education as the building blocks to the future of Latino migrant worker movement; however, they also had to address unfair labor practices and living conditions of migrant field workers in Wisconsin.

Cesar Chavez and the National Farm Workers Association's boycott of California grapes helped solidify the farm workers' rights movement and led to Chicano activists organizing farm workers in Wisconsin. In 1966, Jesus Salas led the organization of farm workers in Wisconsin. Salas staged an 80-mile march from Wautoma WI to Madison, WI in 1966 (Valdez, 1991). The Waushara County Sheriff's Department tried to enforce DNR no trespassing laws to keep labor organizers out of labor camps. The courts ruled that the DNR's no trespassing laws did not apply to the labor organizers (Guajardo, 99). The focus of the marches and the labor movement in Wisconsin was to get the state to pass laws to protect migrant workers as well as to get those laws enforced. Once that was accomplished, the ensuing step was to get Chicano workers appointed to the Council for Migrant Labor (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013). Although conditions in labor camps improved, educational opportunities for Chicanos did not improve and educational opportunities became the next goal for Chicano organizers. Also imported from the Southwest were new terms for Mexican Americans like "Chicano" once a derogatory term for Mexican Americans became a term to demonstrate pride.

The American Southwest was the source of the Chicano movement, which made its way to Milwaukee (Rodriguez, 2011); however, the hub of activism for the Puerto Ricans was New York City, and Chicago (Acosta-Belen and Santiago, 2006; Korrol, 1983) and the term Nuyorican found its way to Milwaukee.⁸ The Latino movement was in full swing in Milwaukee

⁸ The term Nuyorican is used for a Puerto Rican born in New York

by the late 1960s, as Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans, the two largest Latino groups, worked together to promote Latino civil rights in Milwaukee.

Puerto Ricans

The 1940s and 1950s also saw a migration of Puerto Rican farm labor to the United States. Many Puerto Ricans who labored in the sugar plantations in Puerto Rico migrated to work the fields of the Midwest, including Wisconsin. In the 1950s, Milwaukee, Puerto Ricans were one of the largest migrant groups in Milwaukee (Tolan, 1999, p. 87–115).

Puerto Ricans were initially well received in the 1940s; information was provided to the MPD on many of their customs and efforts were made by the MPD to reach out to the Puerto Rican community. However, these efforts were short-lived (Gurda, 1976).

The Puerto Rican community took a foothold in Milwaukee's Eastside around 1950s. Families settled in and around N. Holton Street, by the 1960s the Puerto Rican community had become one of the largest groups on Milwaukee's Eastside and by 1970, the Latino population was at 1300 with the Puerto Rican group the largest of the Latino groups (Tolan, 1999, p. 87–115).

The Puerto Rican community established a social group, el Congreso Puerto-Riqueño Mutual (Tolan, 1999, p. 87–115) as well as organized dances. Puerto Ricans also brought other cultural practices popular among other Latino groups, such as serenading. In his history of Milwaukee's Riverwest area, Tolan writes that the MPD "aggressively" broke up serenading groups (1999). In an interview, John Torres, a Latino journalist and current owner of a Spanish-speaking radio station in Milwaukee, recounted that his father told him that when he first arrived from Puerto Rico, he would engage in serenading; however, the MPD would make them stop under the threat of arrest (J. Torres, personal communication, January 24, 2013).

Torres recalls the relationship between the Latino community and the MPD as very strained. In his view, the lack of Latino officers created a lack of trust between the Latino community and the police department. Monolingual officers created a problem, because they could not understand the language (Spanish) and the customs of the Latino community (J. Torres, personal communication, January 24, 2013).

The area around North Holton Avenue continued to attract Puerto Ricans from Puerto Rico as well as Chicago and New York City. The 1960s also foreshadowed another issue that was to plague Milwaukee in the 1980s, i.e. youth gangs. The 1960s brought the formation of a gang, the Kings, which had about 30 members (Tolan, 1999); however, by the mid-1960s, the gang was suppressed through arrest and incarceration of key members (Tolan, 1999). This would be the model that would be used by Milwaukee Police in the late 1970s and early 1980s in dealing with the growing Latino gang problem on Milwaukee's near Southside.

Organizing the Latino Community in Milwaukee

The issue of identity becomes important within the Latino community by the 1960s. The early migration of Latinos to Milwaukee was mostly Mexican and Puerto Rican. They established their communities, Puerto Ricans in the Riverwest area and Mexicans on Milwaukee's near Southside.

Although both the Mexican American and Puerto Rican had established their neighborhoods, there was collaboration between both groups, to include involvement with the African American open house marches led by Father Groppi in 1967. Father Groppi's group met with the Latino groups to focus on the hiring practices of the Allen Bradley Company located on Milwaukee's near Southside, the heart of the Latino community (Tolan, 1999). In referring to the near Southside of the 1960s as the heart of the Latino community, it was where Latinos started to

settle, this is based on personal observation, having moved to Milwaukee in the summer of 1967. The near Southside had a sizeable Latino population but it was still predominantly a Polish, German, and Serbian area.

In his history of the Milwaukee Riverwest area, Tolan (1999) claims that although there was some advocacy taking place within the Puerto Rican community in Milwaukee's urban setting, much of it was unsophisticated (Tolan, 1999). In his history of the Milwaukee Riverwest neighborhood, he does a good job of pointing out how many young English-speaking Latinos (Latinas) were used to interpret for their parents and how others were given jobs at 14 or 15 interpreting for Latino families (Tolan, 1999).⁹ I disagree with Tolan's assessment of lack of sophistication within the Puerto Rican community; the real issue for the Puerto Rican population was lack of density. Milwaukee's Latino population was about to get help in advocacy from the Mexican Americans, who had followed the migrant trail, especially from Texas where they had a history of advocacy (Rodriguez, 2011).

In his work on how cities changed the world, Bruggmann (2009) points out how the civil rights movement was a long time in the making. Bruggmann claims that the migration of different groups, African Americans and other Latinos into urban areas set the stage for the civil rights movement's momentum of the 1960s. Bruggmann points out that the mere fact that these other groups were in close proximity to each other; this enabled them to share ideas. The earlier migrations also allowed these groups to set up social connections, and these groups' established churches where many of the leaders were trained. These social and cultural groups became the catalyst for MPD Latino officers to connect to the Latino community in the late 1980s.

⁹ I recall when first hired as a police officer there were few Spanish-speaking police officers and the use of English speaking children was common by MPD to communicate with their non-English speaking parents. The children would also often accompany their parents to court.

The late 1960s saw the establishment of other organizational structures within the Latino community including a community newspaper *La Guardia*, a Latino newspaper that was bilingual, written in both English and Spanish (Rodriguez, 2011). *La Guardia* carried news that centered on issues important to Latinos. An example of this is a 1969 issue, which carried stories of the Cesar Chaves grape boycott, Cesar Chavez's visit to Milwaukee, African American support for the grape boycott and poems written by Latinos about Latinos ("Chavez comes to Wisconsin," 1969, December, no date).

Another important Latino organization established in the 1960s was The United Migrant Opportunity Service (1965) commonly referred to as UMOS. UMOS was designed as a one-stop agency for aid to migrant workers (Rodriguez, 2011). This agency was located in Milwaukee's near Southside and today is one of the largest Latinos agencies in the United States working not only on migrant issues, but also on other issues, such as training women on public assistance in job skills and trying to get them back into the work force.

UMOS was an important agency working to protect farm workers' rights; Chacon highlights the importance of this organization. He was employed by UMOS and workers at UMOS realized there were laws in place to protect migrant farm worker that were not being enforced. Chacon makes it clear that the effort to help the migrant workers went beyond marching and demonstrating. Chacon further related there was research into laws taking place by people at UMOS, and advocates started to look at writing laws to protect migrant farm workers (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

Chacon and other advocates began to meet with lawmakers to discuss issues such as minimum wage, and building of proper bathroom facilities and hiring of Latinos to enforce labor laws. Chacon stressed the difficulty in accomplishing these goals, stating, "We had no power; we

had no representation in the Senate, and we had no representation in the Mayor's office, the county, the state; we had no robust representation at the school level; we had no power really (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013)."

The strategy to get Latinos hired within the Department of Labor to help enforce the laws regarding migrant labor actually was a road map that evolved when dealing with the Milwaukee Police Department. Although the city passed new anti-discrimination laws, Latino activist realized that in order for these laws to be enforced, Latinos had to be in place to enforce these laws.

Although hiring Latinos and other minorities into policing seemed a sound solution to address the mistreatment of minorities, the police subculture, the bonding to the organization made this strategy difficult to take hold. This is an observation based on the numerous readings during my research and it appeared that activists were not addressing the issue of the police subculture directly. Latino and African American police officers accomplished this by forming separate organizations like the Latin Peace Officers Association and League of Martin.

Latinos did not lack the ability to organize in Milwaukee; they were organizing and making inroads in the political arena, however, as pointed out by Ernesto Chacon, there was no real Latino density in Milwaukee, which translated to lack of voting power.

Chacon and other Latino activists, including the Rev. Orlando Costas helped form a group of Latinos, of both Mexican and Puerto Rican ancestry, into a Brown power group known as the "Brown Berets," this group also dressed in military type dress and wore brown berets (Rodriguez, 2011).

"Brown Berets" were also fighting an image problem much like the Red Berets. The Brown Berets felt forced to publish an article in the December 1969 edition of *La Guardia*,

explaining their position. “Brown Berets” were fighting what they perceived to be an image of themselves as “communists.”¹⁰ Brown Berets compared themselves to Mexican revolutionary hero Father Miguel Hidalgo, Emiliano Zapata and other Puerto Rican and Mexican heroes (“Brown Beret Speaks,” 1969, no date).¹¹ One of the divides within Latino groups was generational, as I have noted previously, many of the older Latinos had served in the U.S. Armed forces and did not have a positive view of “Che” who was a symbol for the Marxist movement.

Ramona Villarreal, a retired Madison area schoolteacher recalls her activities as a Brown Beret, marching with Jesus Salas and Ernesto Chacon from Wautoma to Madison, marching to press for migrant farmworkers rights. Ramona had photographs of herself with Latino activists Cesar Chavez, Ernesto Chacon, and Jesus Salas (R. Villarreal, personal communication, October 14, 2013).

Ramona came from a family of 16 brother and sisters who were born in Laredo, Texas to migrant farmworker parents. Ramona’s parents were born in Texas, but were of Mexican ancestry. Ramona and her family migrated north following the harvest season, traveling to Minnesota to work the sugar beet fields then to Wautoma, Wisconsin to pick cucumbers. They stayed in different farms and this is how eventually she met Jesus Salas. (R. Villarreal, personal communication, October 14, 2013).

Ramon’s memories of the living conditions at migrant labor camps were that they were “very bad”. There was no running water, only cold water. Ramona would have to go get water in a bucket, there were five beds in one room, and if they complained, they would either get kicked

¹⁰ Many of the “brown- pride” groups of the 1960s consisted of youths who marched with posters of Che Guevara either ignorant to the fact that many of the older Latinos did not share their passion for Che who was a Communist revolutionary. Many older Latinos served in the US Military and were not ready to embrace a movement that made a hero out of Che.

¹¹ La Guardia early editions had many grammatical errors as well had poor editing and in direct quotes it will appear as I’m made the error.

out or get treated worse. According to Ramona, they had no legal recourse when they were kicked out of the camps (R. Villarreal, personal communication, October 14, 2013).

The pay was just as bad and according to Ramona, they worked from sun up to sun down and they would only get half their pay. Ramona gave an example of earning \$25.00 and out of that \$25.00; they would have to give the owners half. According to Ramona, since they were a large family they might make \$200.00 per day (R. Villarreal, personal communication, personal communication, October 14, 2013).

Migrant farm workers were divided into regions, the workers from Texas would migrate to Wisconsin to pick cucumbers, the California migrants would go to Colorado to pick beans, and then California farm workers would pick cherries in Sturgeon Bay. The migrant workers from Florida would go to New York and Filipinos also would migrate to Florida and Wisconsin to work, Ramona referred to these patterns as migrant streams. Ramona was ten years old; however, she became active with her father during the farm workers movement. Ramona recalls getting involved in the “Grape Boycott” and meeting Cesar Chavez (R. Villarreal, personal communication, personal communication, October 14, 2013).

During one of the protests against buying grapes, Ramona recalled an incident in Wautoma, WI when she was involved in a grape boycott of a grocery store. A Wautoma police officer she recalls as Mr. Mack going into to the store, buying grapes and eating grapes in front of protesters.

Ramona also stressed that there was a strong connection between the grape boycott in California and Wisconsin; workers traveled back and forth to participate in protests. Ramona stresses that what really stuck out for her is how unfair they were treated, they were American citizens, and often times they were cheated by the farm workers.

Ramona grew up involved in the farm workers labor movement, joining the Brown Berets in Milwaukee. She also was involved with Lalo Vazquez one of the founders of the *La Guardia* newspaper and Ernesto Chacon. Ramona stressed that these experiences in migrant labor movement motivated her to pursue a college education and get into teaching. Ramona also did not recall any positive experiences with police officers during this time, only that they threatened to arrest protestors.

The struggles in the fields were a priority for Latino activists in Wisconsin due to poor living conditions, the unfair treatment received by the farm workers at the hand of farm growers; however, there was also a struggle in cities. In 1969, Latino protestors in Milwaukee demonstrated against the structure of the Concentrated Employment Program, and the Social Development Commission located at 809 W. Greenfield. Protestors from the Latin American Union for Civil Rights, Latin American Youth Organization, Tenants Union, and the Union Benefica Hispana took over the Southside offices of the Concentrated Employment Commission (“Southsiders change CEP Board,” 1969, December, no date).

The Concentrated Employment Commission known as the CEP was tasked with training people for jobs as well as finding jobs for people. Latinos felt there was lack of representation, not enough Latinos appointed to the Commission. Even though the offices were located in Milwaukee’s Latino community and majority of the clients were Latinos, there was a lack of Latino representation on the board of CEP as well as in the decision-making process, which was taking place at CEP’s Northside office (“Southsiders change CEP Board,” 1969, December, no date).

Another important event was taking place in 1969 for Latinos, recognizing that they did not have voting block necessary to influence politicians. Latinos joined forces with African

American civil rights movement. One example of this cooperative effort was the support by five prominent African American leaders' support to the grape boycott. Lloyd Barbee, Vel Phillips, Calvin Moody and Clinton Ross supported the grape boycott referring to it as a "joining of forces into "minority power" ("Chavez comes to Wisconsin," 1969, December, no date).

Milwaukee Police and Minority Community Relations

Milwaukee was very segregated in the 1960s, with African Americans living in Milwaukee's Northside with the Menomonee River as a boundary that separated the races. The Southside of Milwaukee is connected to the downtown area by several bridges, one on Water St., So. 6th Street, So. 16th Street, So. 27th Street and So. 35th Street. African Americans were not allowed to own or rent property in Milwaukee's Southside. African American police officers were not assigned to Milwaukee's Southside districts until the late 1970's and early 1980s (Krzewinski, 2000).

An important event in the 1960s African American Civil Rights movement was the Congress of Racial Equality staging a sit-in at the Milwaukee County Courthouse over racist comments made by Fred Lins, a member of the Social Development Commission (Gurda, 2006). As African Americans started to move into Milwaukee's Northside neighborhoods, whites stated to move out and sell their homes to African Americans. Real estate agents bought the homes from the white homeowners who were in a hurry to escape the African American migration into their neighborhoods at a low price and sold the homes to African Americans for double the prices (Tolan, 2003).

A Roman Catholic priest, Father James Groppi, led a series of marches starting in 1967 demanding support for an open-house ordinance from city officials. Vel Phillips had tried to pass an open-housing ordinance through the Milwaukee Common Council four times without success,

which led to the demonstrations. Marchers crossed the 16th Street viaduct marching into Milwaukee's near Southside led by Father Groppi (Gurda, 2006).

Aside from the protests against discrimination in housing, Milwaukee became engulfed in a civil disturbance; Milwaukee's race riot erupted on July 30, 1967 on Milwaukee's Northside. Riots broke out and brought the open house marches to a halt. Police Chief Harold Breier requested Governor Warren P. Knowles call up the National Guard who assisted MPD patrol the streets affected by the riot (Gurda, 2006).

One of the central figures when discussing the MPD and its relationship with the African American community is Police Chief Harold Breier. Breier resisted any outside interference with his running of the MPD; his idea of community relations was public relations (Snyder, 2002). The MPD had employed its first African American police officer in 1924, Judson Walter Minor Jr., who resigned in 1926 due to a filing of a large number of false allegations against him; by the 1940s, the MPD had eight African American police officers and one African American female police matron (Wellauer-Lenius, 2008). It is unclear how many African American police officers were in the MPD by the 1960s. However, according to Snyder, in 1972 a "New Image," a recruiting effort had 32 African American applicants and ten Hispanic applicants. According to the Latin Council of Wisconsin, there were 13 Latinos in the MPD by 1973 (Snyder, 2002).

The MPD had a large number of brutality complaints filed by African Americans at the time that Chief Breier took office.¹² There had been complaints prior to Chief Breier taking office of "systemic discrimination" against African Americans to keep them from joining the MPD.

¹² I was hired by the MPD in 1978 under the administration of Milwaukee Police Chief Harold Breier. I met the Chief only twice, once upon graduation from the Milwaukee Police Academy and the second time Breier made an unexpected stop at a crime scene that I had been guarding. I had no positive or negative personal interaction with Chief Harold Breier.

After Breier took office, there were several attempts by African American leaders to meet with Breier in an effort to recruit more African Americans into the MPD (Snyder, 2002).

There were several factors taking place during the 1960s, and Snyder captured an important factor in his dissertation on MPD Chief Harold Breier. Snyder writes that there was a changing dynamic within the African American population of Milwaukee. There was a migration of African Americans from Southern states into the Milwaukee job market. These new migrants had been involved in the civil rights movement of the south and had become used to challenging police authority (Snyder, 2002). This is similar to the Mexican American experience in Milwaukee, during the 1960s and 1970s there was a large Mexican American migration from the Southwest to the Midwest, to include Milwaukee changing the dynamic in the Latino response to civil rights.

MPD, Chief Breier, and Community Relations

Lenard Wells' former president of the League of Martin pointed out another important factor limiting the MPD's recruitment of minority candidates to the MPD. Wells noted that it did not matter how many African Americans were recruited, the system was rigged for these recruits to fail (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).

According to Wells, there were racist officers assigned to the Milwaukee Police Academy who would fail the African American recruits. It was this differential treatment that Vel Phillips was referring to in 1963 when she accused the Milwaukee Police Department of a "calculated pattern of discrimination" (Snyder, 2002). As Snyder points out, there were complaints against the MPD prior to Harold Breier taking the position of Chief of Police in 1964 (Snyder, 2002). These complaints were attributed by several sources and African American organizations as the cause of the 1967 riots (Snyder, 2002); although in reality it was a

combination of discriminatory practices against African Americans both locally and nationally that led to the 1967 riots.

According to Snyder, Chief Harold Breier was a product of his era; however, there were only three African Americans and one Latino working for the MPD in 1964. The issue of racial discrimination regarding hiring minorities into the MPD is an issue that is hard to ignore regardless how it is addressed. In 1967, Arthur Jones was appointed to the MPD and Jones would help organize the League of Martin in 1974 to challenge police discriminatory hiring and promotional practices. Jones would eventually be appointed the city's first African American police chief.

The Milwaukee civilian review board that has oversight over the MPD, the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission, actually has the power to hire and fire police candidates. However, the police department controls who makes it to the final round during the background check. Police sergeants were assigned to conduct background checks of potential police recruits and although they could pass the written exam, physical fitness exam, the recruit could fail to make the final cut by not passing the background examination. This area was challenged by the League of Martin in the 1970s, as was the promotional exams.

During Harold Breier's tenure as police chief, there were several attempts made by community leaders to implement recommendations of the 1967 presidential report. In September 1968, Fred Swietlik, the head of the Milwaukee Police and Fire Commission, rejected most of the recommendations made by the City of Milwaukee's Community Relations Commission ("Police relations plan scorned by Swietlik," 1968, December 19). Swietlik was a former Dean of the Marquette University Law School as well as a former Milwaukee County Circuit Court Judge (Ghiardi, 1985).

However, Swietlik agreed to two proposals made by the head of the Community Relations committee, Paul J. Moynihan. One was that the committee prepared a booklet with information on the MPD targeting high school students. Officers would also participate in giving speeches to juniors and seniors in high school (“Police relations plan scorned by Swietlik,” 1968, September 19).

The commission also recommended that the MPD extend from four to sixty hours of community relations training provided to police recruits. This proposal was rejected by Chief Breier who felt the current police community relations program was adequate. He also felt that beat officers provided a better form of community relations (“Police relations plan scorned by Swietlik,” 1968, September 19). In 1998, Chief Arreola extended the total number of community relations training to 25 hours. Arreola introduced the Community Oriented Policing philosophy to the Milwaukee Police Department and as part of the training, and a portion of the training was dedicated to cultural diversity. Recruits received 25 hours of training and regular police officers received up to three hours annually in their in-service training.¹³

Another recommendation rejected by Swietlik was the Houston plan. The Houston plan was based on a HPD program in which members of the African American community and the police department held a meeting in which community members vented against members of the HPD. Chief Breier rejected the proposal stating the Houston plan would result in “playing games with police officers (“Police relations plan scorned by Swietlik,” 1968, September 19).” Under Chief Arreola, a similar diversity training for police recruits was implemented. Police diversity instructors took police recruits to an intercity Community Based Organization; in the African

¹³ I was assigned as the lead recruit instructor for the MPD diversity training and helped in the in-service diversity training. The information was taken from lesson plans still in the author’s possession.

American community, it was usually Career Youth Development, which was managed by Jennetta Robinson, who was the Executive Director of the center. The police recruits met with African American youth and the intent was that a dialogue would take place between the police recruits and the African American teens; however, this resulted in venting sessions in which the African American teens would take out their anger on police recruits. The anger and frustration, was actually meant for police officers.¹⁴ In an indirect way, Chief Breier was right. In conducting de-briefs of the encounters, the police recruits walked away with negative view of the teens that they had encountered.

Swietlik also turned down a recommendation involving the recruiting of African American high school students with the “attitude, stability and integrity necessary to perform police work” and assign them to limited police duties in uniform while they continued to study in high school (“Police relations plan scorned by Swietlik,” 1968, September 19).¹⁵ The MPD eventually adopted a police aid program in which high school graduates, aged, 17 to 19 who passed an entrance exam, were hired. The police aids would work within the MPD in a clerical position while attending both the police academy and community college obtaining an Associate’s Degree in Criminal Justice. Once the police aid turned twenty-one, the police aid would be assigned to police training without further testing once a new academy class opened up.

Another point of contention discussed at the meeting was the difficulty that African Americans had in filing complaints against police officers. One case that was discussed was the

¹⁴ One of my duties as the lead diversity instructor was to take police recruits to the different inner city community based organizations during their diversity training and have them interact with members of those community-based organizations.

¹⁵ Although the 1968 Presidential Commission had recommended that Police Officers have four college educations, the Milwaukee Police only required a high school diploma to qualify for as a police officer. Currently, 2014, the Milwaukee Police only requires police applicants to have 60 college credits from an accredited college or university.

case of a pregnant African American woman who was allegedly beat up by members of the MPD (“Police relations plan scorned by Swietlik,” 1968, September 19). According to a 1968 *Milwaukee Courier* article African American leaders attributed the 1967 riots on police brutality complaints (“Milwaukee blacks disagree with whites on riot causes,” UL study shows, 1968, June 8). A 1968 article in the *Milwaukee Courier* highlighted the different views between African Americans and whites on the causes of the 1967 Milwaukee riots.

The Urban League of Milwaukee commissioned a study regarding the causes of the 1967 civil disturbance. The study was conducted and by directed by Professor Karl Fleming of the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee’s Sociology Department. A survey was compiled by the Survey Research Laboratory of the UWM’s Institute of Human Relations. Surveyed were 119 out of the 189 people arrested during the civil disturbance (“Milwaukee blacks disagree with whites on riots causes,” *UL study shows*, 1968, June 8). According to *The Milwaukee Courier*, 95 were African Americans and 24 were white. Eighty percent of African Americans interviewed cited a lack of job opportunity as a cause of the riots while only 30 percent of the whites agreed (“Milwaukee blacks disagree with whites on riots causes,” *UL study shows*, 1968, June 8). Anger with police was cited by 75 percent of the African Americans interviewed while 31 percent of the whites listed Black Power as the cause of the riots. The survey results mirrored other similar surveys taken during this period according to *The Milwaukee Courier* (June 8, 1968). *The Milwaukee Courier* noted there were two realities one white and one black. This reality was also reflected in *The Milwaukee Journal* report of the meeting with the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission, Chief Breier, and members of the African American community.

Breier met with Walter G. Beach, the head of the Milwaukee NAACP to discuss a police-community relations plan. Beach wanted information on the MPD Tactical Squad, which had a

troubled relationship with the African American community in 1969 (“Breier and head of NAACP confer,” 1969, July 16). Breier formed the tactical unit in response to the 1967 riots; the tactical unit consisted of three officers assigned to a patrol car. The tactical unit responded to high-risk calls; the tactical unit was the MPD version of SWAT. The tactical unit did not have minority officers assigned to the unit and had a reputation of using excessive force against African Americans. The meeting ended with Breier not providing any information regarding the tactical unit or the community relations program (“Breier and head of NAACP confer,” 1969, July 16).

This is not meant to rehash work compiled by Ronald Snyder on Chief Harold Breier; however, the reality is that in their effort to prevent politicians interfering with the operation of the MPD, Wisconsin passed a law allowing the City of Milwaukee to appoint a police chief for life which in turn made it difficult to get the chief to respond to civilian control of the police department (Snyder, 2002; Gurda, 2006).

The City of Milwaukee established a Fire and Police Commission to hire the Milwaukee Police Chief as well as to take care of hiring, promoting, and firing police officers. In reality, the Mayor still had the power over who the next police chief was going to be since the mayor appointed the member of the Fire and Police Commission. The appointment of the police chief for life gave Harold Breier sufficient power to resist all outside committee recommendations as well as influence the culture of the police officers under him by protecting them from outside investigations as pointed out by Snyder (Snyder, 2002).

The 1960s MPD was predominantly white (Wellauer-Lenius, 2008), had a chief that resisted efforts to implement real community-relations programs was accused of racist policies by many in the African American and Latino communities. The police subculture was based on

the white middle class values and was isolationist in nature (Snyder, 2008; Krzewinski, 2002: Gould, 2000).

Conflict between the Latino Community and MPD

Ernesto Chacon and José Puente were arrested on January 26, 1970 during a welfare march sponsored by the National Welfare Rights Organization and the Union Benefica Hispana (“Free Chacon and Puente,” February, no date). The march was called to draw attention for the need of winter clothing for children on welfare. The marchers’ route ran from the near Southside through downtown where the marchers stopped in front of a T. A. Chapman store to protest. Chacon and Puente were accused of pushing a police officer through a glass door at T.A. Chapman (“Free Chacon and Puente,” 1970, February, no date).

Puente was a 25-year-old member of the Brown Berets originally from Crystal City Texas and Chacon was an organizer member of the Latin American Union for Civil Rights.¹⁶ Chacon and Puente were convicted of disorderly conduct and criminal damage to property, and were facing a sentence of six months in jail; members of the Latino community formed a defense fund for Chacon and Puente to pay for their legal fees (“Free Chacon and Puente,” February, 1970, no date).

On March 3, 1970, MPD officers clashed with marchers protesting Chacon’s and Puente’s arrest sending both police and marchers to the hospital (“Free Chacon and Puente,” February 1970, no date). According to *La Guardia* (Latino newspaper), the clash with police occurred on So. 5th street and W. National Ave. which was considered the heart of the Latino community in the near Southside of Milwaukee. Also mentioned was the arrest of Raul Flores during the protest. Flores failed to obey police commands to stop; however, the article related

¹⁶ Ernesto Chacon was a member of several Latino civil rights organizations. The Latino community was small and it was common for the Latino activist to belong to several civil rights organizations at the same time.

that Flores did not understand English. Jesus Salas, another Latino activist was also arrested when he tried to interpret for Flores. Accounts given by *La Guardia* indicated that the demonstration had several grievances, not only the Chacon and Puente arrest. Demonstrators were urging unity between Puerto Ricans and Chicanos. Demonstrators were also protesting U.S. policies in Puerto Rico as well as throughout Latin America (“Free Chacon and Puente,” February 1970, no date).

Demonstrators attempted to burn a coffin at Civic Plaza square when police stepped into put out the fire. *La Guardia* reported police making racial taunts towards the protestors as they returned to the Southside, marching on the So. 6th Street viaduct. According to the article in the *La Guardia*, the police were using racist jeers towards the protestors and police started pulling demonstrators out of the march without provocation, promoting the marchers to respond by throwing bottles at the police and additional police units were summoned to the scene of the demonstration (“Free Chacon and Puente,” February, 1970, no date). Leaders of the march directed several protestors to go into the offices of Latin American Union for Civil Rights, which was located on So. 5th Street and W. National Ave. Police followed the marchers into the office, pointing a gun at the Assistant Director and entering the building and arresting 18 demonstrators. The article in *La Guardia* also indicated that there were three people left unconscious on the street (“Free Chacon and Puente,” February 1970, no date).

In analyzing these articles, it is important to note they were written from the Latino community’s perspective; there was no reference to police officials being interviewed or attempts to interview police officers. Even if *La Guardia* tried to interview police officials, there would undoubtedly be no comment, which was the typical reply of Chief Breier to requests for comments on police incidents.

One of the problems that I ran into in using archival copies of the *La Guardia* newspapers was that of editing. In some cases, the dates did not match with the incidents that were being addressed. It is difficult to address the error, since I obtained microfilm copies of the articles and the error could have been an error when originally copying the newspaper.¹⁶ Nevertheless, it is apparent in reading the newspaper that the week of March 3-6 was a confrontational week between the MPD and the Latino community.

The confrontation on So. 5th Street and W. National occurred on a Wednesday night and on Thursday evening, 500 people attended a mass at Holy Trinity Catholic – Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church. The attendees had gathered seeking clemency for both Chacon and Puente. The church is located at 605 So. 5th Street, near the site of the confrontation with police (“Free Chacon and Puente,” 1970, February, no date).

The mass focused on the need for a non-violent response to the confrontation with the police earlier in the week. The mass was in Spanish and Father James Groppi who was active in the African American civil rights movement was present. According to the *La Guardia*, there was a cross-section of people at the mass; there were younger and older Latinos as well as African Americans and Anglos. Jessie Salas, one of the leading figures in the Latino civil rights movement in Milwaukee, also addressed the mass goers accusing the police of provoking the violence the night before during the demonstration (“Free Chacon and Puente,” 1970, February no date). Salas also announced that another march was scheduled for the next Saturday afternoon. Archbishop William Cousins spoke and provided a plea for mercy for both Chacon and Puente. The plea was addressed to Governor Patrick Lucey of Wisconsin writing, “there is

¹⁶ In reading the article in *La Guardia*, the cover page was October 1970, however the events in the article referred to dates in 1971. A check of the 1970 calendar revealed that the dates that were referred to in the newspaper were 1970.

no justice without mercy (“Free Chacon and Puente,” 1970, February, no date).” *La Guardia* also noted plain-clothes police officers were at the mass and according to the article, the police officers did not turn off their police radios (“Free Chacon and Puente,” 1970, February, no date).

Police were observed taking down license plate numbers of mass goers, which was not an uncommon practice. Police usually take down license plates during events that they consider to be criminal which is considered a form of harassment towards attendees. During the 1970s, it was not uncommon for police to gather intelligence on civil rights groups, much like J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. The other issue that stands out in the *La Guardia* reporting of the event is that according to the newspaper, there were gunshots fired into the offices of the Latin American Union for Civil Rights, The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Spanish speaking Outreach Institute and the Spot were also shot into. (“Free Chacon and Puente,” 1970, February 1970, no date).¹⁷

Supporters for Chacon and Puente held a second march on Saturday, March 6. The marchers also protested against the police treatment they had received during the first march in support of Chacon and Puente (“Free Chacon and Puente,” 1970, February, no date). News accounts in *La Guardia* had the march as peaceful and mentioned there were no confrontations between the police and the demonstrators; this was due to a series of meetings between the demonstrators and political officials (“Liberal McCann ignores demands,” 1971, July no date). Originally, members of the Latin American Union for Civil Rights (LAUCR) sent an invitation to the district attorney’s office and the police department. The district attorney’s office sent a representative, however the police department refused to attend the meeting, instead they advised

¹⁷ The Spot was a recreational CBO located in Milwaukee’s near Southside 814 So. 6th Street frequented by Latino youth.

the activists to send a representative to meet with the police local district representatives (“Free Chacon and Puente,” 1970, February, no date).

The meeting between the activists and the district attorney representative was not what activists expected. According to *La Guardia*, the district attorney representative blamed the marchers for the confrontation, blaming revolutionary elements among the protestors for instigating the confrontation (“Free Chacon and Puente,” 1970, February no date).

The Friday evening prior to a scheduled march, Mayor Henry Maier called the office of the LAUCR and requested a meeting with the representative of LAUCR. The meeting was held in the Mayor’s office where the Mayor expressed concerns that there would be renewed violence during the demonstration. The Mayor assured the representatives of LAUCR that the police “would not repeat the actions that they took on Wednesday” (“Free Chacon and Puente,” 1970, no date), referring to the confrontation between the marchers and the police. The Mayor further blamed Republicans for their anti-welfare philosophy, which was the original reason for the march that led to the confrontation with the police. The Mayor expressed support for clemency for Chacon and Puente and called on Governor Lucey to express his support for clemency (“Free Chacon and Puente,” 1970, February, no date).

The mayor also called Police Chief Harold Breier to meet with the activists, which he did. However, according to the article in *La Guardia*, Breier was “defensive and hostile” when discussing what the activists referred to as police misconduct” (“Free Chacon and Puente,” 1970, February, no date). The Chief was also unhappy regarding the route the marchers were planning to take, however he did agree to pass on the information to officers in charge. Activists also contacted representatives of the U.S. Justice Department and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and extended an invitation for the representatives of those agencies to attend the march. The

district attorney's office also offered to send representatives to observe the march. According to the news article there was a "minimal amount of police to escort the marchers and there were no arrests during the second march ("Free Chacon and Puente," 1970, February, no date)."

In light of these incidents, *La Guardia* accused the MPD of carrying "out a racist and repressive war against the Spanish speaking community" (Stewart, 1970). In one of the few articles that identified an author, Hollis Stewart accused the MPD of waging a "racist" war against the "Spanish speaking community" (Stewart, 1970). Stewart listed incidents dating to 1968 and he accused the MPD of arresting and beating 15 members of a Puerto Rican wedding party (1970). Stewart also accused police of harassing both members and workers of the Spot Transitional Committee when they held meetings. Stewart also mentioned that plain-clothes officers harassed Latinos when they held meetings at the Milwaukee Christian Center located at 2200 W. Greenfield Ave (Stewart, 1970).

Stewart goes on to mention incidents in which police continuously harassed members of the Latino communities singling out Latino youth that met at the Spot; he further wrote that police accused Latino organizations such as LUCAR for being communist and police also considered Cesar Chavez to be a dangerous person (Stewart, 1970).

The MPD was not the only target of *La Guardia*'s criticism. *La Guardia* also accused the *Milwaukee Sentinel* of not accurately reporting the confrontation between the MPD and the marchers. An article appearing in the October 1970 edition of *La Guardia* read, "Nine policemen injured." The article criticized the Sentinel for reinforcing racist attitudes towards the "Latin people," and accused of advocating the view that the Latino community was a danger to the rest of the city ("Nine policeman injured," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Thursday March 4-Bullshit," 1971, March, no date). The article argued that *The Milwaukee Sentinel* portrayed the police as victims

and the marchers as the perpetrators of the confrontations. The article also claimed the biased reporting would lead to “Latins” facing discrimination by employers and property owners (“Nine policeman injured-Milwaukee Sentinel, Thursday March 4-Bullshit,” 1971, March, no date).¹⁸

I found the use of the term Latin interesting when referring to Latinos in the articles *La Guardia*. Mexicans, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans were mentioned; however, in an attempt to forge an identity of unity it was apparent that the term Latin was used throughout the articles. Articles in *La Guardia* attempted to define the term Chicano as well as justify the use of the term by providing a history of the term. An article of what would later be referred to as Brown Pride was also carried, under heading like *Orgullo Mexicano* (Mexican-Pride). *La Guardia* provides an important lens into the evolution of the Latino community, because not only did it report the incidents involving the police and the Latino community, but it also provided an insight into how that relationship was viewed from the Latino community. The view that is harder to analyze is the conservative views of the Latino community. Like all communities, there are many political views from liberal, moderate and conservative. It is no secret the *La Guardia* represented a liberal view or even radical within the Latino Community. The founders of *La Guardia* were radical in the sense that they were confronting the establishment’s racial views.

Another incident that set off a wave of protest was an incident involving the accusation of a police shooting at Vieau School playground. Vieau School playground is located directly across from Vieau elementary school, located at So. 4th Street and W. National Ave.. According to accounts in the *La Guardia*, on the night of July 2, 1971, two police officers drove their squad car on to Vieau playground in an attempt to question a group of Latino youth who had been throwing empty beer cans. When approached by the police the juveniles ran prompting one of

¹⁸ “Nine policemen injured- Milwaukee Sentinel, Thursday March 4-Bullshit” is the name of the article. March 4 is part of the title of the article not the date of publication.

the police officers to exit his squad car and fire several shots at the fleeing juveniles (“Liberal McCann ignores demands,” 1971, July, no date). Apparently, the playground was full of juveniles at the time of the incident according to the article in *La Guardia* (“Liberal McCann ignores demands,” 1971, July, no date).

A rally was held on July 6, 1971 in front of the Holy Trinity Church-Our Lady of Guadalupe. According to the accounts in *La Guardia* (“A mass for nonviolence,” 1971, no date), the father of one of the juveniles that was reportedly shot at by the police spoke against what he claimed was harassment and brutality his family had suffered at the hands of the MPD. There were several speakers who claimed to have been harassed by MPD (“A Mass for Nonviolence,” 1971, July, no date). An interesting note in this article is the mention of Detective Procopio Sandoval, according to the article; both Sandoval and his partner Frank Cole were accused of being “anti-communist fighters bully team.”¹⁹ The July 1977 article also accused Sandoval of being vicious and violent alluding to what might happen if more Latinos were hired as police officers (“*A Mass for Non Violence*”, 1971, July).

Latino activists also organized a march directed at Milwaukee County District Attorney E. Michael McCann, which started on the Southside and ended at the District Attorney’s office. The marchers demanded arrest warrants issued against the police officers in the alleged Vieau Park shooting. Demonstrators were upset with the District Attorney’s refusal to charge the officers involved in the incident (“*A Mass for None Violence*”, 1971, July, no date). The District Attorney claimed it had not located witnesses, the demonstrators accused the district attorney of interrogating and intimidating the witness that they had brought forth (*La Guardia*, July 1971, no

¹⁹ Frank Cole was a legend in the 1970s in Milwaukee’s near Southside. As a teen in high school, I recall the name of Frank Cole mentioned along with that of Nick Sandoval. As a young police officer, I got to meet both and work with both before they retired.

date). District Attorney McCann told the marchers that what likely occurred was fireworks going off were mistaken for gunshots; he had been assured by Chief Breier that was had probably occurred. The activists “stormed” out of the meeting with the district attorney (“Liberal McMann ignores demands”, 1971, July, no date).

Although the Milwaukee’s Southside was the home of the large Latino population, in the same edition of *La Guardia* contained an article alleging that police on Milwaukee’s Westside had beaten a Puerto Rican male. The article alleged that police beat Marco Davila after Marco, his wife and eight children returned home from an outing at a park. According to the article, the police entered Davila’s home looking for a gun, after not finding one, threw Davila to the ground, kicked, and punched him. Other facts regarding the incident were reported towards the end of the article. The incident originated because of Davila’s driving drunk, striking a car and arguing with the owner of the car before going into the house. According to the police, Davila resisted efforts to arrest him (“Another police beating,” 1971, July no date).

The Latino community also was involved in activism focusing on education, high school students walked out of their classrooms on September 16, and 23, 1973. The student walk out coincided with Mexican Independence and Puerto Rico’s “Grito de Lares” which is the Puerto Rican day of independence (“September 15and23... students walk out”, 1973, October, no date). The walk outs involved schools with Latino populations both Southside schools as well as schools in Milwaukee Riverwest that had Puerto Rican students. The walk out seems to have been coordinated with the schools, according to articles in the *La Guardia*, schools had arranged for activities celebrating both Mexican culture and Puerto Rican culture. Police were in full force accompanying the student marchers but there were no arrests or confrontations between the

police and the students (“Students walk out commemorate Dolores y Lares,” 1973 October, no date).

Mendoza Case: a Step Backwards for MPD and Latino Relations

An incident that Ernesto Chacon points out as damaging the relationship between the MPD and the Latino community is the Mendoza killing of two off-duty MPD officers (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013). Two Latino Milwaukee police officers I interviewed mentioned the Mendoza incident as having an impact on them. Retired Deputy Inspector of Police Ramon Galaviz and retired Police Detective Moises Gomez both mentioned the Mendoza killing of two off duty Milwaukee police officers as having an impact on how they viewed the police department.²⁰ The event was the shooting of two off-duty Milwaukee Police Officers by James Ray Mendoza in 1974. Chacon felt that because of the backing the Latino community gave Mendoza, the MPD became more aggressive in dealing with Latinos (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

On the night of July 10, 1974, two off- duty MPD officers, Robert Riley and Thomas Matullis, along with Matullis’ younger brother James, were out drinking after attending a baseball game (Robinson, 1980). James Ray Mendoza and his cousin Jesus Fiscal were drinking at the Hillside Tavern located at 2764 So. 13th Street while the off- duty officers were drinking at the Camelot Lounge located close to the Hillside (Kucer, 1980). The off duty police officers heard gunshots in the 2600 block of So. 13th Street and in court records (96 Wis. 2nd 106 [1980]) Mendoza admitted firing a twenty-caliber revolver into the air. According to newspaper accounts, Mendoza and Fiscal were walking on the street when someone threw a bottle at them

²⁰ Gomez filed suit against the MPD in 1991 over interpreting pay, settling the case against the MPD. Gomez had refused to provide interpretation services for other officers unless he was compensated for that service. He was fired for refusing; Gomez was successful in suing the Milwaukee Police and being rehired as a police officer.

and they threw a bottle. In the first trial Mendoza, claimed to have fired in the air to hear what the gun sounded like. At the second trial, Mendoza claims that he was afraid of two individuals approaching him (Kucer, 1980).

Mendoza claimed that he was in an all-white neighborhood and fired the shots to warn the individuals off (Kucer, 1980). In one version of events, officer Matullis and his younger brother James confronted Mendoza. Mendoza claimed that the officers called him a “derogatory name” (Robinson, 1980); however, he continued walking north on So. 13th Street. At the second trial, Mendoza claimed that he fired a shot into the air to warn off the two individuals approaching him. Newspaper accounts say Officer Riley went to his car and retrieved his police revolver from the glove compartment (Robinson, 1980). According to newspaper accounts of the second trial, Mendoza told both men who approached him to “back off or he would blow their ... heads off” (Kucer, 1980). The two individuals identified themselves at police officers and started to beat him. During both trials Mendoza testified that he told the officers, “you got me” (Kucer, 1980).

Mendoza testified that while he was being beaten he was able to grab Riley’s gun and shot and killed both police officers (Kucer, 1980). During the first trial, he did not bring up self-defense however during the second trial he testified that he was afraid for his life (Kucer, 1980).

Mendoza was arrested by Officer Nicholas Monreal, a Latino police officer at 1303 So. 13th Street on July 10 at 3pm and Monreal advised Mendoza of the Miranda Warnings at 3:30 pm at the scene of the arrest (96 Wis. 2d 106 [1980]). According to court records Mendoza did not make any statements nor request after being advised of the Miranda warnings by Monreal, the advisement became one of major points for the appeal of the guilty verdict (96 Wis. 2d 106 [1980]). Court records show that upon arresting Mendoza, Officer Monreal advised him of the

Miranda Warnings both in English and Spanish. Records indicate that Monreal informed Mendoza of the following “that he had the right to remain silent; that anything he said could be used in court; that he was entitled to remain silent; that anything he said would be used against him in court; that he was entitled to an attorney; and that if he could not afford an attorney the court would appoint one for him” (96 Wis. 2d 106 [1980]). Officer Monreal testified that there were no threats made against Mendoza nor did he interrogate him. The initial advisement had occurred at 3:30 pm at 1303 So. 9th Street in Milwaukee. Mendoza was then transferred to the custody of detectives at the Police Administration Building where Officer Loeffler again advised him of the Miranda Warnings. Loeffler advised Mendoza “that he did not have to say anything; that anything he did say would be used against him in a court of law; that he had a right to an attorney; if he could not afford an attorney, the court would appoint one for him.” Loeffler testified that Mendoza responded that he understood his rights (96 Wis. 2d 106 [1980]).

The first trial was held in Sparta, Wisconsin in 1974 and Mendoza was convicted on two counts of first-degree murder for the shooting of the two off-duty MPD officers. Mendoza’s attorneys had filed a motion to suppress Mendoza’s initial statements to police at trial, but the motions were denied (Robinson, 1980). Mendoza’s attorneys were trying to suppress Mendoza’s statement that he had shot the officers because they were beating him, at the 1974 trial Judge O’Connell denied the motion to suppress the statement stating that Mendoza had been advised twice of his Miranda Warnings (96 Wis. 2d 106 [1980]).

On April 10, 1978 the Wisconsin State Supreme court overturned Mendoza’s conviction, suppressed statements made by Mendoza to the police, and ordered a new trial (96 Wis. 2d 106 [1980]). The briefs for the defendant were filed by Attorneys James Shellow, Stephen Glynn and Waring Fincke. The oral argument was presented by Attorney Glynn on April 10, 1978 before

Judge Landry. The motions to suppress were the same motion as in the 1974 motion to suppress, the difference in the second motion was the an assistant district attorney informed the court that he felt that there was a problem with the officers advisement of the Miranda Warnings. The assistant district attorney informed Judge Landry that upon reviewing the advisement, he found that both Monreal and Loeffler had failed to inform Mendoza that counsel could represent him during the interrogation and the officers did not inform Mendoza that he could stop the interrogation. Judge Landry moved to suppress the statement and ordered a new trial for Mendoza (96 Wis. 2d 106 [1980]).

Once released on bail, Mendoza fled to Mexico crossing occasionally to Texas. Mendoza was on the run from police for six months finally turning himself in to a Sheriff Eltego Martinez in Texas (Kucer, 1980). When extradited to Wisconsin, Mendoza claimed that he fled because police threatened to shoot him. Upon his release from bail, MPD officers were attempting to serve warrants for heroin tracking against Mendoza.²¹ Mendoza's sister claims police went to her house and threatened to shoot Mendoza and Mendoza claims that he feared for his safety and fled Milwaukee (Kucer, 1979).

In my interviews with retired police officers Gomez and Galaviz, both mentioned the Mendoza incident. Gomez, a retired MPD detective grew up in Milwaukee's near Southside. Gomez's memory of the Mendoza incident was that he was constantly stopped and questioned by the MPD trying to find out Mendoza.²² Gomez did not know Mendoza; however, police were

²¹ One of my former partners had made the hand-to-hand heroin buys from Mendoza who was a known heroin dealer; although he never was credited with the investigation. I omitted his name because I was unable to contact him for an interview. I was privileged to have conversations regarding the drug investigations while working with him for a period of over a year.

²² I grew up with Gomez in Milwaukee's near Southside however, Gomez was my brother's friend and I had little contact with Gomez aside from an occasional basketball game.

stopping many Latinos and questioning them regarding Mendoza's whereabouts (M. Gomez, personal communication, October 15, 2013).

Galaviz's recollection does not come from personal experience, but from what he was told by his brother. Galaviz retired as a high-ranking member of the MPD, Deputy Inspector of Police, which is one rank above Captain of Police. Galaviz's family includes many professionals, including a medical doctor. Galaviz's memory is that his brother told him that police officers frequently pulled Latino males out of his clinic to question them regarding Mendoza's whereabouts (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).

When interviewed regarding the Mendoza case, Ernesto Chacon replied, "That was important; it changed a lot of things, police policies for one, because basically Mendoza he was out drinking, he was involved with two drunk police officers, got involved in a fight, and he took guns away from these guys and he shot them both right (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013)?"

The change in police policy that Chacon was referring to was that previously MPD were required officers to carry their weapons off duty all the time including church and while drinking. Following the acquittal of Mendoza in the second trial held in 1980, the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission changed the gun carrying rule for off duty officers, the commission made it optional for police officers to carry weapons off duty and prohibited the officers from carrying their firearms if they were drinking in a public place ("Breier still says gun rule was good one" 1980, November 11). Chief Breier was quoted in the Milwaukee Journal as saying that the Mendoza verdict had been a "miscarriage of justice" and "the gun rule has been a good one" (Breier still says gun rule a good one," 1980, November 11). Breier was also quoted as saying, "One or two drinks does not affect the officers' ability to take action" and "The gun was

needed by the officer, not only to protect himself, but also to protect the citizen (“Breier still says gun rule a good one”, 1980, November 11).”

Chacon further commented, “That particular incident kind of destroyed what we had accomplished before with the Milwaukee Police Department” (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013). Chacon further stated that the incident “threw them off base.” Mendoza’s mother Julia worked at Latin American Union for Civil Rights (LAUCR) and when he came into to work the morning of the incident he was informed that a “Mexican guy” shot two police officers who were in a strip joint (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

When Chacon found out that Mendoza was Julia’s son, members of LAUCR conducted their own investigation and the first thing they set out to do was to find a lawyer. Chacon said that they talked to several lawyers before James Shallow took the case (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

Regarding this incident, Chacon felt that the police were in a “revenge mode” and it had destroyed all that LAUCR had set out to accomplish in the area of police relations. Chacon felt the police started using excessive force against the Latinos who were protesting and demonstrating because of the Mendoza incident. Chacon said it got to the point that they decided not to have any more marches to avoid the encounters with police (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

In analyzing the interview with Chacon, it is apparent that the passage of time may have caused his memory to blend some of the incidents that he referred to as being impacted by the Mendoza verdict. The second trial was held in 1980 and some of the incidents that he mentioned that were affected by the Mendoza verdict were prior to 1980. He mentioned the welfare marches

and the takeover of the UW Milwaukee Chancellor's offices, those incidents occurred in the early 1970s.

Conclusion

The late 1960s through the 1980s saw the organizing of the Latino community in Milwaukee; due to lack of density in population Latino organizers formed alliances with the African American community in dealing with the social issues such as discrimination, housing, education and treatment of the police department towards the minority community. The MPD response was repressive towards the Latino community. This was, however, a time when Latino activists in Milwaukee were building social institutions, a community newspaper, and *La Guardia* as well as social agencies like UMOs.

Latinos built social and organizational structures in the Latino community that would help Latinos in MPD shed the "Blue Shield" and move towards an identity with the Latino community. Absent the organizations built by Latino organizers it would be difficult to predict if Latinos in MPD would have had the ability to create organizations and identify with the Latino community. The organizations were instrumental in the move away from the "Blue Shield" and towards "Brown."

Latino activists clearly were aware for the need to get Latinos in the MPD, but prioritized the needs of the Latino community first by protecting migrant workers and addressing educational needs of the Latino community. Several important factors that stand out is the new energy and organizing skills provided by the Mexican Americans from Texas and California; this would be a common threat shared by Latino police officers organizing to address what they saw as discriminatory practices. As the Latino community started to exert signs of power by

demonstrating against what they viewed as discriminatory practices and a lack of opportunity; however the protest marches placed them on a collision course with the MPD.

Although Latino efforts tried to improve relations with MPD, Mendoza appeared to set back those efforts. In Ernesto's Chacon's views, after his agency LUCAR got involved, it helped Mendoza get representation and supported his defense, MPD responded with an excessive use of force towards Latinos in making arrests and this excessive use of force. The first wave of Latino officers hired were mentioned by the Latino newspaper, *La Guardia*. *La Guardia* mentions Detective Procopio Sandoval and Nicolas Monreal; however, they are not mentioned in positive light by *La Guardia*.

Interestingly the process of recovering the data through newspaper accounts was typically impersonal; however, what brought the early Latino organizing into perspective was the interview with John Torres. Torres had covered the era as a journalist. He recalls discussions with Leon Rhodes in 1976 and 1977, who was a recruiter for the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission regarding the lack of Latino officers. Torres recalls that there were a "handful" of Latinos on the MPD, and the push was just beginning to hire more Latinos. He also recalled the relationship between the MPD and the Latino community as very strained during this period. Torres said that at that time there was no thought regarding bilingual officers' sensitivity to cultural differences and the community, there was really nothing (J. Torres, personal communication, January 24, 2013).

Torres also recalls his personal experiences with the MPD as a reporter. He recalls the marchers against police brutality led by members of the Latin American Unity for Civil Action. The marches led to arrests and complaints of police brutality. Torres recalls threats of arrest by police officers when he was covering these events. The relationship between the Latino

community and the police was very poor; the police were considered the enemy (J. Torres, personal communication, January 24, 2013).

There was no effort on the part of the Latino organizations to reach out to Latino officers and make any type of connection during the early stages of organization nor was there an effort on the part of the Latino officers to reach to the community groups until the 1980s. A group of Latino officers was hired prior to court orders for integration of the MPD. This was the first wave of Latino officers; however, there appears to be no real connection between these officers and the Latino community. This is not to say that there were no socially conscious /oriented Latino officers in MPD; rather there was no organization to use as an instrument to reach out to the Latino community nor for the Latino community to reach out to. Torres said as part of his to do list he was trying to get Latinos hired in the MPD. Torres worked with an ad agency to develop a radio spot to encourage Latinos and minority youth to apply for a career as a police officer (J. Torres, personal communication, January 24, 2013).

The organizing of the Latino community in Milwaukee was an important step in the hiring of Latinos into the MPD. The hiring of Latinos into the MPD was not the complete answer. There was a gradual hiring of Latinos into MPD; however, there was no evidence of Latino police officers getting involved with the Latino community until 1988, which was led by the second wave of Latino officers hired by MPD, these are the officers hired after the 1974 Consent Decree. A group of Latino police officers joined the National Latino Peace Officers Association in 1988 and developed a partnership with some of these organizations to improve the relationship between the MPD and the Latino community in Milwaukee.

In trying to improve the relationship between the minority communities as well to reduce crime police departments tried different policing philosophies. The MPD, like other departments,

tried different policing philosophies; however, in Milwaukee, socially/conscious oriented minority police officers formed organizations outside the MPD to address both discrimination within the MPD and the minority communities policed by MPD, and these organizations . The isolationism and forming of police as tradition was not lost on the NLPOA they reached out to Latino youth to make them aware of policing as a career.

In Milwaukee, the NLPOA reached out to high school students since their chapter organized in 1988. The NLPOA would mentor Latino high school students as well as give out scholarships to Latino students studying criminal justice in college. Organization members reached out to high school students informing them of the possibility of policing as career as well as the importance of avoiding criminal records. The NLPOA was active in the Latino community participating in social events maintaining the bond with the community and breaking the isolationism of the police profession and facilitated the shedding of the “Blue Shield” and enabled the minority officers who joined these organizations to identify with respective minority communities.

Chapter 4

LATINO POLICE OFFICER EXPERIENCES: FIRST WAVE (1964–1980s)

This chapter covers the experiences of the first cohort of Latino police officers in the MPD. The first wave consists of the officers hired prior to the 1974 Consent Decree lawsuit filed by the League of Martin; however, there is an overlap between the different groups. The officers that were fired before the consent decree took affect were hard to track since both were hired between 1964 and 1974. The officers hard in the first wave and second wave had retired and moved out of state, while others were deceased. This chapter explores their experiences and their contributions to the MPD, as well as their service to the Latino community. The chapter also examines the experiences some of the Latino officers had with racial discrimination within the MPD that led to their shedding the “Blue Shield” and using their “Brown” or Latino ethnic identity in efforts to reform the MPD and its relations with the Latino community.

I interviewed ten Latino officers. I do acknowledge that this is a small sample. However, these officers were selected because, despite their experiences with racism within the MPD, they succeeded in advancing within MPD. Their experiences suggest that they benefited by questioning and criticizing the police subculture and by embracing their ethnic identity. They helped organize the National Latino Peace Officer Association (NLPOA) in Milwaukee and contributed to MPD and Latino relations, helping to promote community-oriented policing.

History of the Latino Officers in the MPD

In 1964, Procopio “Nick” Sandoval became the MPD’s first Latino police officer and in 1976, Lind Velasco became the first Latina police officer in MPD. Tracking the number of Latino police officers seems to be a problem, due to record keeping practices of the MPD. Apparently, Latino officers were not tracked as a separate category until the 1990s. One of the problems is that Latinos were categorized as white. The nearest number I could come up with for

this period was during an interview with Ruben Burgos, a retired MPD officer and former president of the NLPOA, who placed the number of Latinos in the MPD between 50 and 60 in 1988 (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012). Burgos' estimate of Latino officers is close to Snyder who used the City of Milwaukee Police's Appointment List in his dissertation and concluded that 84 Latinos worked for the MPD in 1988. The number was 84 in 1983; however, attrition could very well lower the number. The attrition rate would include officers quitting, failing to graduate or getting terminated. I was unable to procure data on the attrition rate of Latino officers. Ruben Burgos may well have had access to those numbers, as he was the president of the NLPOA in the 1980s.

Why did the number of Latinos increase so much in the 1960s and 1970s? This partly reflected the growth of Milwaukee's Latino community. The population of Latinos in Milwaukee during the 1960s was 3,218 (1960 Milwaukee Census Tract), increasing to 26,111 by 1980 (1980 Census of Population and Housing Milwaukee WI). Another reason for this growth is that the MPD took up a more active role in recruiting Latinos in the MPD, due to the push by community groups to hire more minority officers.

Moreover, the MPD hired Latinos to work undercover in the 1960s to 1980s in narcotics and prostitution cases primarily in the Latino community. This practice seemed to be the norm nationally. The Houston Police Department had a "Latin squad" which policed the Latino community (Watson, 2005). Mexican American officers patrolled Mexican neighborhoods in Los Angeles (Escobar, 1999, p. 22). In many US cities, with the emergence and growing concern about Latino gangs, Latino officers were assigned to investigate these gangs. The Milwaukee Police Department did not have enough Latino officers in the 1960s to develop a "Latin Squad," and never developed a Latin Squad. The use of "Latin Squads" in cities like Houston and Los

Angeles was probably due to the segregation of Latino neighborhoods in those cities. Houston and Los Angeles had sizeable barrios. In Milwaukee, although African Americans were highly segregated, Latinos in the Southside lived alongside European immigrants and descendants (Gurda, 2006, p. 386; R. Welch, personal communication, November 8, 2012). The Puerto Rican neighborhoods that developed on Milwaukee's Eastside were established alongside African American neighborhoods and were on the edge of the Riverwest area, which was a mixture of German, Greeks, Poles, as well as some Mexican families (Tolan, 2003, p. 87). In my view, one of the major reasons a Latin Squad was not formed in Milwaukee is there were changes within the MPD command structure, minority police chiefs as well as other minorities started getting promoted up the command structure, which altered the way minorities were used.

All the Latino officers I interviewed who were hired between the 1960s and the 1980s had experienced what they felt was racism, or had witnessed acts of racism. The only exception was Sandoval, who believed he was accepted by MPD officers. All the officers I interviewed had some college background, with some going on to obtain master's degrees. Some of the officers that had some college education prior to joining MPD were military veterans who were using the G.I. Bill. The officers using the G.I. Bill were Procopio Sandoval, Ramon Galaviz, and Louie López. The other officers obtained bachelor's degrees and master's degrees while in MPD. This can be attributed to the MPD providing a tuition reimbursement scheme for officers going to college. During the 1980s, there was a large group of MPD officers returning to college. These included African Americans, Latinos, and white officers. As promotions opened up within the MPD, officers were trying to improve their qualifications for promotions, any officer who had ambitions to advance within the MPD was returning to college.

The officers interviewed stated that there was no tension between police officers with college degrees and those without. Prior to the 1990s, there was no college requirement for police officers in Wisconsin and consequently MPD does not require a college degree for promotion. The tension between African American officers and the MPD administration grew from a lack of desirable assignments and promotions and consequently led to a lawsuit by the League of Martin. An MPD African American police sergeant, Earl Marshall, was quoted in a 1981 *Milwaukee Journal* article stating that he had an associate's degree in police science, a bachelor's degree in criminal justice, and was working towards a master's degree and had passed the promotional exam, but still had not been promoted (Helen, 1981). The quote was taken from a letter addressed to the Milwaukee Police Supervisors Union, who had criticized the lawsuit filed against the MPD by the League of Martin. Latinos were not organized at this point and many did not have sufficient time in the uniform rank to take the sergeant or detective promotional examination. The "time in grade" or in uniform requirement was ten years during the 1980s, which changed during the 1990s to five years. The change was because of a second lawsuit filed by the League of Martin in 1981 (a. Stanford, 1981). The League of Martin sued the MPD claiming discrimination against African American officers in assignments and promotions. As a part of the settlement, there was an agreement to reduce the waiting time for promotional exams, because African Americans were recently hired and would not have the necessary time to meet the requirement to take the promotional examinations (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).

First Wave of Latino recruits in the MPD

For the first wave of Latino officers hired in the MPD, I was unable to find any connection of these officers with the Latino community. The first wave refers to those hired prior to the 1974 Consent Decree agreement. The issue of identity for Sandoval was interesting. Sandoval stressed that his was of both Spanish and Mexican heritage. Sandoval stated, “I was born in Texas, San Antonio, Texas. My ancestors are from Spain. My father, his relatives were from Spain, the name Sandoval is from Spain.¹ My mother was born in Texas, but her ancestors were from Mexico” (P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012). Sandoval stated that he identified himself as Mexican. Sandoval graduated from high school in 1959 and joined the MPD in 1964. He was not connected to the Latino community, because he had joined the army out of high school. Sandoval did not see any need to reconnect with the Latino community, this could be due to the undercover assignments that he worked, and he felt that there was some resentment towards him for arresting Latinos. Sandoval felt that he was seen as a traitor by some Latinos. Sandoval grew on Milwaukee’s Westside and did not frequent the near Southside, where most of Latinos in Milwaukee lived (P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012).

Linda Velasco who was the first Latina police officer hired by the MPD in 1976. Linda is Mexican, Spanish, and Honduran and considers herself a Latino. Linda is from East Chicago, Indiana and moved to Milwaukee in 1974. Linda was not connected to the Latino community in Milwaukee, because she did not speak Spanish (L. Velasco, personal communication, February

¹ Sandoval did not mention where in Spain his family was from; interestingly, this was an issue of identity with older Mexican Americans. Due to prejudices against Mexicans in the U.S., many Mexican Americans referred to themselves as having Spanish ancestry. While many Latinos have Spanish ancestry, tracing these roots is extremely difficult due to poor record keeping in the countries of origin.

13, 2013). I would consider Velasco as a part of the second wave; she was hired after the 1974 Consent Decree.

Luis Gonzalez was hired by the MPD in 1985, and he was originally from Texas, although he identified himself as Mexican. Gonzalez stated that he needed to connect to the Latino community so he joined the NLPOA. “You know the NLPOA gave me the opportunity to get known and to know people that were involved in the community, both politically and just people that are living in the community, I wanted to give back to the community, the people of the community (Gonzalez, personal communication, December 16, 2012). “

Most of the officers I interviewed, with the exception of Sandoval, saw a need to organize and reconnect with the Latino community. The officers expressed a desire to give back to the community and that they felt the need for the Latino community to receive better treatment by MPD officers. This need to reconnect with the ethnic or racial community may also be attributed to what Woody (2005) identified as a “socially-oriented” police culture, which in turn could be attributed to the level of education these officers had prior to joining MPD. The need to reconnect to the Latino community drove these MPD police officers to join the NLPOA, a national organization of Latino Peace Officers.

While MPD Latino officers were not yet organized, the League of Martin was organized by African American police officers within the Milwaukee Police Department in 1974 (L. Wells, personal communications, November 10, 2012).² According to Snyder (2002), the MPD and the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission had “two separate lawsuits” (Snyder, 2002, p. 56) filed against it by the U.S. Justice Department. The lawsuits alleged “racial and gender discrimination

² When I was hired as a police officer in 1978, there was no Latino officer organization within the MPD. Lenard Wells was not able to recall any Latino officer organization or association within the MPD during the 1970s. Wells was President of the League of Martin and he would later have a working relationship with the NLPOA.

in hiring”. On August 20, 1975, “Federal District Judge mandated that African Americans, Latinos and American-Indian applicants be hired, one for every three white applicants (Snyder, 2002, p. 56).”

According to Lenard Wells, this became an issue during the 1980s when the Hmong approached him to try to include the Hmong population into the protection of the Consent Decree. Wells said he kept getting “beat-up,” but since the Hmong was not included in the original decree, he was unable to extend the preferential treatment to the Hmong population (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).

The court order was a result of Chief Breier’s resistance to efforts by committee groups as well as the U.S. Department of Justice in trying to get more minority officers hired on the MPD. In 1973, Chief Breier refused to allow a state agency to conduct a “cost-benefit study” of the MPD (McNally, 1973). The Chief’s position was that he wanted to control the study; Chief Breier was quoted as saying, “No one is qualified or has the expertise to make a study of our department but me (McNally, 1973).” The cost of the study was placed at \$75,000 and the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice would not provide funding (federal funds) if Chief Breier would not fully cooperate (McNally, 1973).

Milwaukee Mayor Henry Maier had originally called for the study due to the “city’s rising crime rate and increasing police budget (McNally, 1973).” The issue became a battle of wills between the Mayor and Breier with the Mayor calling for a resolution by the city council for the study (McNally, 1973).

African American leaders were also trying to help African American candidates get hired by the MPD. According to Lenard Wells, Dr. Howard Fuller had conducted research on police entrance exams and conducted workshops to help African Americans pass the police entrance

exams.³ The research was conducted during the 1960s; however, I was unable to verify this claim. According to Wells, there were African Americans, Latinos, and women participating in those workshops that Fuller was conducting (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).

Breier continually refused to cooperate with outside groups in recruiting minorities. Although Breier's resistance to working with groups outside of MPD is well documented in newspaper articles throughout his career, a 1973 article by Joel McNally stands out because he is quoted saying, "No one is qualified or has the expertise to make a study of our department but me (McNally, 1973)." In 1973, Mayor Maier's worries about losing federal grant monies convinced Breier to comply with the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice study of the Milwaukee Police Department (Snyder, 2002; McNally, 1973). The federal government was to provide \$75,000 for the study through the "Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice" (McNally, 1973). Unless Breier cooperated with the study, funding would not be provided (McNally, 1973).

Breier conducted his own study that indicated that there were "58 black men, 1 black woman, 6 American-Indians and 10 Hispanics employed by a department with more than 1,900 officers (Snyder, 2002, p. 56)." It is ironic that the results of this Breier study led to the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division to send a team to investigate the MPD in 1973 (Snyder, 2002). Eventually the Justice Department filed two suits which alleged "racial and gender discrimination" (Snyder, 2002, p. 56) that led to the 1975 settlement regarding racial minorities and a 1976 court order that mandated that 20 percent of the candidates hired be women (Snyder, 2002).

The settlements led to the hiring of Latinos into the MPD. The hirings precipitated a backlash by some white officers against both African Americans and Latinos within the MPD.

³ An African American activist who was active in the area of civil rights, but later became known for his advocacy for school choice within the African American community. Dr. Fuller was a former Superintendent of Milwaukee Public Schools, former head of Milwaukee County Health and Human Services (Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, Sep18, 2014).

Interestingly, in my interview with Sandoval, he claims to not have been subjected to discriminatory practices; however, almost every MPD Latino officer I interviewed for this study mentions racial backlash by some white officers, which they claim is tied directly to the this settlement. The way Breier left the MPD, forced into retirement by community protests, increased white officers' anger toward MPD's minority officers. White officers had viewed Breier as their protector and defender in the 1960s–1980s.

Breier Retires

An important obstacle in police minority relations was removed when Chief Harold Breier retired in 1984 and Chief Robert J. Ziarnik took over the MPD. There were constant complaints regarding use of police force against members of both the African American and Latino communities. However, a series of high profile cases helped galvanize support for what became known as the Breier Bill. This was in effect, a law repealing the 1911 Chief for Life Law that allowed the Milwaukee Police Chiefs life terms. The Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission also removed much of the power from the chief's office and transferred it to the Commission, which prompted Chief Breier to retire in 1984 (Snyder, 2002). This series of events eventually gave the momentum to the removal of the Chief by curtailing his powers.

On the night of July 9, 1981, Ernest Lacy, a 22-year-old African American male, was stopped for questioning regarding a sexual assault. Lacy was stopped by member of the Milwaukee Police Tactical Squad. While he was detained, Lacy struggled with Officers James Dekker, Thomas Eliopul, and George Kalt. During the struggle, Lacy became unresponsive and eventually died. One of the problems with the detention was that other than his race, Lacy did not match the description of the suspect ("Lawyers file arguments challenging Lacy charges," 1981, November 18).

The angry reaction from the African American community resulted in a series of marches, including a march on July 30, 1981. The number of marchers was estimated to at between 2,000 and 15,000 people (“Thousands march as police line streets,” 1981, July 31). I was a patrol officer during this period and I was assigned to the reserve units in the rear of the demonstrations. I was inside a police patrol wagon with several other officers and I recall driving past large crowds of protesters.

Chief Breier showed up at the protest, exited his unmarked squad car, and surrounded himself with uniformed officers. According to a *Milwaukee Journal* article, Breier’s presence caused the crowd to shout “obscenities” at the Chief (“Thousands march as police line streets,” 1981, July 31).

Lenard Wells (former President of the League of Martin) said he was assigned to work the demonstrations. He was one of the officers next to Breier; he was wearing his riot helmet and baton. Wells said that he was photographed by news reporters and made the front page of the New York Times (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).

Wells was 20 feet from Harold Breier when he exited his “limo,” as officers sometimes called the Chief’s unmarked blue squad car. Breier stood in front of protesters and was trying to provoke the crowd Wells noted, “Can you imagine what would happen if someone touched the Chief of Police? I don’t care if you are green, you don’t let anyone mess with your chief executive (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).”

Wells felt that Breier had been antagonistic towards protestors. “I was looking at him when he got out (of his car), and when he came out of the driver’s side he had to walk around the car, you could tell by the swagger that it was designed to intimidate (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).”

Wells felt at that point in the protest that “it went against his grain” to protect Breier. However, that was his job. The protestors were well organized and disciplined and there were no incidents (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).

In a 1980 *Milwaukee Courier* article, several African American leaders referred to the 1911 Chief for Life law, also known as the home-rule law. Alderman Michael McGee accused Milwaukee Police as having a militarized attitude towards the African American community as well as Latinos. According to McGee, Breier was being “intolerable” and that allowed police officers to act in an oppressive manner to members of the minority communities in Milwaukee (Baltus, 1980).

In a meeting with members of his congregation, the Reverend Kenneth Bowen criticized Chief Harold Breier for denying police brutality existed, especially towards members of the African American community (Baltus, 1980). Jennetta Robinson, the representative of the Concerned Community Organization, was present at the church service in which the Rev. Bowen made the comments regarding Chief Breier’s denial of police brutality. The *Milwaukee Courier* published an editorial calling for support of the Assembly Bill 933, calling for the repeal of the 1911 Chief for Life law, the Bill would force the chief of police for the City of Milwaukee to retire at age 70 (“AB 933 best relief from Breier,” 1980, January 26).

The Lacey incident was one of several incidents pressuring politicians to repeal the Chief for Life law and remove Breier from office. The movement to remove Breier from office was a combined effort of African American leaders and liberal whites; however, there were strong religious coalitions, and several church sermons turned into anti-Breier sermons. Much like the Latino community, the African American church was providing the leadership within the African American community.

In another meeting, this time with members of the NAACP, Breier told members (including the Milwaukee NAACP President) that the “unrest” over Lady’s death was not justified. The president of the local board of the NAACP, Christine Beinavis, wanted Breier to dismiss officers with patterns of excessive use of force. Breier countered this suggestion saying that allegations of brutality against officers do not prove their guilt (“Unrest unjustified Breier tells group,” 1981, July 30).

When asked how he planned to “weed out” officers who were bigoted, Breier replied there were no bigots within the MPD: the department treated everyone “fairly and impartially.” Breier also referred to protestors that had been picketing the Police Administration Building as radicals. He informed members of the NAACP that eighteen picketers were members of either the Communist Party or were Socialists (“Unrest unjustified Breier tells group,” 1981, July 30).

News accounts regarding Lucey’s medical condition indicate he had been hospitalized for psychiatric problems in 1978 for 40 days. He was also hospitalized from “August 13, 1978 to September 1978 at the Milwaukee County Mental Health Center” and was “diagnosed in June of 1981 as “having chronic paranoid schizophrenia in remission (“Unrest unjustified Breier tells group,” 1981, July 30).” Breier’s response to members of the NAACP was that individuals should not resist when being arrested by the police, people cannot resist (“Unrest unjustified Breier tells group,” 1981, July 30).

Aside from the medical illness question with Lacy, another issue with the detention was that Lacy did not fit the description of the suspect, other than the fact that he was a black male. This type of stop was not an unusual occurrence; often, initial descriptions by witnesses or victims can be off, and officers will stop individuals who are somewhat close to the description. In this case, however, trust between police and the African American community was completely

damaged; nothing short of officers, being charged. The MPD had very little credibility with the minority community, and a second incident would add to the distrust of the MPD within the white community.

Dr. Howard Fuller, the spokesperson for the Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy, demanded that officers involved in the Lacy incident be suspended (Elving, 1981). The demand for suspensions occurred while Mayor Maier recommended a panel be formed to study the events surrounding the Lacy case (Elving, 1981).

Alderman Roy Nabors, an inner-city minister backed demands for suspension of the officers. Neighbors, in addition, wanted more civilian oversight of MPD; although the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission was a civilian oversight group, they were unable or unwilling to take on Chief Breier. Breier continued to insist the MPD internal investigation found no wrongdoing on part of officers involved in the Lacy incident (Elving, 1981).

One of major issues with the credibility of the Lacy officers is the Lacy incident came on the heels of another controversial case involving the Milwaukee Police. In 1958, Daniel Bell an unarmed African American male, was shot by Milwaukee Police Officers who planted a knife on Bell and claimed self-defense ("Judge in Bell case drops 3 defendants," 1981, December 4). In 1979, Officer Thomas Grady came forward and admitted to shooting Bell, who was unarmed at the time and admitted to planting a knife on Bell to make it appear as if Bell was armed. The incident was covered up by members of the MPD; the Bell family sued Grady and a retired Milwaukee Police Detective Capt. Edwin Shaffer, as well as former Milwaukee Police Chief Howard Johnson. In 1982, the Bell family was awarded \$1.6 million because of civil action against the city ("Brennan criticized over Bell case," 1982, February 12). Furthermore, implicated in the cover-up was former district attorney William McCauley; Grady pled guilty in 1979 to charges of

“reckless use of a weapon” and “perjury” (“Judge in Bell case drops 3 defendants,” 1981, December 4), Grady was “sentenced to seven years in prison” (Snyder, 2002, p. 80).

A coalition of community leaders, including Dr. Howard Fuller (an education activist), Alderman Michael McGee, and the Milwaukee chapter of the NAACP demanded that District Attorney E. Michael McCann file charges of “homicide by reckless conduct and misconduct in public office” against Officer Eliuopul. Although the District Attorney’s office did not file charges against the officers, Judge Robert Cannon (the inquest judge) issued a warrant against officers James Dekker, George Kalt, and Thomas Eliopul for “homicide by reckless conduct” (“Unrest unjustified Breier tells group,” 1981). Circuit Court Judge Callan dismissed charges against the officers due to lack of probable cause (a. Anderson, 1982). Former District Attorney E. Michael McCann also consulted with federal authorities, although no charges were issued against the officers, except for Officer John Dekker, who was charged with “misconduct in public office” by a special prosecutor (b. Anderson, 1982).

The Bell and Lacy incidents were not the only incidents that pitted MPD and Chief Breier against the minority community. Although the Bell and Lacy incidents involved the African American community, another incident involving the beating of a white motorist in Milwaukee’s near Southside further damaged the credibility of the MPD. The importance of the Lacy incident cannot be overstated; Milwaukee’s African American community received national support. The Rev. Jesse Jackson agreed to address the National Baptist Congress of Christian Education Convention, which was being in July in Milwaukee, and he agreed to speak on the Lacy case. Additionally Georgia State Representative Julian Bonds also agreed to speak to the convention on the Lacy incident (“Jackson agrees to speak here on ‘Justice for Lacy’,” 1982, May 22). Lacy’s death in police custody and revelation of the Daniel Bell case was enough to exert

pressure on Chief Breier. However, the police beating of a white motorist brought pressure to reform the MPD from the white community, which had been a strong supporter of Chief Breier.

On the evening of September 17, 1981, James Schoemperlen reportedly exposed himself to juveniles in the area of So. 24th Street and W. National Ave. One of the juveniles stopped a police squad to report the incident. Officers saw Schoemperlen's driving his car and attempted to stop him. However, he fled in his car and eventually was stopped at the 2600 block of W. Greenfield Ave after a high-speed chase and Schoemperlen was then beaten by officers (Kucer, 1981).

Officers initially wrote official reports stating Schoemperlen had injured himself with the steering wheel of the car when the car stopped and then when he exited the car tripping over a police motorcycle (Sabljak, 1981). A witness came forward stating Schoemperlen was unnecessarily beaten by police with officers striking Schoemperlen with "walkie talkies," "dark objects" and their "fists" (Sabljak, 1981).

Schoemperlen suffered a broken nose, cheekbone and required 50 stitches. Schoemperlen's account of the incident was that he had just left a restaurant after attending a ball game, stopped to urinate and panicked when he saw the police squad and fled. He denied exposing himself to the juveniles (Sabljak, 1981).

The MPD and Milwaukee County District Attorney had to conduct a John Doe investigation into the incident, as the 21 officers involved in the incident refused to give statements at the initial police investigation (Kucer, 1981).⁴ The issue with this particular incident was that Wisconsin had passed a Law Enforcement Officers Bill of Rights in which officers are entitled to be informed of legal representation when facing criminal charges and are

⁴ This included officers at the scene who arrived shortly after the chase and were involved in traffic control duties during the investigation of the incident.

entitled to union representation when facing departmental charges. This was an interesting case, because the officers decided to exercise their legal rights. However, they were required to answer questions regarding the internal investigation. Officers are often criticized by the media for exercising the legal rights afforded to them. This legal procedure has been problematic for investigations into police use of force incidents.

To get answers regarding the incident, a John Doe investigation was initiated by the Milwaukee County District Attorney's Office. The Assistant District Attorney leading the John Doe Investigation is quoted in a news article saying, "All the officers in the pictures came at the same time and they all came with their lawyers (Davidian, 2002)." Three officers were charged consequently, John Cieciva, with aggravated battery (who was acquitted of the charges). Nevertheless, he was convicted of obstructing the investigation. Allan Miller was acquitted of all charges, and Dominic D'Acquisto was convicted of aggravated battery and served a six-month work release sentence. Schoemperlen sued and received a settlement of \$500,000 from the City of Milwaukee (Davidian, 2002).

Adding to Breier's problems was a shooting of two Milwaukee Police Officers on Tuesday December 22, 1981, shortly before midnight. This is an event that I still have vivid memories of, since I was acquainted with both officers.⁵ Relying on my memory, December 22, 1981 was the night of the Police Union Christmas party. The gathering was at Serb Hall, located on Milwaukee's Southside; the hall was packed when the announcement was made regarding the officers' shooting.

The circumstances surrounding the shooting were officers were responding to reports of an armed robbery when they approached two suspects, and one of the suspects, Robert Lee

⁵ I was not a close friend; however, I had contact and casual conversation with both officers during the course of service with the MPD.

Collins shot both officers, who subsequently died (Pfarrer, 1981). The officers, John Machahewski and Charles Mehlberg, were white, and the suspect Robert Lee Collins was African American. Although the shooting was a tragic event, the events that followed set off a police walkout. Dealing with the aftermath of the Bell and Lacy incidents, as well as the Schoemperlen incident, an African American alderman made what turned out to be an offensive comment regarding the shooting of the officers as far as the police union was concerned.

Roy Nabors was not only an African American alderman, but also a minister and he had been involved in the community organizations that had criticized Chief Breier. Nabors had been involved in the Lacy community organizations that had been critical of the officers in the Lacy incident.

While being interviewed by a local Milwaukee television news station, Nabors remarked the shooting of both officers “could have been provoked by the fear on part of the person who did the killing of the police officers (Pfarrer, 1981).” Nabors indicated that the shooting of the officers could have been out of fear, due to recent incidents involving the Milwaukee Police and the African American community; there was a fear of the police within the African American community (Pfarrer, 1981). As an academic studying this particular era, this could be a point of discussion; however, as the newspaper article pointed out in its account of Nabors comment, the relationship between the African American community and the police was tense (Pfarrer, 1981).

Adding to the race relations strain within MPD was the filing of a lawsuit against Milwaukee Police by members of the League of Martin. On February 19, 1981, Detective Arthur Jones, who was president of the League of Martin, filed a lawsuit in federal court against the “Milwaukee Police Department, Chief Harold Breier, the City of Milwaukee and three officials

of the 5th District” (Rothe, 1981); the suit alleged discrimination of African American officers when it came to promotion and assignments.

The criticisms of the MPD was that there were no African American officers assigned to the city’s Southside or to the Tactical Unit (Rothe, 1981); Tactical Unit is MPD’s name for SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactics). According to Jones, out of the 129 African American officers in the MPD, 82 were members of the League of Martin (Rothe, 1981). Lenard Wells pointed out that racism did exist within the MPD; many African Americans were appointed to MPD, but “were washed out by racist officers” (2013); he was referring to the Milwaukee Police Academy (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).

I bring up this point because during the period between 1964 and 1981, there were 203 African Americans appointed to MPD (Snyder, 2002) and Jones stated in his interview with the Milwaukee Sentinel that there were 129 African Americans assigned to MPD and during the same period there were 68 Latinos appointed to MPD (Snyder, 2002).

The incident leading to the lawsuit started as a racial problem at Milwaukee Police District 5, which is located in the city’s Northeast side of town, heavily populated by African Americans. There was “self-imposed segregation” (Anderson, 1982) between the African American officers and the white officers at the district. African American officers were upset at how officers were assigned to the special assignment units. Traditionally, veteran officers were assigned to special units within the district; however, at District 5 only white officers were assigned to special assignments (Anderson, 1982).⁶

⁶ While more experienced officers were normally assigned to the special squads, they were usually involved in checking tavern violations. This was a plain-clothes assignment that was highly prized by uniform officers. As a young patrol officer I had the unique experience of being assigned to special assignments early in my career due to my ability to speak Spanish, and I worked district two which heavily populated by Latinos.

Milwaukee Police Association President Robert Kliesmet called for a walkout in response to Alderman Nabors' comment that the shooting "could have been provoked by the fear on part of the person who did the killing of the police officers (Pfarrer, 1981)." There were ongoing negotiations between the police union and city officials in order to avert a strike; however, officers walked out midnight of December 23, 1981. The Milwaukee Sheriff's Department prepared to patrol the streets of Milwaukee in case of a walkout and Mayor Henry Maier threatened to get an injunction against the police union; however, Kliesmet threatened not to obey the injunction ("Police strike after shooting city seeking injunction," 1981, December 24).

Not every police officer walked out. Probationary officers not protected by the police union, and police supervisors did not walk out and members of the League of Martin did not walk out ("Police strike after shooting city seeking injunction," 1981, December 24). There were already hard feelings between white officers towards the League of Martin and the League of Martin felt the union was not properly representing their interests (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012). The union threatened to impose a \$100 fine on any officer who did not comply with the walkout. One white officer did not join the police walkout; he was one of my academy classmates, however it was never revealed whether the union fined him.

Regarding the refusal of the League to join the walkout, Lenard Wells said that the League felt they could not leave their community unprotected (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012). This was a time when there were no African American officers assigned to the Southside. The split within the Milwaukee Police Association and the League of Martin was starting to show. During the strike, African American officers were patrolling streets and when Chief Breier was asked if he knew why African American officers

were patrolling the streets, he replied that he did not know. In the same article, Breier misquoted Nabors, stating, “All criminals could shoot every police officer that came within reach” (“Police strike after shooting city seeking injunction,” 1981 December 24).

Because of the walkout, Mayor Maier declared a state of emergency in Milwaukee, which was approved by the Milwaukee Common Council. The state of emergency declaration allowed Chief Breier to seek help from other law enforcement agencies (“Police strike after shooting city seeking injunction,” 1981, December 24).

The Milwaukee City Attorney threatened to seek a permanent injunction against the police union; however, the union president was quoted in a news article as, “The union would not obey the injunction (“Police strike after shooting city seeking injunction,” 1981, December 24).” The union president did offer the city a way out, citing 12 demands by the union that had to be met before its members returned to working. Among the 12 demands, were the funding of a comprehensive community relations program and a public relations program to improve the image of the Milwaukee police officers (“Police strike after shooting city seeking injunction,” 1981, December 24).

Shortly before the City of Milwaukee went to court, the Milwaukee Police union agreed to end the walkout after the city agreed to discuss its 12 demands, which were:

1. There shall be no recrimination for the actions of the association members. 2.

The Common Council of the City of Milwaukee disavows any statements made by Ald. Roy Nabors as the policy of the City of Milwaukee. 3. That the City of Milwaukee immediately provides that all police vehicles assigned to high crime areas be manned by two men and that the union have a voice in which cars are considered to be operating in high crime areas. 4. That the city immediately implement and fund a comprehensive

police community relations program with the rank and file members of this union assisting in developing the program. 5. Immediately implement and fund a position of public information officers within the Police Department. 6. Immediately implement and fund a public relations program to improve the image of the police officer in the City of Milwaukee. 7. Recognize the legitimate complaints of minority officers employed in the Police Department. 8. Support adoption of legislation to change provisions of state statute 895.35 to indicate that the city shall pay all legitimate legal costs in representing members who have need for legal representation. 9. Immediately create and fund a union administrated confidential employee counseling program within the Police Department. 10. Assist in developing a program whereby City of Milwaukee police officers would not be required to sustain greater injury than persons that they bring to the district attorney's office on charges of battery to peace officer. 11. Immediately implement a budgetary process and demand that the chief be accountable to the Common Council for all the number of hours that the city attorney allocates to representation of the chief in the many legal matters that the department is involved in against members of the Milwaukee Police Association. 12. Assist the association in making an addition to the Fire and Police Commission citizen complaint procedure and the department rules and regulations citizen complaint procedure to require that the following statements be included as part of the official complaint: 'I UNDERSTAND AND THAT IF I LIE IN MY COMPLAINT, I MAY BE SUED FOR LIBEL' ("Police strike after shooting city seeking injunction," 1981, December 24).

Item 7 was an olive branch to the League of Martin. It is evident that if the union were properly representing African American officers, this would not have been a problem. The

matter of properly representing minority officers came back to stare the union in the face when Officer Moises Gomez threatened to sue the Union for not representing him while he was suing the Milwaukee Police over refusing to interpret for other officers from Spanish to English in the later part of the 1980s. Wells' statement that unions represented the larger group but not the interests of the ethnic minorities' in this case African American officers gives credibility to his arguments regarding the need for the League of Martin (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012). Summing up what happened, the city agreed to discuss their demands and the officers returned to work.

First Latino Police Officer in MPD Procopio “Nick” Sandoval

It was during these tense years when white police, Breier, and African American officers faced a restive minority population and political pressures to stop police abuse, that the first cohort of Latino police were hired into the MPD.

Procopio Sandoval was hired in March of 1964 and retired in 1993(P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012). Nick, as he is commonly known lives in a Milwaukee suburb which added weight to Robert Welch's argument that he thought it was important to hire Latinos into the Milwaukee Police Department because the jobs provided good family supporting wages (R. Welch, personal communication, November 8, 2012). In reflecting on that argument Sandoval is a prime example of Welch's point. Sandoval retired to a suburban neighborhood and lives in an upscale middleclass home.

Sandoval's home was full of mementoes of his career with the MPD, including a plaque given to him by the National Latino Peace Officers Association when he retired. He moved to Milwaukee to live with a brother who helped raise him in 1955 (P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012).

Sandoval attended West Division High School and after graduating in 1959 from high school, he joined the U.S. Army where he worked as a Military Policeman, serving three years in Korea.⁷ Sandoval worked as a sheet metal worker in Milwaukee after his discharge from the army and he decided to apply to the MPD in 1964. One of the factors that led to his joining the MPD was his prior army experience as a military police man.⁷ Sandoval attended Marquette University while he was working as a police officer and got married. Sandoval attended college using the G.I. Bill and after attending three years, the G.I. Bill funding ran out. He stopped attending college, after completing three years (P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012).

Sandoval had been in police academy in 1964 for a week when two Milwaukee Police Detectives approached him. Sandoval stated that the detectives interviewed him and wanted to know if he was bilingual (able to speak Spanish). The detectives also asked him about his background, finally asking him if he wanted to work undercover (P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012).

According to Sandoval, the Latino community “was experiencing a serious problem with drugs” and the detectives wanted him to work undercover in the Latino community. The Latino community was small in the 1960s, roughly 3,218.⁸ When asked how he was able to function in the Latino community without being discovered, Nick replied that the Latino community was small and word of a Latino police officer would have gotten out to the community, especially if he was the first Latino hired as a Milwaukee Police Officer. Sandoval said he was able to

⁷ Military police training involves the Code of Military Justice, self-defense training, and traffic codes.

⁸ According to the 1960 Milwaukee Census tract Milwaukee had 741,324 population of that 675,572 were white, 62,458 were identified as Negro and the only Latino group identified were Mexican at 3,218.

function in the Latino community because while growing up he was too young to frequent the Latino taverns and by the time he joined the MPD his brother was living in Milwaukee's Westside and he had no other family in Milwaukee (P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012). Very few people knew who he was; he was virtually unknown to the Latino community and that allowed him to hide his identity and function as an undercover officer without being recognized (P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012).

Sandoval worked undercover on Milwaukee's Southside; heroin was a big problem according to Nick during the mid-1960s, as well as marijuana. Sandoval bought both marijuana and heroin until his cases went to court. Once he was in court, he was identified through his court appearances. Once his identity was compromised in the Latino community, he was reassigned to work undercover on Milwaukee's Northside. According to Sandoval, he made quite a few cases because no one knew who he was. Undercover work entails going into taverns and into known drug houses. Connections are usually made through another person that knows a drug dealer and bars and taverns are good places to meet; these are considered cold buys.

Sandoval had been working undercover while at the police academy, which means that outside his taking classes and preparing for exams, he was also working the streets as a police officer after his shift at the academy was over.⁹ Any undercover work he did outside of the academy is considered overtime and can be paid or compensated with time off later. The use of compensated time off is often preferred because it can be used to supplement vacation time. Sandoval worked undercover for almost two years; once he graduated from the police academy, he was assigned to the Milwaukee Police Department Vice- Control Division to continue his

⁹ I was assigned as an instructor at the Milwaukee Police Academy instructing both recruit officers and recruit officers, the instruction at the police academy is high pressured and very demanding. Police recruits are tested weekly on various subjects and are usually dismissed from the academy if they fail to pass any of their classes.

undercover work. Sandoval stated, “I was buying heroine undercover and they continue the ...well you know how that works, they continue your cover until your usefulness is gone (P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012).” This is a typical comment on the experience of most undercover police officers once they have worked undercover and are transferred.

There are several methods of conducting narcotics assignments, one is the use of informants, and another is the use of undercover officers. The use of informants is more common; the problem is the reliability of the informant. Most informants in the field of narcotics operations are individuals arrested on a drug charge who have agreed to buy drugs from other sources in return for lesser charges or for the dismissal of their own charges. These cases are difficult to prove, often the cases are purely circumstantial, since the informant is protected and not allowed to testify.

The use of undercover officers is more effective since the officer can directly testify to the purchase of the illegal drug. Police refer to this as getting a hand-to-hand buy. The problem with these assignments is that they are usually extremely dangerous for the officer. Minority police officers are used in the drug investigations, while African Americans and Latinos are used depending on the population those investigations target. Interestingly, with affirmative action there has been an increase in the hiring of Latinos and African Americans. This provides a steady pool of new minority officers to be used to supplement those officers whose identity has been compromised. An assumption that could be drawn from the need to use minority officers in an undercover capacity is that this need would create the need to hire more Latinos and African Americans; however, this is not the case. While assigned to the MPD training academy as an instructor in the 1990s, I recall several conversations regarding the need to hire Hmong officers.

The Hmong population had increased in Milwaukee and crimes by Hmong offenders had increased in Milwaukee. One of the obstacles regarding hiring Hmong officers was that they were not able to pass the entrance examination. There was no clear reason at the time to explain why Hmong candidates were not able to pass; however, there were no exceptions made to hire Hmong candidates. MPD used interpreters as well as informants in investigating crimes in the Hmong community.

The undercover assignments are usually more desirable in the beginning of an officer's career, since they involve the wearing of plain clothes and freedom from the everyday assignments of traffic accidents and domestic disturbances. Once the officer's cases are completed and the officer's identity compromised, the officer is then returned to regular patrol duty. Often the officer feels used and discarded. However, this is the reality of the undercover police assignment.

The use of minority officers in the undercover capacity might raise questions as to the use of the officers; does it improve relationships with the minority communities? This is a larger philosophical question that is beyond the scope of this study. The use of undercover minority officers to enforce drug laws opens the debate of the disproportionality of enforcement of the drug laws in minority communities. Many minority officers use the undercover assignments as a pathway to advancement within the organization. In Sandoval's case, he was a young officer and he saw this as an opportunity for advancement. Is this the purpose of affirmative action programs to improve relations with minority communities or provide fair enforcement of laws or even something else? That is a hard question to answer; undercover work is a strategy used by police departments to enforce drug laws. The question then would be, should the police ignore the enforcement of drug laws in Latino or African American communities? Minority officers are no

different from white officers when it comes to special assignments; although, some assignments have a higher risk they are willing to take that chance for either the excitement or the possibility of advancement.

Sandoval was transferred to uniform assignment after his two years as an undercover officer. According to Sandoval, he needed to get uniform officer experience, which includes walking the beat and giving parking and traffic tickets. He was assigned to District 3, which was located on Milwaukee's Northside for about a year after which he took the detective's exam. He passed the detective examination and was promoted and reassigned to the vice control division where he again worked narcotics as well as gambling and prostitution. Although Sandoval returned to the vice squad to work illegal drugs, the role of a detective is different from that of a police officer. The detective's role involves the handling of informants as well as handling undercover police officers. Normally, a detective has worked undercover previously and is known to the criminal elements, so he/she has to depend on the use of informants make undercover buys. The informant makes the drug buy under the direct supervision of the detective.

To what degree did the issue of race and his connection to the Latino community play in Sandoval's career with MPD? I asked Sandoval how he identified himself, and he replied that he identified himself as Mexican, and when asked how undercover assignments affected his ability to connect to the Latino community, Sandoval stated that there were some issues, as he was seen as a traitor, because he had arrested Mexican drug dealers. He had to step away from the community because there were some individuals who resented his work as an undercover officer (P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012).

Sandoval also said that other than his experiences as an undercover officer he did not have any problems with the Latino community, he has been able to attend functions that he

wanted. As far as racism within MPD Sandoval said he never experienced what he felt was racism. His police academy class consisted of 63 recruits and he was the only Latino in the class. If anything was said or done behind his back, he is not aware of it. He stated that there was some resentment because he was assigned to work undercover straight out of the police academy and other officers were assigned uniform duty. The way he viewed it was the department needed someone to “infiltrate “the drug trade inside the Latino community he was chosen and that is the nature of police work (P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012).

In analyzing MPD’s use of Sandoval in an undercover capacity, I would have viewed it as exploited. A police recruit gets assigned to work undercover while he/she is in training sounds pretty dangerous and exploitive. In Sandoval’s case, I do not think he fits the normal police recruit profile. Sandoval had worked as a military policeman in the army; he was not a green police recruit. What I see is his ability not only to work the dangerous assignment, but that he successfully completed the police training. As a police recruit, he had to study for examinations on the courses he was taking. Undercover work requires long late nights, then to come in a go to the academy and graduate is quite an accomplishment.

Regarding his experiences working with Chief Breier, Sandoval said he was aware of Breier’s reputation for being a racist. Having worked for Breier directly Sandoval said he saw Breier in a different light. He and a partner, Frank Cole worked special assignments directly for Chief Harold Breier. Sandoval recalls Chief Harold Breier as a “tough guy, and he was a fair man, he was very fair.” “If you were wrong, you were wrong and you better watch it. However, if you were right, he would back you up a hundred percent. There was no in between with him. Either you were right or you were wrong. In his eyes, that is the way he wanted to run the

department. If you violated the trust of the public, then you were going to answer to me (P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012).”

Sandoval’s name also appears in connection with a 1970 shooting of Randolph Anderson who was accused of firebombing a super market on July of 1970. Accounts reported Anderson’s background as a Vietnam veteran who was involved in anti-war protests; however, the newspaper accounts were not clear as to his connections with any anti-war movements. Police received a tip that an A and P grocery store on N. 78St. and W. Burleigh Ave. was going to be firebombed and they set up a surveillance of the store (“Probe killing here of bomber,” 1970, July 19).

Accounts in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* (1970) have both Anderson and another subject named Rubin approaching the store with Anderson kicking a large plate glass window and tossing an object through the window that caused a “flash and flames (“Probe killing here of bomber,” 1970, July 19).” Detective Sandoval along with Detective Gary Grundy observed Anderson and Rubin fleeing the scene of the firebombing and ordered them to stop. Anderson and Rubin refused to stop and both Grundy and Sandoval fired striking and killing Anderson (“Probe killing here of bomber,” 1970, July 19).

Rubin was also shot; however, he survived the shooting (“Probe killing here of bomber,” 1970). When Rubin appeared in court, Reserve Judge Thadeus Pruss reduced the charges to two misdemeanor charges of criminal damage to property and possession of Molotov cocktails. The reduction of charge was met by criticism by police officers and the Deputy District Attorney Victor Manian who protested the reduction of the charges (“Probe killing here of bomber,” 1970, July 19).¹⁰ Manian protested the reduction of charges based on the amount of evidence available

¹⁰ Victor Manian eventually served as a Chief Judge for the Milwaukee County Circuit Court System.

to convict Rubin. Rubin admitted to planning the firebombing with Anderson, as well as walking towards the store with the Molotov cocktail in his hand, however his defense was that although he had planned the firebombing and approached the store with the Molotov cocktail he changed his mind as he approached the store and did not light the Molotov cocktail (Janz, 1971).

Grundy and Sandoval both testified that they observed both Anderson and Rubin throw and firebomb the A & P store. Rubin was fined \$200 and given probation. According to the article Pruss thought that Rubin being shot should be a reminder of what he did, also the article mentioned that Rubin was the son of a Milwaukee attorney. Manian moreover brought up the fact that the officers and their families had been receiving threatening phone calls. The article also alluded to Rubin having political connections; his defense attorney introduced letters of support from Representative Les Aspin and Judge Marvin Holz (Janz, 1971).

Judge Pruss responded by stating that police officers had information and time to act on the information. If they had acted sooner they could have prevented the firebombing altogether and maybe no one would have been injured (Janz, 1971). I think that this case gives a good view on Sandoval's assimilation into the police subculture. As a Latino, he is no different from white officers; he is functioning well within MPD and employs force just as white officers.

This incident occurred prior to the Tennessee vs. Gardener case, 1985 and Graham vs. Connor in 1989. In the Gardner case, the police shot a fleeing burglar under the common law practice of the use of force against fleeing felons (Albanese, 2008, p. 245). Under Garner, the Supreme Court ruled that the Fourth Amendment restricted the use of deadly force, that it is considered a seizure. Under Gardner, the Supreme Court restricted the shooting of fleeing felons to suspects that posed an immediate threat to the officer or others. Under Graham, the court ruled that officers could be held liable if they used excessive force. The court established the

“objective reasonableness” standard (Albanese, 2008 p. 248) which is the immediate threat to the officer, “the severity of the crime” (Albanese, 2008, p. 248), if the suspect is resisting arrest and if the “suspect is attempting to escape from custody (Albanese, 2008, p. 248).”

A January 1974 article in *La Guardia* mentions Detective Nick Sandoval in connection with an incident involving a person allegedly working as an informant for Sandoval. The informant started a fight with two other men according to the article, however when police arrived it was the other individuals that the informant was fighting with who were arrested. The news account identified Nick Sandoval and his partner Frank Cole and has them conducting a search for illegal drugs inside the tavern, Sandoval is quoted as saying, “Where’s the dope?”; “I’ll close this place down one way or another (“Agents of violence back for seconds,” 1974, January, no date).” The article goes on to accuse the officers of brutalizing one of the patrons and further writing that if this incident had occurred in a white neighborhood police procedures would not be as brutal (“Agents of violence back for seconds,” 1974, January, no date).

Nick Sandoval retired in 1993 and was honored by the NLPOA as the first Latino police officer hired by MPD. In his office, Sandoval proudly displays the plaque given to him by the NLPOA. As for his legacy, Sandoval was the measuring stick that was used to judge other Latino police officers. He had his detractors in the community, seen by some as too harsh (“Agents of violence back for seconds,” 1974); however, on January 29, 1993 upon his retirement the mayor proclaimed that day Procopio Sandoval Day and Sandoval said, “That was because I was the first (Sandoval, 2013).”

Was Sandoval exploited being the first Latino in MPD, undercover assignments, Latino gangs, special investigations for Chief Breier? Probably, but Sandoval did not see it that way. He used the exploitation as a way of advancement within the MPD.

In looking at Sandoval's career experience in MPD, he was the first Latino and was probably aware that he was under the microscope; however, the important thing to consider about Sandoval is that he had been a military policeman in the army. He had gone through boot camp where he was assimilated into the military institution. When Sandoval joined the MPD, the assimilation process was already underway. There is no doubt that Sandoval was proud of his Latino identity however he just did not identify with the Latino community he was completely vested in the police subculture. When Sandoval did volunteer work, it was not within the Latino community. He was considered a "cops cop," what every police officer thinks a police officer should be. The problem with Sandoval's situation is although he saw himself as part of the establishment; he was not promoted beyond detective while white officers with a lesser resume were promoted to higher positions.

First Latina Police Officer Linda Velasco

Linda Velasco became the first Latina hired by the MPD as a police officer in 1976. Velasco is of Mexican, Spanish, and Honduran descent. She was born in Los Angeles; however, she grew up in East Chicago, Indiana. Velasco moved to Milwaukee in 1974 because her father was living in Milwaukee and working as an entertainer at the Matador on Milwaukee's near Southside.¹¹ Velasco earned a bachelor's degree in criminal justice from UW Milwaukee in 2007 and although she was Latina, she did not speak Spanish. Linda was not aware that she was the first Latina police officer in MPD until the LPOA brought it to her attention in 1988. Velasco applied for the MPD because she needed a job. However, according to her, she did not know what she was getting into (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013).

¹¹ El Matador was a popular Mexican restaurant and bar, which was owned by the Monreal family, one of the oldest Mexican families in Milwaukee.

One of the first things that struck Velasco was how racially segregated Milwaukee was. She questioned whether she wanted to stay in Milwaukee, and consequently she was not connected to the Latino community. Linda experiences growing up in East Chicago was that if you had money you lived wherever you wanted regardless of race (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013).

Velasco was the target of a police investigation upon graduating from the police academy in 1976. Velasco started dating a police officer she met in the police academy and eventually moved in with him. The police department was enforcing a no co-habitation state statute, which prohibited a male and female from living together unless they were married. The state law was not enforced for members of the public by the 1970s; however, since police officers had to abide by all laws and ordinances, the co-habitation law was enforced on police officers. The morals and social norms were starting to change and the district attorney's office would not issue charges on citizens, but police officers were fired for this violation of the law.

Members of the Milwaukee Police Internal Affairs division followed Velasco and her boyfriend; she stated, "They probably spent a lot of money, you know, watching us, following us around that kind of thing (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013)."

Velasco and her boyfriend were eventually arrested and the Miranda Rights read to them by detectives. Velasco and her boyfriend were subsequently fired from the MPD. Velasco and her boyfriend received support from the police union eventually winning her case in court and getting her job back. Velasco was found guilty by a police trial board on September 12, 1978 of "Failure to abide by the laws of Wisconsin and Ordinances of the City of Milwaukee" and terminated from her employment with MPD. On October 12, 1978, she was rehired by the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013).

Velasco was assigned to District 3, (located on N. 43 and Lisbon Ave.) working the late shift right out of the Police Academy, the late shift was considered from 12AM to 8AM. There were only two female officers assigned to the district, and after being rehired she was assigned to District 5. District Five was located in the area of No.3rd St. and W. Locust St., which also had a large portion of the inner city (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013). Many officers assignment to either District 5 or 3 considered the assignment as less desirable or maybe as punishment, however most African Americans were assigned to those districts since there was a high concentration of crime in those districts. The other perspective for some officers was that if you wanted to be promoted you asked for an assignment to those districts, there was an opportunity to investigate more crimes and arrest more felons, which had a high learning curb and would help in being promoted.

One of Velasco's assignments was working the prostitution unit, she disliked working the assignment, and it "wasn't her niche" (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013). The prostitution unit targeted prostitutes and their "Johns".¹² Female officer would dress like prostitute and frequent street corners where prostitutes were known to frequent. They would wait to be approached by a solicitor and arrest the solicitor once they made an offer to exchange sex for money. Some police officers liked working that assignment but she did not. Velasco did not appear resentful regarding her firing stating, "So the experience with the firing and all of that, it's okay. You know it happened and we were able to make a point and do something to make a change on the police department (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013)."

Velasco recalled that when she was first hired she was expected to dress like a man; female officers had to cut their hair like men and wear the same uniform as the men. Velasco felt this was

¹² Johns refers to those men that frequent prostitutes.

done to pressure females to quit the police department. Velasco also challenged the hair rule for female's officers. Velasco appeared before the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission and argued that female officers in suburban police departments could wear their hair long. She won that appeal. Velasco felt the harassment she went through was a little of both, her gender and ethnicity (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013).

Other incidents included the use of facial tissues. She was assigned to work station security, and one winter while assigned to work station security she asked another officer for a tissue.¹³ The shift Lieutenant found out she was asking for a tissue she was called in to his office and admonished for not carrying a handkerchief, police rules and regulations required officers to carry handkerchiefs. Velasco felt that these rules were not enforced on male officers, but were seen as a way to harass her. Another example cited by Velasco was walking beat patrol, when she walked the beat on Lisbon Ave, she walked it by herself and when male officers walked the beat on Lisbon Ave., and they were assigned partners (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013).

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In April of 1989 Velasco was one of the original officers recruited by López to start the NLPOA chapter in Milwaukee. Velasco joined because she eventually became aware that there were assignments that others were getting and she was not getting which she attributed to both her gender and race (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013). Velasco felt a responsibility to make sure doors were open to other Latinas in the MPD as well as not wanting to lose her identity as a Latina. Velasco indicated that the police administration was made up of white

¹³ Because of the riots, Chief Breier implemented what was called station security; it was standing guard at a police station.

¹⁴ Lisbon Avenue was considered a high crime area in district three and usually had officers walking with a partner, however assignment of partners were was also dependent on the number of officers available on a particular shift.

males and she was not sure where her career was going to take her, she did not want to lose her identity as a Latina (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013). Velasco had not had very much contact with the Latino community. According to Velasco, the lack of contact with the Latino community was due to the lack of her ability to speak Spanish. Velasco felt she would lose the culture; she wanted to reconnect and keep her roots alive.

Velasco further mentioned that she was able to get assignments to which she had applied. One such assignment was the police boat assigned to patrol Lake Michigan. The process for requesting assignment was to write what is referred to as an “in the matter of report.” The first step in the process was for the report to be submitted to the officer’s supervisor, usually a patrol sergeant. Velasco wrote a request to be considered for assignment to the police boat. She did not get a response regarding her request. Velasco asked the sergeant regarding her request, the sergeant just “guff” at her. He had the request in his drawer and told her that she was not the type of person that he was looking for. Velasco stated, “I never got the chance to try out, to show that I could swim, to show that I had brains (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013).”

Velasco observed that once the League of Martin lawsuit was settled things started to change regarding assignments. Velasco recalled that prior to that though she was confident enough to write for different assignments she never got anywhere with her requests (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013).

I asked Velasco again, if she thought it was due to her gender or ethnicity that she did not get the assignments she requested and she replied, “I think probably both. They probably did not want some female out there especially some dark female out there. In history, they would have preferred black men to vote before they want black women to vote. So I’m not sure (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013). “

Velasco indicated that she decided to stay in assignments that she could be herself, some special assignments she felt uncomfortable seeing what she saw. Velasco claims to have witnessed instances of police brutality and that she did turn officers in for that type of behavior. That could also account for her not getting some of the assignments she had requested. Velasco was hired in MPD during a period of transition. Officers were expected to be very aggressive and there were many cases of “street justice,” police brutality cases. The new officers were more socially oriented, there were also more Latinos and African American officers being hired. Many of the special assignments required a higher degree of aggressiveness and some officers did not care to expose themselves to those type of situations (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013).

I also asked Velasco reflected on her 25-year career in the police department, and from a personal perspective, did she think that ethnicity was an important factor in connecting to the community?

Velasco reply was, “Oh, yeah. I mean, it matters to me and to Chief Breier it mattered because with his racist self, he didn’t put black officers on the Southside you know, because he did not want black officers to arrest white people, nor did white people probably want to be arrested by Black officers (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013).” Velasco’s view of Chief Breier was in line with that of the new group of Latino officers being hired. These new Latino/officers seemed to be more aware of the racial discrepancies practiced by MPD. She was not from Milwaukee originally and as she stated encountering the segregation of whites and blacks, the segregation of the city was very noticeable to her.

Velasco also referred to the assignment of Spanish-speaking officers in certain places so they could be used for their language capability. Velasco stated, “I mean rules had to be changed so they could get extra pay. It’s terrible that somebody who could speak Spanish would want to

do that, but you have to gain some kind of respect. They were not promoting you, so at least give me some money [Because that kept them back too, until they fought for that]. Therefore, I believe it does. I had experiences with white families or having to go to a white home. They did not want to talk to me. They wanted to talk to a white police officer and that was fine with me. I just let my commanding officer know send somebody white out there (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013).”

I asked Velasco if she had any problems with Latino male officers. Did they treat her with disrespect, she said no; however, she did not work with many Latino police officers during her career. Velasco retired from the MPD in February of 2002 after 25 years as a police officer. She retired with the rank of Administrative Lieutenant in the Chief’s Office, and she was assigned to the Mayor’s security team (L. Velasco, personal communication, February 13, 2013).

Velasco was a socially oriented police officer. It is clear that although she did not speak Spanish she stated that she did identify herself as a Latina. Velasco was college-educated and was very aware of the racial divide within the MPD. Velasco was aggressive and independent-minded. Velasco challenged the status quo within the MPD and joined the NLPOA because it provided the vehicle that she needed to pursue a more social agenda. This is not to say that Velasco was not able to fit within the MPD structure, she was promoted and retired an Administrative Lieutenant which speaks to her ability to work within the organization, but the NLPOA provided the support she needed to reach out and deal with the differential treatment received by ethnic minorities from MPD officers. Velasco was not afraid to turn in police officers that she felt were using excessive force against citizens; this pushed her away from the police subculture and kept her from getting the assignments that she desired. Velasco joined the NLPOA as a way to move from Blue to Brown. Linda was part of the second wave of Latino/

officers hired, although she was the first Latina police officer hired. Linda was facing backlash from white officers for being part of the consent decree, both for her ethnicity and her gender.

Milwaukee County Sherriff's Deputy José Luis López and the MPD

José Luis López, also known as “Louie” López and his brother Emilio López (Puerto Rican heritage) grew up in the Puerto Rican neighborhood during this period became influential figures in the Latino movement in Milwaukee. Emilio dropped out of the University of Wisconsin–Madison and returned to Milwaukee’s Holton street neighborhood to help other activists organize a group of Puerto Rican youth into a group known as “Red Berets” (Tolan, 1999). The Red Berets, as they were known, had a short life span. During the 1970s, the Puerto Rican community had a Puerto Rican Day Parade. The Red Berets marched in the Puerto Rican Parade of 1970. One of the nuances of many Latino movements was the revolutionary attire that was used by these groups. In the case of the Red Berets, the members dressed in military garb and carried posters of “Che Guevara” much to the dislike of the older parade organizers (Tolan, 1999). Many of the older parade organizers had been in the U. S. military and disliked the use of “Che” as a symbol due to Che’s Marxist ties. The Red Berets had also planned to boo Milwaukee Mayor Henry Maier; however, they booed a popular Puerto Rican official instead of the mayor, this incident made them unpopular with the older activists (many were veterans of the U.S. Military) and the Red Berets disbanded a few months later. Emilio went on to get a law degree, practice law in Milwaukee, and eventually returned to his roots and worked in several community-based Latino organizations in Milwaukee (Tolan, 1999).

Louie López recalls being stopped by the police and harassed as a youth growing up in Milwaukee’s Holton street neighborhood. He disliked the police but knew better than to disrespect the police. He remembers overt discrimination by police, when he became a

Milwaukee County Sheriff's Deputy; he made it a point to confront the racism within both the Milwaukee Sheriff's Department and the MPD. Louie was the Latino law enforcement officer who helped organize the National Latino Peace Officers Association in Milwaukee, WI and their father was an organizer of the Puerto Rican Society Club and later President of the organization (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

Louie López was born in Ponce, Puerto Rico and moved to Milwaukee when he was six or seven years old. The López family moved to Milwaukee in 1956 and lived at 938 N. Jefferson (third ward) before moving to the Riverwest area. Louie recalls that there was a poor relationship between the Puerto Rican community and the MPD (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

Regarding his experiences with the MPD while growing up in Milwaukee, López said, "We grew up in fear of them. We tried to avoid them. We wanted the least amount of contact with them and if and when we did have contact with them, it was never pleasant (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013)." López said he had the misfortune of being stopped several times, even for routine questioning; it was unpleasant. López frequently drove around the city with his brothers and cousins and police would frequently stop them accusing them of being in a gang. López recalls being pulled up out of their car at gunpoint and being treated roughly (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

López said his father also experienced harsh treatment at the hands of police, police made them feel less than human and that they did not belong in the United States. López said that due to his negative interaction with the police, he did not aspire to work in law enforcement.

López was drafted into the army and was shipped to Vietnam. López also experienced discrimination while in the army. Although López had experienced discrimination in growing up

in Milwaukee, he stated that it was worse in the army. The drill sergeants assumed that they did not speak English, López and his friends had graduated from high school and were fluent in English (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

López's first taste of activism was in the military, although he was treated badly it was not as bad as the soldiers that had been drafted from Puerto Rico. Draftees from Puerto Rico did not speak English well; some of the Puerto Ricans had medical problems, however, they were not attended to because they did not speak English. López became a spokesperson for the Puerto Rican soldiers and the army labeled him a troublemaker, which kept him in trouble (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

López left the military, returned to work in factories, and attended the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee where he earned 62 credits. In 1980, he was hired by the Milwaukee County Sheriff's Office as a deputy sheriff. López stated that he did not finish his degree because he was married and had to work several part-time jobs to support his family. According to López it became extremely difficult to continue his education so he decided to work full time with the Milwaukee County Sheriff's Department.

Ramon Galaviz First High Ranking Latino From Within the Department

Galaviz was the first Latino within the MPD that reached a high command position. Ramon Galaviz joined the NLOPA at its inception in 1988. Galaviz joined the MPD in 1982, after leaving the Air Force. Galaviz was a student at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee in 1982; he had 30 credits when he joined the MPD. Galaviz continued his schooling so when he retired he had earned a two Masters Degrees. Galaviz continued his schooling to improve his chances for promotion. Galaviz said he understood that he had to be better than the white officers to be promoted (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).

Galaviz was reminded of his Latino status when he walked in to his first assignment, District Two. Upon entering the station, he heard an officer comment, “Look, we have another “Spic” here at the station. Galaviz found it odd so he did not say anything in what he described as a “blatant welcome.” Galaviz was in the military, which was diversified and was “shocked” at the treatment, he received (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).

Most of Galaviz’s partners were white males and when on assignments, it was not unusual for white callers to refuse to have him come into their homes; his partners would have him sit in the squad car until they completed the assignment. When he worked solo, it was not unusual for white callers to not open the door for him; rather they called the district station to verify that he was a police officer (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).

Galaviz started to notice changes shortly after Breier left office in 1988, according to Galaviz, Chief Robert Ziarnik started moving the police department in the right direction. I asked Galaviz if he felt Breier was a racist. Galaviz’s answer was Breier was on his interview board when he was hired and he did not have any feeling about that, he really did not know how to feel about it. Prior to the Consent Decree and the Fire and Police Commission getting more authority over the police department, he felt Breier had a carte blanche in running the police department and he basically felt that “don’t tell me how to run the department and I won’t tell you how to run city government (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).”

One of his concerns in joining the NLPOA was the lack of Latino detectives, sergeants and the higher ranks of administration. Galaviz was also concerned about lack of additional compensation for translation work, said, “I can’t speak for all Hispanic officers but I can certainly speak for bi-lingual officers, bi-lingual officers were doing a lot more work than normal

officers that did not speak Spanish. Part of the reason was, if you remember, was the Cuban-Castro fiasco with the boat flotilla (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).”

Galaviz is referring to the January 1980 settlement of Cuban refugees that settled in Milwaukee. At the time, the MPD did not have enough Spanish-speaking officers to handle the workload because of the increased number of Spanish speaking Cubans (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).

According to Galaviz, although the workload increased for Latino officers promotions did not. “As a result of that I felt that maybe there is something wrong with the MPD and I should go listen to fellow Hispanic officers who were talking about concerns and issues. Nick Sandoval and Freddy Cruz and other officers were present at the time. Latino MPD officers were not very successful in organizing until one day I received some information about the Latino Peace Officers Association which was a national organization where fellow law enforcement officers who were Hispanic in other parts of the country were also experiencing similar problems as Latino officers encountered in Milwaukee (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).” In Galaviz’s view, there were two groups of Latinos in MPD: those totally assimilated into the police subculture and those who identified more with their Latino background. Some officers had Spanish names, but they were Latinos in name only. These officers were more into conforming and showing white officers, they were all blue. Galaviz said he came from a family of civil right activists. Galaviz felt there was lack of trust among the officers that were assimilated and those that were more in line with their Latino identity (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).

Galaviz had aspirations of becoming MPD chief; however, he felt he was never recognized for either his education or professional accomplishments. Galaviz’s educational

accomplishments were — he was an Associate in Police Science from MATC in 1986, he received a certificate of completion from the FBI National Academy in 1991. In 1991, he also received a certificate of completion from the School of Police Staff and Command, Northwestern University. Galaviz received an Associate's Degree in Applied Sciences, Community College of the Air Force in 1995, Bachelor Degrees in Public Administration and Criminal Justice Administration in 1996, Mount Scenario College, Masters in Vocational Technical and Adult Education University of Wisconsin-Stout in 2002, Masters of Science in Training and Development, University of Wisconsin-Stout in 2009, and a certificate of completion from the International Association of Chiefs of Police-Leadership in Police Organizations in 2012 (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).

Galaviz's professional accomplishments included his promotion to sergeant (1987–1989), he was a Lieutenant of Police working as police district shift commander (1989–1994), and he was promoted to Captain of Police and was assigned to the MPD training academy (1994). One of his duties was assisting the Fire and Police Commission with minority recruiting, and preparing a proposal in 1996 for the MPD training academy to become a Southeastern Regional Training Center. In 1996, he was promoted to Deputy Inspector of Police and served in the Field Deputies Division where he was responsible for managing and supervision of all field operations for the MPD in the absence of the executive command staff. Galaviz served as the commander of the MPD training academy from 2002–2010. He was also a finalist for the MPD Chief's position in both 2003 and 2007.

As part of the police command staff he was asked to know how he viewed the NLPOA as an organization, was it helpful or a hindrance? Galaviz considered the NLPOA to be a very

professional organization and helpful in reaching out to the Latino community (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).

Galaviz was in the administration of several police chiefs, Arreola's, Jones, Haggerty, and retired under Flynn. Despite his academic credentials, he never rose above the rank of Deputy Inspector under any of the chiefs. He was active in the diversity issues of the MPD, could have been perceived as a competitive threat and not promoted to a higher rank. Galaviz was committed to diversity training in MPD because of the racism he faced within MPD, which led him to break away from the police subculture, going from Blue to Brown.

Oscar Perez

Oscar Perez was born in Corpus Christi, Texas and moved to Milwaukee in 1964. Perez went to grade school, middle school, and high school in Milwaukee. Perez joined MPD in 1981 when he was 22 years old. Perez wanted to be a police officer or an attorney. Perez had been working for the Milwaukee Railroad when hired by MPD. Perez only had a high school education when he joined the MPD, however by the time he retired after 25 years he had a bachelors and a master's degree. He obtained his undergraduate degree in Criminal Justice from Mt. Scenario College and a Master's Degree in Administrative Leadership from the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. Like Galaviz, Perez saw higher education as a pathway to promotion and higher pay (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).

Perez was one of first Latinos assigned to investigate and gather intelligence on Latino gangs for MPD, however during his 25 years with the MPD Perez was assigned to the violent crimes unit and homicide unit. Perez received extensive training in the area of gang investigations; he became recognized as an expert on gangs both in federal and state courts on

Latino Gangs (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013). Perez retired as a Deputy Inspector of Police in the MPD.

Perez is of Mexican American descent, however he identified himself as Mexican, and his Mexican identity was very important to him. He was six years old when his parents moved to Milwaukee in 1964. However, his parents decided not to teach him Spanish. Not speaking Spanish would become an issue throughout his policing career in MPD. Perez was hired after the Consent Decree settlement between the Department of Justice, League of Martin and the City of Milwaukee in 1984. Perez said he suffered backlash from white officers since he was hired under the consent decree. During field training, his field-training officer told him he was hired because he was Hispanic and he should feel ashamed of himself because he could not even speak Spanish (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).

Oscar Perez was assigned to the gang unit in 1983. He was one of four Latino officers assigned to the gang unit. The creation of the MPD gang unit had two important impacts on Latino officers: it created more opportunities for promotion, but it also provided a quota system. There was a need for officers who spoke Spanish, maybe two or four; once that need was met, the opportunities would end because there was more need for Spanish speaking officers. It was not a formal quota system, but it was a quota system. Perez stressed that the approach Latino officers were taking in dealing with the gang problem was to reach out both the Latino community as well as the gang members in trying to prevent gang violence. According to Perez, this conflicted with the suppression philosophy of the MPD, but he said that Latino gang officers were building trust within the Latino community (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).

In 2001, Arthur Jones promoted Oscar Perez to Deputy Inspector, and he recalls that Jones was intrigued by the methodologies developed by the Boston Police Department in reducing juvenile crime. In the 1990s, Boston had had a significant decrease in their juvenile homicide rate. Jones wanted to build trust within the community, “He was a big believer in allowing public presence; he was sincere. He wanted to build trust; he was attempting to connect the dots with those in the community that had a stake, and you know key stakeholders (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).” Perez’s view on Chief Jones is that Jones wanted the police and community to work together to address the crime issues.

As part of Chief Jones’ command staff, Perez and a few command officers went to Boston with Jones to study what Boston was doing to reduce their juvenile homicide rate. According to Perez, Boston was connecting the dots, connecting all their resources, utilizing key stakeholders, police, probation and parole, community prosecutors (both state and county), business owners, educators, and church leaders; they would form teams. Teams would go to the high-crime areas and go door to door, where they had the highest number of juvenile fatalities and identify the causation factor. According to Perez, the teams understood, “that there were a lot of individuals who were being put back in a position of vulnerability and what they did is they went into an area. They recognized where the dysfunction was, and they addressed it through key stakeholders (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).”

Perez said teams in Boston left no stone unturned; consequently, Chief Jones initiated his own program in Milwaukee. Jones initiated the Community Safety Coalition; members of the Milwaukee Police Department met with faith-based organizations and “hit the ground running (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).” According to Perez, there was resistance from “white officers,” to community policing because they did not respect Jones’ position as Chief of

Police, they felt Jones had been promoted through Affirmative Action lawsuits. Perez felt Jones had automatically lost credibility with many of the white officers because of the lawsuits. “The Chief had a big heart as it related to the community, and that’s what he wanted to have a positive impact on (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).” Perez said the Police Department embarked on the Community Safety Coalition (CSC) program; one project was the Metcalf area, he worked closely with a pastor of the Baptist Memorial Church. Metcalf was predominantly African American and according to Perez, Metcalf had at their disposal a “tremendous resource base and federal funds when they could implement these strategic approaches” and the Metcalf area eventually saw a reduction of homicides (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013). The CSC program was a partnership between the MPD and various stakeholders in the community, similar to the Boston program. The stakeholders could be spiritual leaders, community based organizations, and the MPD was working with community leaders and organizers within the Metcalf neighborhood in Milwaukee. There is a high concentration of African Americans living in this area, so CSC was directed at the African American community.

In Perez’s opinion, the police department was utilizing all resources available, working with different groups to address what they identified as high crime areas in the community. According to Perez, the Coalition was strong and seeing a positive impact in crime reduction. However, a new chief, Nannette Hegerty was appointed Police Chief of MPD in 2003, and she did not see a need for the Coalition. Hegerty believed resources could be better spent using more police officers in high crime areas, making more arrests. According to Perez, Hegerty was using a more aggressive approach to policing the Metcalf area. Perez claimed that within the first year of the Coalition being disbanded, there was a realization there had been a reduction in homicides and that

Jones' community policing approach had worked (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).

Perez was asked about the criticism of community policing, which was when meeting with the public police are more apt to dictate than to listen. Perez replied:

Yes, absolutely, I think it starts with the front line supervisor, and it starts with those that are being mentors to young officers. If you are taught up through the ranks and involved in a police culture where you are trying to develop a relationship and a reputation among older officers, which were at many times predominantly white officers. I think the typical response by most officers is to try to emulate and try to become respected by those officers, but at the same time learning bad police approaches (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).

Perez was addressing the police subculture where younger officers learn from older officers. One of the problems with the implementation of community oriented policing was the resistance of older officers. Although MPD trained all officers in community oriented policing there was resistance to the strategy, however Latinos within the NLPOA embraced the strategy as well as members of the League of Martin.

Perez felt that currently police officers in Milwaukee are not taught how to go out and "reach out to the community," "you know it's my way or the highway. "You see it when an officer thinks he can punch a handcuffed individual on the ground, and someone who denies medical attention to someone who is obviously suffering in the back of a squad car; I mean right now the Milwaukee Police Department is being looked at by the U.S. Attorney's Office (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013)."

Perez was also an original member of the NLPOA. On why he joined the Association, Perez joined because when he was hired there were only a few Latino police officers on the Milwaukee Police Department and noticed that there was “institutional bias” within the MPD against minorities. The Department was mostly white officers and one of the ways he saw that would open opportunities for him was to join the Association, he was able to get his voice heard. Perez stressed the NLPOA mechanisms allowed him to interact with chiefs of police, politicians, local, city, and federal government officials. The NLPOA provided networking opportunities with other high-ranking Latinos from other police departments, was able to meet with politicians and other federal officials, which increased his profile and value within law enforcement (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).

Oscar Perez was one of the Latinos that benefited under Chief Jones’ administration; he rose from the rank of Lieutenant of Detectives from 1996 to Deputy Inspector of Police in 2001, which was three ranks. Perez’s quick rise under Jones made him a target in a reverse discrimination lawsuit filed by 17 white male Lieutenants within MPD. The case was decided in 2005 however the white males alleged that they were by-passed for promotion to by Chief Jones who promoted less qualified minorities, the case *Alexander v City of Milwaukee*, 2007 WL 114791 (7th Cir. 2007), the jury decided for the white males.

Regarding the lawsuit, Perez said that he when he was promoted to Lieutenant of Detectives he was told by white officers that he was promoted because he was Mexican. When he was promoted to Captain, a white male (who had been his partner and had christened his daughter) told him that he was going to fight his promotion. His former partner told him, “No offense Oscar, but we are going to present a lawsuit to prevent you from getting promoted to captain because you don’t deserve it (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).” Perez also said that when he

was promoted to Deputy Inspector, another white male that he considered his friend was quoted in the newspaper as saying that Perez did not deserve the promotion to Deputy Inspector (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).

Perez was a socially oriented police officer. Starting with his assignments to the gang units where he was trying to reach out to community leaders to help reduce the gang problem to his embracing of the community policing strategy. Perez, however, was not a softy on crime; he had received 72 meritorious arrests. Meritorious arrests are awarded to officers that are not dispatched to a felony crime, but who on their own, through their own initiative make an arrest. Perez career included gang crimes, undercover narcotics investigations, as well as homicide investigations. Ultimately, Chief Jones like Arreola had promoted Latinos, African Americans and female officers to command ranks. In Oscar's case, he had educated himself and had worked high-risk assignments, the claim of lack of qualification highlighted the racial divide within the MPD. A constant issue for was the fact though he was a Latino he did not speak Spanish, there were many Latinos that did not speak Spanish in MPD, but for Perez it became a recurring theme throughout his career. White officers would constantly bring that up to Perez throughout his career, there was an expectation by white officers that Latinos speak Spanish that is why they were hired. Perez was not a bleeding heart, but he saw and experienced racism first hand, the NLPOA was the vehicle that allowed him to go from Blue to Brown.

Moises Gomez

Moises Gomez, a retired detective, was hired by the MPD in 1981, after dropping out of Marquette University. Gomez attended Marquette for two years before dropping out. Gomez grew up on Milwaukee's near Southside, what would be considered the Latino neighborhood, near So. 6th Street and W. National Ave. Gomez was born in Mexico and moved to Milwaukee

in 1960, where he attended Vieau Elementary School and Boys Technical High School both located close to So. 4th Street and W. National Ave (M. Gomez, personal communication, October 15, 2013).

Upon graduating from the Milwaukee Police Academy, he was assigned District Two, located in the 200 block of W. Lincoln Ave, the Southside, which has a large Latino population. He worked as a uniform patrol officer at District Two for approximately 11 years. According to Gomez, his first seven years were “very uneasy”; he felt discriminated against because he was not assigned a squad in the Latino area. He was assigned to squads that patrolled the Southern part of the district that had a large white population (M. Gomez, personal communication, October 15, 2013).

During his tenure as a patrol officer, he often heard white officers use the term wetback when referring to Latinos. Gomez stated that the term was used to refer to all Latino groups; it did not matter if they were Mexican, Cuban, or Puerto Rican. White officers joked about the Latinos who were arrested, he did not think it was funny, however, he did not say anything, and in the 1980s, police officers used the term “wetback” loosely (M. Gomez, personal communication, October 15, 2013).

Gomez stated that by 1988 he became frustrated he had not been assigned to a squad that patrolled the Latino area. He kept being sent to interpret for non-Spanish-speaking officers; however, when he asked for the direct squad assignment, he was denied (M. Gomez, personal communication, October 15, 2013).

Gomez approached a “particular” sergeant regarding the squad assignment sometime around 1988 or 1989; he told the sergeant he believed he would be more useful to the department working Latino neighborhoods due to his fluency in Spanish. The sergeant replied he would be

assigned accordingly, the response did not bother him, but the tone of voice the sergeant used to reply did. In 1988, Gomez decided to take a stand and decided not to translate for any other officer. He said that translation was not part of his job description. He spoke Spanish for his own assignments, but did not serve as a translator (M. Gomez, personal communication, October 15, 2013). One of the issues with translating was the officer acting as translator would wind up inheriting the assignment in addition to what he or she were already doing. Gomez was not the only officer who was experiencing this extra workload. I was in the same situation, except I was able to leverage the situation to my advantage. I had been given those assignments that Gomez was referring to; however, I had gone through a divorce and the extra assignments meant extra pay.

Gomez felt since he was doing work not required of other officers, which would lead to an increased workload that he should be compensated for that extra work. The ability to speak a second language was not part of the qualifications needed for MPD as such he felt that he should be like other officers and have a translator available if needed.

Although many Spanish-speaking officers felt like Gomez he was the only one to take a stand, Gomez refused to do any further translations, Gomez was “written up” for disobeying an order from a supervisor.¹⁵ Gomez was suspended ten days without pay, and he hired a lawyer to fight the suspension in 1991 (M. Gomez, personal communication, October 15, 2013).

According to Gomez his case was mishandled by the Milwaukee Police Association. The MPA was supposed to handle Gomez’s appeal of the charges and suspension. The union had ten days to request arbitration, but according to Gomez, the union did not file the necessary paper

¹⁵ The term “written up” refers to the writing up of charges against police officers. The officer is then faced with departmental discipline which can include suspension without pay or dismissal from the police department.

work in time and his suspension stood. That is when he hired an attorney to fight the charges (M Gomez, personal communication, October 15, 2013).

Gomez initially threaten to sue the MPA, however, the union agreed to cover the legal cost and were taken off the lawsuit. Gomez, a member of the NLPOA, approached the NLPOA president, José Luis López to help with legal fees. According to Gomez, some officers within the NLPOA wanted to support him, but López felt the organization did not have enough money, and did not think Gomez could win the lawsuit. López decided not to get the NLPOA involved and Gomez “cut ties” with the Association (M. Gomez, personal communication, October 15, 2013).

Luis Gonzalez, also a member of the NLPOA, recalled that the NLPOA was unable to support Gomez financially because it was newly organized. The NLPOA did not have the money available to support Gomez, however Gomez used the Association’s attorney Peter Earle and he, Gonzalez filed an affidavit with the court in support of Gomez (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

Gomez’s claim in the lawsuit was only Spanish-speaking officers were required to translate and that this was “burdensome” because it required the officers to leave their assigned area, resulted in additional report writing which increased the Latino officer’s workload compared to non-Latinos; the Latino officer is not credited with the arrest. Credit for arrest was a sign of an officer’s productivity and could lead to desirable assignment as well as consideration for promotion. According to Gomez, it created a disincentive to allow Spanish-speaking officer’s assignment to the gang unit, crime prevention unit or senior citizen unit in order to keep officers on patrol duty available for translation duty and Non-Latino Spanish-speaking officers were never required to provide translation services (State of Wisconsin 91-C-0108).¹⁶

¹⁶ I would disagree with this point, rather than preventing officers from assignment to those duties to make them available for street patrol, it is my view that this created a quota system. Each of those units had Spanish-speaking

According to court records, Gomez and other Latino officers in District Two police station had agreed not to provide translation services as required by the Milwaukee Police Department (State of Wisconsin 91-C-0108). Gomez informed Sgt. Erdman he would no longer provide translation services and on the July 27, 1988, a request was made to Gomez and Officer Augustine Molina for both officers to provide translation service, both officers refused. The officers were then confronted by a Sergeant Hoff as to why they would not translate and they informed Sergeant Hoff that they had already informed Sergeant Erdman of their refusal to provide any further translation. The officers also told the sergeant they both felt that the policy was unlawful (State of Wisconsin 91-C-0108). Sergeant Hoff threatened to remove them from their squad assignments if they continued to refuse to perform translation duties. Consequently, on August 5, 1988 Gomez was a one-man squad that patrolled outside of the Latino community (State of Wisconsin 91-C-0108).

According to the police dispatcher Dennis Ludka, he phoned Sergeant Hoch because he had a robbery assignment that required Spanish-speaking officers. Hoch told him to dispatch Squad 24, the squad Gomez was assigned; he told the dispatcher Gomez would likely refuse to translate, but he was to “ordered to take it” (State of Wisconsin 91-C-0108).

Sergeant Hock was aware that a different officer, Armando Quinones was working that night and Quinones would voluntarily do the translation. According to the record on the affidavits filed by both Gomez and Quinones, both were of the view that Hock ordered the dispatcher to give Gomez the assignment to provoke a confrontation. Hock also admitted that he insisted on giving Gomez the assignment (State of Wisconsin 91-C-0108).

officers assigned; however, there were only a certain number of spots available once the Spanish –speaking slots were filled it excluded other Spanish-speaking officers.

Upon locating the location of the robbery, Gomez was informed by a bilingual individual that the victim did not speak English and the assignment was not a robbery, but a theft by trick that had occurred a week earlier. Gomez proceeded to Hoch's office to inform him the call was not an emergency, but a theft that had occurred a week earlier. Gomez informed Hock the assignment would require a Spanish-speaking officer and he was not the MPD's official translator. Hoch became angry and ordered him to take the assignment; Gomez informed him that he would take the assignment if he were provided with a translator. Hoch ordered Gomez to return to the location of the assignment and Officer Quinones would meet him at the location to provide translation services. The court records indicate that Gomez never refused to take the assignment, that he never denied being bilingual, records also indicated that Quinones provided the translation services for Gomez (State of Wisconsin 91-C-0108).

On August 5, 1988, Sergeant Hoch wrote a report seeking disciplinary action against Gomez writing "What good does it do to have Spanish speaking officers in predominantly Spanish neighborhoods when they refuse to converse with them in Spanish." Hock also recommended that Gomez be assigned to areas where he had no contact with Spanish-speaking people (State of Wisconsin 91-C-0108).

Gomez indicated that his wife is Mexican American, but does not speak Spanish; she tried to discourage him from pursuing the matter because they had two children and she was afraid he would lose his job. Gomez stated, "The issue with me was about what was right and what was wrong and I thought the police department was wrong, I thought my wife was wrong because she was encouraging me not to follow through with it (M. Gomez, personal communication, October 15, 2013)." Gomez indicated he had to make a point otherwise it would

never stop; it was very stressful for him. However, in the end, he was happy because the city settled with him (M .Gomez, personal communication, October 15, 2013).

The City of Milwaukee settled with Gomez in 1992. Because of the settlement, Gomez was awarded \$18,000, for back wages and personal injuries. The decision required that MPD and the Fire and Police Commission seal all records relating to disciplinary actions against Gomez. Chief Philip Arreola, City of Milwaukee and the Fire and Police Commission agreed to “solicit qualified volunteers to provide translation services from among all currently employed police officers (State of Wisconsin 91-C-0108).” The department was to have a roster of volunteers who were to provide translation services, the department would compensate these officers “pursuant to collective bargaining agreements” (State of Wisconsin 91-C-0108), however, nothing prevented the chief from requiring qualified officers to perform translation duties in case of an emergency (State of Wisconsin 91-C-0108).

The result of the Gomez lawsuit was police officers providing transplantation services were paid \$1.00 per hour while performing translation services. From 1992, when the agreement was reached, until my retirement in 2006, the Milwaukee Police Association did not make an effort to bargain for a pay increase for translation services. Once the agreement was made, other officers were eligible for translation pay; Spanish was not the only foreign language that was spoken in Milwaukee. There was a large Serbian population in the city and an influx of Russian immigrants was starting to migrate into the city, sign language also qualified as needing translation pay. An interesting point to the translation incident was the MPD never required a language proficiency test.¹⁷

¹⁷ While in the U.S. Army, I carried a linguist classification in Spanish and I was required to take a proficiency exam twice during my six years of active duty.

In summary, the translation fight indicated that Latino Officers in the MPD helped forge new policies by contesting current practices. This led to some hostilities between Latino and non-Latino officers and MPD administration. However, after the lawsuit was settled, the permanent policy on translation benefitted all bilingual officers. The translation conflict also demonstrated that conflicts in the department over policies had the effect of pulling Latinos out of the “blue shield” of the department, as did the community policing strategy.

Luis Gonzalez

Luis Gonzalez, an MPD Sergeant from Killeen, Texas, joined MPD in 1985 and retired in 2010. I interviewed Gonzalez at his home, in Killeen, Texas where he returned once he retired from MPD. Gonzalez moved to Waukesha, Wisconsin at the age of 19 and was doing foundry work when he applied for a job with both the Wisconsin Department of Justice (DOJ), and the MPD. He was hired by the DOJ as an agent. However, two weeks after he was hired by DOJ he received a call from the MPD informing him he was selected. Gonzales selected MPD because it paid better and he felt that it had more opportunities for advancement (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

Gonzalez had a high school education when he was hired by the MPD, by the time he retired; he had started to work on his master’s degree. Gonzales joined the NLPOA in 1988 at its inception. He joined because he had experienced racism all his life and he experienced racism within the MPD (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012). As an example of what he perceived to be racism, white officers told him, the only reason he was hired was that he was Mexican. He realized that there was a Consent Decree in place, but he had not expected this reaction. While he was working as a police officer, he recalled that he was told by a white officer just to sit in the squad car, not say anything, and not to touch the squad car microphone.

Although rookie officers were often told not to touch the microphone in squad cars and not say anything, Gonzalez felt it was also due to racism. He remembers thinking to himself, “How can you be carrying a gun and protect the community and have this type of attitude (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012)?”

Regarding the question of identity, Gonzalez’s paternal grandparents were born in Texas; his maternal grandparents were born in Mexico. He was born in Texas and was fully assimilated to the American culture. He experienced racism growing up in Texas and that surprised him because he was going to school with Anglos, he stressed he was growing up with “them,” however he felt that the racism showed up when he was competing with “them” for jobs (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012).¹⁸

Regarding racism within the MPD towards members of Milwaukee Latino community, Gonzales said he saw some differential treatment toward Latinos. When asked to clarify what he meant with differential, he stated when it came to the area of police discretion, the letter of the law was usually applied to Latinos even for minor infractions. I asked Gonzalez if he treated Latinos differently, especially with racial profiling. He stated, “No, if anything I was more lenient on Latinos and the reason being there were numerous opportunities, especially when there’s impromptu celebrations going on for Cinco de Mayo, September 16th, when you could have just loaded up and packed up the jails with violations and stuff like that but you didn’t. You warned them and you let them go and you told them not to come back so I was more lenient if you ask me than what was harsh (L. Gonzales, personal communication, December 26, 2012).”¹⁹

Gonzalez was elected parliamentarian, then vice president, and he held the position of president

¹⁸ Gonzalez was referring to white Americans when using the word them.

¹⁹ The Mexican and Mexican American community celebrate Mexican Independence Day and Cinco de Mayo in Milwaukee’s Southside with parades as well as festivities held in local parks.

and went back to vice president of the Association before retiring from MPD (L. Gonzales, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

Gonzalez became an important fixture under Chief Nannette Hegerty's administration when he was appointed as a Liaison with the Latino community. There had been a series of incidents under Chief Jones, a drug raid on a popular Mexican grocery store and what appeared to be heavy-handed police reaction to Latinos celebrating Mexican Independence Day, an impromptu parade took place in Milwaukee's Southside in September of 2000. The result of these incidents was tension between the Latino community and the MPD. Gonzalez had a dual role, he was a member of the NLPOA as well as a representative of the MPD, and both roles seemed to blend.

As a president of the NLPOA, Gonzalez was very active with Latino organizations such as The Wisconsin Hispanic Chamber of Commerce and the Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship Foundation, otherwise known as Mexican Fiesta. Gonzalez was a board member of the Wisconsin Scholarship Foundation.

Another important contribution that Gonzalez made to the Latino community as a member of the NLPOA, which in my view is under appreciated, is his vision to move the NLPOA into the political arena. According to Gonzalez, he saw the ouster of Phillip Arreola as political move. He was aware of the politics surrounding the appointment of police chiefs in Milwaukee and realized that Latinos, especially the NLPOA, had to be involved in politics. Gonzalez moved to form a political action committee within the Milwaukee NLPOA and he became active in political campaigns. Gonzalez over all was aware of the racial divides within MPD and the NLPOA facilitated his breaking away from blue, it provided the protection of the organization to allow him to be Brown.

Ruben Burgos

Ruben Burgos was hired by the MPD on July of 1979. Burgos is Mexican American and he grew up in Milwaukee's near Southside. Burgos graduated from Notre Dame High School in 1979, and secured a position as a police aid in the MPD that same year (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012). The police aid program takes teens, 18–19 years of age into the police department. The applicants pass a written and physical agility test. Those that pass the exam are employed within the MPD as either clerks or assistants in other divisions. They are paid to attend Milwaukee Technical College to study Criminal Justice and upon turning 21 years of age, they will automatically be placed in the next available police recruit class without further testing. Interestingly, Burgos has long ties to the Latino community in Milwaukee. Burgos' grandfather, Federico Herrera (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012), came to Milwaukee in 1925 and co-founded Circulo Social de Amigos in 1930, and founded the first Spanish language newspapers in Milwaukee, *Sancho Panza* and *Boletín Informativo* (Rodriguez and Sava, 2006, p. 11).

Burgos graduated from the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee in 1986 with a Bachelor's degree in Criminal Justice and from Springfield College School of Human Service, Milwaukee Campus with a degree in Organizational Management. He served for eight years in the U.S. Naval Reserve as an Intelligence Officer. Burgos retired from the MPD in April of 2013 and has worked at The University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee as a Lecturer (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).

When interviewed, Burgos stated that he had not experienced racism until he came on MPD. When asked to give an example, he said that when he was first got hired as a police officer he was doing clerical work and he frequently heard from whites that he was “a credit to his

race.” Burgos remembers asking himself, “What kind of compliment is that?” He also recalls hearing anti-black remarks and wondering, “What are they saying about Hispanics when I’m not around (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012)?”

Among his many assignments, Burgos remembers having security duty for the Jeffery Dahmer scene. He was assigned to patrol wagon duty and he had to convey the body parts to the medical examiner’s office (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).

Burgos was also one of the early members of the NLPOA; however, he remembers that prior to the 1989 organizing of the NLPOA, Nick Sandoval had tried to organize about 25 to 30 Latino officers. However, that attempt to organize did not succeed. Burgos felt that Sandoval was advocating a militant approach and that did not go over well with the Latino officers. The NLPOA was more professional, he recalls meeting with López, a Milwaukee Sheriff’s Deputy. According to Burgos, López’s approach with the NLPOA was about “education, leadership and advocacy not so much militancy.” The other point that López had stressed regarding the NLPOA was that it was a national organization and there was strength in numbers (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).

Burgos said that white officers told him that his membership in the NLPOA would affect his career that he would not be promoted, and he would not get the assignments that he wanted. He was told if the NLPOA was like the League of Martin in advocacy, it would negatively affect his career. Despite the warnings, Burgos chose to join the NLPOA and remain active with the organization. Burgos feels that early in his career that it might have affected his career, but eventually he was promoted to Lieutenant of Detectives within MPD (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).

Burgos said that as president of the NLPOA, they had been advocating for Latino officers making sure they are acknowledged by the MPD when they do a good job. The NLPOA had been working recruitment booths for the MPD, making sure that Latinos are recruited into MPD. Under Chief Arreola, the NLPOA was involved in helping promote community-oriented policing (COP) in the Latino community. One example of what the NLPOA was doing to help promote COP under Chief Arreola was going to the high schools, like South Division High School in Milwaukee's Southside and talking to the students. According to Burgos, South Division had a high concentration of Latino students, and the relationship with the students was not good.

Burgos and the NLPOA were involved with the MPD in developing a citizen's police academy in Spanish, to include translating all the classroom materials in Spanish for the citizen's academy. According to Burgos, the NLPOA worked very close with Chief Arreola's administration to include doing gun buy backs in the Latino community. Members of the NLPOA manned booths for the gun buy backs, giving \$50.00 to every person who brought in a gun, no questions asked.

Under Chief Jones, he and the other members of the NLPOA were appointed to committees in MPD. Burgos was involved in rewriting MPD Special Operation Procedures (SOPs) as well as the MPD mission statement. Further, Burgos said he traveled to the West Bend Police Department as well as the St. Francis Police Department to help with issues they were having with the Latino community.

Burgos said that the NLPOA was very involved in advocacy for the Latino community not only in Milwaukee, but also throughout the state of Wisconsin. The NLPOA met with the ACLU at their meetings, and with the *Voces de la Frontera*, explaining why police take certain actions. It should be noted that police officers or police departments do not generally meet with

the ACLU or groups like *Voces de la Frontera*. Voces is an advocacy group that advocates for undocumented workers (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).

Burgos said that under Chief Hegerty there were no real problems, but there was not any real working relationship with her administration. Burgos also said that he had a conversation with the current police chief Edward Flynn before retiring and he told Flynn that the department had racist policies and the chief seemed to be surprised. Burgos was not around long enough to see the results of the conversation because he retired on April 2013.

Burgos feels proud of the accomplishments of the NLPOA. During the interview in 2012 he pointed out the MPD had 230 officers of Latino descent (the 2012 MPD demographics has 227 listed), an Assistant Chief that is half Puerto Rican. MPD also had an Assistant Chief that was half-Dominican and Latinos spread throughout the ranks in MPD. Having Latinos in the MPD is important according to Burgos, so that members within the Latino community see people like them in the MPD and are able to understand their language and culture (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).

Burgos' experience with racism within the MPD drove him from the blue shield to a Brown identity. Despite warnings that his advocacy for the Latino community would cost him his career, instead of retreating, he got more involved with the Latino community. Burgos pursued a graduate degree, and was promoted to Lieutenant of Detectives and would become president of the NLPOA. He forged strong relationships with the Latino community.

Burgos identifies the need for leadership, changing the image of the Latino officer into a leader. In deciding to join the NLPOA, the key was education, training and preparing for leadership roles; Burgos was able to articulate the transformation of not only identifying with the

Latino community “going to Brown,” but also transforming the image of the Latino officer, to that of a leader.

Conclusion

Although the interviews conducted are limited in sample, it is important to acknowledge the sensitivity of the topic. Many Latino officers did not want to be interviewed. The influence of the subculture was so strong that even after retirement; the officers did not want to discuss the race issues within the MPD. In retrospect, it took a lot of courage for these Latino officers to break away from the “Blue Shield.” These officers were Latino and African American, although they agreed that there were problems, they felt that they would lose friendships within the department. Many retirees still gather for reunions and that bond of the subculture is still important.

Aside from being Latinos there were many differences among the Latino police officers I interviewed, one was Puerto Rican, (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013) and he came from a family of social activist, the others were Mexican, male, except for one female who had different Latino heritages. Some had college, others did not, and two went on to pursue advance degrees. Among the interviewees, all with the exception of Sandoval saw the need to get socially involved in some form with the NLPOA and felt that there were racial problems between the Latino community and the MPD.

Sandoval was a part of the first wave; he was the first Latino hired at MPD. He stressed that he did not see any overt racism directed towards himself. The white officers could have simply accepted him, because they felt that he might have passed the test without any court order. The following group, or the second wave, was hired because of the 1974 lawsuit filed by the League of Martin, consequently leading to the Consent Decree. White officers reacted

negatively towards these Latino officers. The new hires were also educated and grew up in the era of the civil rights, so these Latino officers were aware of their options to respond to the racism. Thus, they banded together to join the NLPOA, and moved closer to their Latino identity.

Those officers who agreed to be interviewed for this study were willing to discuss the issue openly and had no problem being identified, as they were passionate about their views. The Latino officers who were selected had successfully navigated the race issues and obstacles and were successful in their police careers. They furthered their education, but the result of their experience —with the backlash of racism — was to move from blue to brown. All these officers with the exception of Sandoval saw the need to organize; however, they also realized that they needed to be well educated and well trained, this was the message that the NLPOA had and this was what attracted them to this organization. These Latino officers saw the importance of the role of community oriented policing in developing good relationship with the Latino community. It is important to note that these officers were not what would be considered “bleeding hearts,” these officers worked the high risk assignments, but had also witnessed the unfair treatment of Latinos by MPD and decided to take action.

The questions remains, why did Sandoval feel that he did not face discrimination? Again, this is only my view, but like most other cities, such as Los Angeles and Houston that had a growing Latino population, Milwaukee’s Latino population was growing, and there was a need for Latino officers to patrol this growing community. Sandoval was good at what he did, but he was the first and there were not that many Latino officers, they did not pose a threat to white officers for advancement and his was needed to work a growing Latino community in Milwaukee. As the numbers grew, the competition grew and Latinos became a threat to white

officers not only in promotion, but also because of how they treated members of the Latino community.

Finally, these officers took the initiative on their own to reach out and confront racism, not only not only within MPD, but also confronted racial biases within law enforcement in Milwaukee, breaking with the police subculture, moving from blue to brown.

Not all Latinos joined the NLPOA, some were not interested, others simply identified with the police subculture and not with the Latino identity. Some Latino officers who joined moved in and out of the organization, some Latino officers joined to work within the Latino community or felt it could help them be promoted. Some officers who joined later dropped out when they had to take a stance that was in line with the police union's views.

Although the first wave worked well within the MPD, they were not involved within the Latino community, other than policing it. The second wave became more involved with community-police relations through the NLPOA. Another underlying trend was that the Latinos were changing their image, they were taking the lead in the community, changing their image, and becoming leaders; Latinos within MPD were starting to change their image to leaders both from within the MPD and the Latino community.

CHAPTER 5

LATINO OFFICERS AND THE LATINO GANG PROBLEM

Latinos in MPD Take the Lead in Police-Community Relations

This section argues that Latino officers increased their power within the MPD by taking the lead in improving MPD-Latino community relations to fight the rise of Latino gangs in Milwaukee. The Latino police officers in MPD had necessary community contacts to fight the gang infiltration. However, in the process some Latino officers were viewed with suspicion from other members of the MPD, because of their attempts to reach out both to the Latino community as well as build rapport with Latino gang members, going from “Blue” to “Brown.”

The growth of Latino gangs in Milwaukee occurred in the late 1970s; African American gangs also developed during the same time. One of the reasons is that the early African American gangs and Latino gangs had ties to Chicago, the Latin Kings and Spanish Cobras, who were rivals, had an alliance with Chicago People and Folk gangs. The Spanish Cobras considered themselves a Folk umbrella and the Latin Kings a People umbrella group. The Chicago gangs had united under two groups in the Illinois prison system, one group referred to themselves as Folks the other as People. The alliance then spread to the streets of Chicago; subsequently, when the Chicago based gangs spread to Milwaukee, the same alliance followed.

The alliance is similar to the Bloods and Crips alliances of the California gangs. Problems arose in Milwaukee Latino gangs when the California Mexican/Mexican American gangs arrived. These gangs were allied with groups calling themselves Norteño and Sureños causing further conflicts and confusing with the Chicago based Latino gangs in Milwaukee.

Opposing Philosophies on Handling Milwaukee's Gang Problem

On June 10, 1979, the MPD formed a Gang Crimes unit in a response to a growing gang problem in Milwaukee (Manzke and Guajardo, 1998). The first units were in the form of temporary units. The African American officers investigated the African American gangs, while Latino officers investigated Latino gangs and White officers teamed up with both Latino and African American officers. Detective Procopio Sandoval was the lead investigator assigned to work the Latino gangs (P. Sandoval, personal communication, November 7, 2012).

The mission of the gang unit was to gather intelligence on the gangs, as well as to function as a suppressing unit. The gang unit would interview gang members regarding their gang affiliation, as well as keep records of individual gang members and their activities. Part of the intelligence was to document their members and the by-laws, as well as their criminal activity. The suppression involved identifying the areas they frequented, monitoring their movements and disrupting of illegal activity, as well as investigation of gang-related criminal activity.

There was a conflict of philosophy when it came to investigating the gangs. Since the unit was formed under Chief Harold Breier, prior to the implementation of Community Oriented Policing (COP) philosophy coming to the MPD, the unit was concentrating on suppression; the number of arrests and tickets issued against gang members measured success. Once Chief Arreola took office, he invoked a community-oriented policing agenda. This resulted in a culture shift in policing to include dealing with gang members, and changing the suppression culture within the MPD was difficult.

Katz and Webb's 2007 *Policing Gangs in America* note that in order to deal with the gang problems, communities formed gang units "within their police departments" (Katz and Webb, 2007, p. 69). The gang units were supposed to gather intelligence on gangs and prevent gang-related crimes by identifying gang members and investigating their criminal activity. According to Katz and Webb, the gang units were intended to be "embedded in a community policing problem-solving approach to policing" (Katz-Webb, 2007, p. 69).

However, Katz and Webb argue that gang units were less supervised and structured, had poor training, and there was little integration with the community policing approach. (Katz-Webb, 2007). Milwaukee's gang crimes unit was modeled after the Chicago PD's model to policing gangs. The Chicago gang unit officers trained the MPD gang officers in how to investigate Chicago based gangs (L Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012). Traditionally, MPD's gang unit's goal was suppression and gang crimes officers were measured on their activity, which included traffic citations as well as arrests. The COP approach was attempting to solve problems, which caused a conflict with the command structure, who saw arrests and traffic citations as a measure of success.¹

¹ This was a point of conflict between a white lieutenant and myself. A white lieutenant made a command to me that gang unit officers had a high number of felony arrest. I simply asked how many homicides did they prevent, I was more concerned with preventing delinquent acts than putting people in prison

Latino Officers Built Trust with the Latino Community and Latino Gangs

In his 1984 book on Milwaukee gangs, *People and Folks*, John Hagedorn argued that one of the causes for the gang problem was job loss in the rustbelt urban communities. During his study of the Milwaukee gangs, Hagedorn was critical of the Milwaukee Police Gang Unit. One of his criticisms was that MPD had named many of the street gangs. Hagedorn also wrote the Chicago Police Department Gang Unit trained the MPD Gang Unit (Hagedorn, 1988). When asked regarding Hagedorn's views, Lenard Wells' view was that the migration of the African Americans from Chicago to Milwaukee was similar to the early migrations of African Americans from the South (he included himself). Milwaukee had been suffering from job losses and from the 1970s to the 1980s, pushing black unemployment from "28.8 in 1986" to "41.9" in 1990 (Gurda, 1999 p. 422). This probably affected Milwaukee's central city, and laid the ground work for gangs to thrive in Milwaukee. Combined with the high unemployment rate and arrival of crack cocaine (Gurda, 1999, p. 422), the timing was ripe for gangs; many of the street gangs that were formed to sold crack cocaine in the 1990s.²

In 1984, Hagedorn was working for the Social Development Commission and he gave an interview in which he estimated the number of street gangs in Milwaukee at 40 (Baner, 1984). Chief Breier was quoted as saying that Hagedorn's estimate was "a bunch of hokum (Baner, 1984)." Breier had a problem with Hagedorn's past, calling him a "revolutionary (Baner, 1984)," "Hagedorn had been active in "open house marches in the 1960s (Baner, 1967)." Hagedorn had also testified in 1967 that he had been beaten by police while being arrested and was involved in the burning of draft cards (Baner, 1984).

² I had been recently promoted detective of police in MPD in 1992 and I was investigating several shootings on a nightly basis. The majority of the shootings were, either gang related or drug related or both. Most did not make the news simply because the victims of the shootings did not die.

Breier estimated there were “250–300 hard core gang members” (compared to Hagedorn’s 40) while stating that the Milwaukee Police Department Gang Squad had made 6,579 arrests since being organized in 1982 (Baner, 1984). Although Breier recognized that there were gang problems, again he was of the mindset that the police department would end the gang problem through suppression.

According to Wells, the migration from Chicago brought the gangs into Milwaukee. At the time of the migration in the late 1970s, Jeff Ford was the head of the Gangster Disciples in Chicago. Both the Black Gangsters under Ford as well as the Vice Lords also out of Chicago incorporated many of the Milwaukee gangs under their umbrella (L. Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012). The problem with trying to get a handle with the early gang problem was that there were several layers to the problem. The established gangs from Chicago like the Vice Lords and the other African American gangs were into the illegal drug trade. When they arrived in Milwaukee, they attracted juveniles that were in middle school and high school. These juveniles were involved in gang fights over turf and other rivalries. The juvenile gangs were committing crimes of opportunity: street robberies, and burglaries. There were occasional shootings, but most of the early activity revolved around street robberies, expensive jackets, and tennis shoes. The MPD gang units, as well as other social services, were involved in dealing with the juvenile gang problems, which allowed the older gang members to operate almost unnoticed until the body count started to add up.

Oscar Perez was assigned to the MPD gang unit in 1983; he was one of four officers assigned to the gang unit. He worked primarily Latino gangs, Perez stressed that at the time there was no template for investigating Latino gangs. In the 1970s, Latino gang members migrated to Milwaukee from Chicago, California and other Southwestern states. Perez said much of what the

early MPD gang unit was doing was attempting to develop a “philosophical approach” to deal with the gang situation in a way to meet community needs that resulted from gang activity (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).

The early gang unit’s approach to investigating gang crimes and gathering information was also preventive. One of the unit’s approaches to the situation involved developing rapport with the gang members. Prevention of violence was important; there was a need not only to identify gang members but also to control their acts of violence within the community. One of the benefits of developing rapport with gang members is that the gang members themselves would call in to report possible gang fights, which helped prevent acts of violence within the Latino community.

The other aspect of what the early gang unit did was reach out to community centers in Latino neighborhoods with juvenile programs and prevent not only gang membership, but also attempt to get gang members to drop their gang affiliation. Because of the collaboration with the Latino community, there was also reinforcement of Latino identity; MPD officers went from “Blue” to “Brown” in their professional identity.

Oscar Perez said it was important to build rapport with both the Latino Community and gang members in order to establish a trust factor. According to Perez, two of the most important things is was to convert the intelligence to investigate gang crimes and to educate the community on the gang problem. The other goal was to deal with the gang problem from a law enforcement perspective, this included gang trends. Perez also stressed he was talking about Latino officers assigned to the gang unit, and Latino officers trust was an important factor in dealing with both the Latino community and the Latino gang members (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013). Perez said since there was no guidebook in dealing with the Milwaukee Latino gangs,

the gang unit officers had to come up with creative ways to work with the community and the police department. One method employed by the officers of the gang unit was to teach other district officers how to read gang graffiti. Gang graffiti was the newspaper of the street; gang members would mark their territory, list their gang members, as well as list any opposing gang member who was targeted for a hit. When the gangs were at war, they would write over each other's graffiti. This information was conveyed to the uniform units patrolling the gang areas to help them curb the gang violence (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).

Much has been written in academic circles regarding how police gang units collected the information; Hagedorn is among the authors who criticized the information gathering process of the MPD. This process was complex, since prior court rulings had laid down rules on how information was to be gathered. One of the most important sources of information gathering was the gang member themselves. When Perez mentioned building trust, originally the Milwaukee Latino gang members that the Milwaukee gang unit dealt with were younger juveniles and many were fringe members who were not interested in the violence, but the symbols used by the gang members attracted membership. The wearing of different colors and regalia attracted many fringe members. An example of the gang regalia is that the Latin King gang would wear black and gold clothing with their baseball caps titled to the left, while an opposing gang, Spanish Cobras would wear green and black clothing with their baseball cap titled to the right. An important factor for the gang unit was to distinguish between fringe member and the hardcore members (i.e. the gang members) who were dedicated to the gang life, to promoting violence and criminal activity.

Authors such as Duran (2008) are critical of the police response to dealing with gang members; Duran writes, "Police have supported gang enforcement tactics by adopting a

perspective that gang members are unsympathetic out of control, and in need of suppression tactics (Duran, 2008, p. 145).” Duran was also critical of the police gathering methods calling them “systematic suppression” and “legitimate profiling” (Duran, 2008, p. 149). Duran, like most activists of gang prevention specializing in the 1980s, was critical of police tactics. However, they could not stop the shooting and killings between the Latino gang members in Milwaukee’s near Southside. There were conflicting perspectives on how to deal with the Milwaukee gang problem: the law enforcement model was suppression, the activists’ model was intervention and prevention. However, both models were not the answer and the 1990s saw a mood of cooperation between suppression philosophies and prevention models of law enforcement.

Disruption through suppression became a tactic used by the Milwaukee gang unit, simply identifying the active gang member and disrupting their movements does not allow them to complete any criminal activity that they might have in mind. Most gang members self-identified, they were proud of their gang connections and wore their gang symbols proudly, making them easy to identify. Gang members were very boastful of their gang affiliations and were easy to document and identify as gang members.

Opposing gang members also provided information to the police gang unit on opposing gang members, the problem was not gathering information, rather verifying or making sure the information was accurate. Many gang members also provided false information on opposing gang members to the police. Verification came through observation and trying to get a different source to verify the information.

The major Latino gangs during the 1980s in Milwaukee’s near Southside were the Spanish Cobras, Latin Kings, Unknown Kings, and 2-1 Gang. Milwaukee’s Eastside had the

Eastside Mafioso, who had broken away from the Latin Kings; their former name was the Eastside Latin Kings. The late 1980s witnessed a number of gang homicides as well as shootings. These shootings were turf battles; however, the Latino gangs were well organized and were about to enter the drug trade.

Both the Latin Kings and the Spanish Cobras had hierarchies, as well as what was known as the pee-wees. Younger juveniles were also organized, much like the older group and it was the younger members who were about to embark in the drug trade in the 1990s.^{3 4}

Perez viewed differences on how Latino Officers and white officers within the gang unit dealt with the Latino gang members. According to Perez, one of the differences was the ability to communicate effectively and to build trust by the nature of the ethnic connection. In Perez's view, he was not sure there was that much trust between the Latino community and the white officers. Perez cites examples of working with white officers within the gang unit who did not understand how he treated the gang members. Perez treated the gang member with a level of respect given to any citizen. White officers were often was critical of him, stating that the gang members were thugs and did not deserve any respect (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).

Perez further elaborated that his building of rapport and trust with the Latino gang member was the reason he received over 72 meritorious arrests, which was unheard of within the department. Perez was clear to credit the original supervisors of the original gang unit with much

³ Information obtained from archival records of interviews with gang members. The information is in police memorandum books that were used to keep notes of various interviews with gang members.

⁴ Many of the younger gang members moved into leadership positions as older gang members were either shot or imprisoned. The availability of crack cocaine and the ease to obtain handguns helped fuel the rise of the Latino gangs in the 1990s.

of the early success of the unit. “Sergeants Barter and Saye gave the unit autonomy which led to creative solutions (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).”

There was also the political side of the gang unit; many uniform patrol supervisors (high ranking) did not support the gang unit. These supervisors wanted to disband the unit and send officers back to districts to take assignments. The gang unit was disbanded several times and reorganized, finally ending up as the Criminal Intelligence Unit; gang enforcement was deemphasized, with gang investigation duties assigned to Federal Gang task forces in the late 1990s.

Latino migration patterns also applied to the gangs. Early 1970s saw the influx of families from Chicago with connections to the Spanish Cobras. José Flores was the director of United Neighborhood Centers of Milwaukee, an initiative created by the Medical College of Wisconsin to provide funding for intervention and diversion programs dealing with gang violence in Milwaukee. He was first effort involved in gang diversion programs in 1983 as a community response to the gang problem in Milwaukee (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013).

John Hagedorn hired Flores for a gang initiative named the Youth Gang Diversion Program that was operated through the Social Development Commission. Hagedorn also hired Perry Macon and Ron Johnson to work in the program. Flores was a black belt in the martial arts and ran four martial arts schools when Hagedorn hired him. His first assignment was to work on No.1st Street and W. Burleigh Ave.; a Chicago family moved to Milwaukee from Chicago and had ties to the Spanish Cobras and he was involved in dealing with the Spanish Cobras in this area. (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013).⁵

⁵ I decided not to use the family’s name due to privacy concerns for family members not involved in gang activity.

Tension existed between the police department and the gang diversion workers regarding how to handle the gang situation. José Flores cited an example in which he had problems with two police sergeants on how to handle the gang situation (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013). Flores would not name the sergeants other than they were in charge of the gang unit.⁶

According to Flores, Chief Arreola came over to his house and had coffee with him. Arreola and Flores talked about the challenges of dealing with the gang problem. According to Flores, they were both very transparent with their views of the gang problem. Flores believed that Arreola took a close look at how the gang situation was being handled and tried to change it; he tried to connect law enforcement with the community (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013).

Flores indicated that the formation of the Social Development Commission (SDC) gang intervention program coincided with the formation of the Milwaukee Police Gang Crimes Unit. Flores also said he worked with other Latino gangs on Milwaukee's Eastside; the gangs were the Eastside Mafiosos and Eastside Gangsters. Eventually he collaborated with another gang intervention person on Milwaukee's Southside who had been involved with Latin Kings (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013). The hiring of gang members or former gang members was a common practice among SDC, which would come back to haunt them when one of these intervention specialists was gunned down by a rival gang in the 1990s.⁷

Flores' early relationship with the police was not good; there was "always a lot of tension," "it was somewhat adversarial." Flores indicated there was a lack of trust between the officers and himself. He felt like the work that the gang intervention people were doing was not

⁶ Flores was gang intervention specialists working with Latino gangs in Milwaukee.

⁷ The individual was a ranking member of the Latin Kling Gang. I had arrested this individual on several occasions. I decided not to use the person's name due to privacy concerns.

valued by the police department. “It was more so, you know my way or the highway.” Flores stressed his relationship with police department “was very weak (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013).”

One of his functions as gang intervention specialists was to respond to the scene of possible gang fights and try to intervene. If the police gang unit responded, there were some clashes between the gang unit and intervention people. The gang unit would threaten gang intervention workers with arrest for interfering with a police investigation; consequently, intervention workers would have to step aside until the gang unit finished with their response and would take over. Take over meant that they would have to find out the cause of the fight and try to prevent future altercations between the two groups. Flores viewed the relationship between MPD’s gang unit and gang prevention workers during the 1980s as “evolving” (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013). According to Flores, initially the police gang unit was “narrow minded, narrow minded in terms of, we always felt that there was more labeling (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013).” What he referred to as labeling were different terms gang unit officers used to identify juveniles involved in gang activity.

The terms were “wannabe” and “gang wannabe” (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013). During my assignments with the gang unit, the terms Flores referred to were used to differentiate the different levels of risks and gang involvement for those juveniles associated with gangs. As gang officers, there was a separation used in order to recommend to prosecutors how the different criminal cases should be handled. Often the wannabe was usually at beginning of gang involvement, and intervention and prevention was recommended. The gang unit also used the term “hardcore gang member” for a juvenile totally immersed in the gang lifestyle and

criminal prosecution was often recommended as a method of dealing with those individuals. This was often a point of conflict between the police gang unit and gang intervention workers.

According to Flores, the gang unit was targeting juveniles and labeling because of their geographical location, where they lived and how they lived, the intervention people saw this as a façade, it was not real. Flores viewed the relationship between the gang unit officers and the intervention people evolving, especially between certain officers in the gang unit (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013). In the beginning, the gang unit was very reactionary; however, certain relationships were built and in Flores' view, that relationship gradually changed. There was mutual respect, mutual acceptance of values, of what "you're doing versus what I'm doing (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013)." Flores stated there was a moment of "enlightenment" in which both sides realized they needed each other. Flores emphasized that both sides realized that "neither department or neither section, nor neither part of the equation could solve the issue or problems on their own. I think the awareness grew what I would consider the concept of community policing changes (J. Flores, personal communication, April 5, 2013)."

One of the problems in working with gang intervention specialists is that due to their role of working with the gang members they had to build trust with the gang members. White officers often grew suspicious of the gang intervention specialists. Latino officers on the other hand built a good rapport with the Latino gang intervention specialists, which often led to suspicion of the Latino officer by white police officers.

Conclusion

The early use of Latino police officers in MPD followed a familiar pattern, much like the Los Angeles Police Department between 1900 and 1930, when they hired Mexican American police officers to patrol the Mexican population (Escobar, 1999). Similarly, the Houston Police Department hired Mexican American police officers to patrol the Mexican population, these officers became known as the Latin Squad. In both, there appears to be no connection to the Latino community and in the case of the LAPD, there were complaints from the community regarding police corruption among the Mexican American. (Watson, 2005).

The influx of gangs into Milwaukee in the late 1970s produced conflict between the MPD and the Latino community as to how to deal with the gang problem. Traditionally, the MPD had taken a hard approach to gang control, that of suppression. Latino officers were used to gather information on Latino gangs. The gang intervention specialists of the Latino community were at odds with the MPD as to how to handle the Latino gangs. Latino gang officers saw the need to bridge the gap between the suppression model of the MPD and needs of the Latino gang intervention specialists. Latino gang MPD officers reached out to the Latino community in trying to solve the Latino gang problem.

Latino officers who worked in the gang unit were distrusted for reaching out to the Latino community, in particular to the Latino gang intervention specialists; some white officers did not see Latinos as upholding the blue line, and felt that they were reaching out to the Brown community. The Latino officers working the MPD gang unit shed the police subculture, and moved from “Blue” to “Brown.”

In analyzing the relationship and the outreach to the Latino gang specialist and gang members, I can speak from my own experience and relationship with these Latino officers. The

Latino officers working the gang unit saw the Latino youth in the gangs as possibly could be saved from the system; there was a sense of identity with these youth, since some of these officers identified with the “Brown” identity.

Chapter 6

NATIONAL LATINO PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION: LATINO OFFICERS ORGANIZE IN MILWAUKEE GO FROM BLUE TO BROWN

This dissertation argues that a group of Latino police officers in the MPD moved away from loyalty to the blue shield to a more independent Latino or “Brown” identity from the 1960s to the 1990s. This chapter adds to the argument by showing how Latino officers in the MPD were influenced by the rise of a national Latino police association, called the National Latino Peace Officers Association (NLPOA). The rise of the NLPOA encouraged Latino officers to identify more with their ethnic identity than with the blue shield by providing a national and local network of Latino officers and by creating a counter balance to the police union that was dominated by white officers. The reference to the LPOA versus the NLPOA is simply that in 1992 the LPOA added the word National to its name, however when first organized it was named the LPOA.

The importance of the patience and foresight of Latino activists building the social and organizational structure to address civil rights grievances during the late 1960s and 1970s cannot be overstated. It was these organizations that helped establish the NLPOA into an influential organization within the MPD and Milwaukee’s Latino community.

This chapter will begin with an analysis of the history of the NLPOA founded in California in 1972. I will then analyze the situation in the MPD, which led Latino officers to push for the creation of a Milwaukee chapter of the NLPOA. Finally, the chapter concludes with a comparison of the NLPOA in Milwaukee and Dallas where the NLPOA served as a main bargaining unit.

MPD’s adoption of the Community-Oriented Policing philosophy was a signature moment, as it allowed Latinos and African American officers to become active in the recruitment of Latinos in the MPD and in strengthening police-community relations with the MPD. The last years of the 1980s saw a change of guard politically in Milwaukee; Mayor Henry Maier stepped

down and Milwaukee elected a new Mayor in 1988, John O. Norquist. Harold Breier had retired as Milwaukee Police Chief in 1984; Robert Ziarnik, replaced Breier, who retired as Milwaukee Police Chief in 1989. Mayor Norquist had the opportunity to appoint a new police chief. Although Ziarnik had been a member of Breier's administration, he was not cut from the same cloth as Breier. Ziarnik had improved relations with the minority communities in Milwaukee; however, Norquist wanted a police chief who would implement the Community Policing Philosophy in Milwaukee.

Mayor John Norquist was looking for new blood for leadership at MPD, and was looking to hire a chief from outside the police department. Philip Arreola was selected as the Milwaukee Police Chief in 1989. Arreola had worked for the Detroit Police Department, earned a law degree and was the police chief in Port Huron, Michigan. Arreola was the first Hispanic Police Chief of the MPD (Law Enforcement News, 1996). The question of identity was brought up in my interview of retired MPD Sergeant Luis Gonzalez. Gonzalez pointed out that Arreola was half-Mexican and half Polish (Gonzalez, 2012). In interviews with the Milwaukee media, Arreola stressed that his father was born in Mexico, and he pointed out that his mother was of Polish descent. The question of identity would seem to be open to debate. As far as Milwaukee is concerned, he could be considered the first police chief with Latino ancestry and in doing research, I was unable to find any other Latino police chief of a large U.S. city during this time period.

The number of Latino police officers was starting to increase within the Milwaukee Police Department in the 1970s; however, I was unable to locate an accurate count of Latino officers throughout the 1970s. Latinos did not start to be counted as an ethnic group by the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission until the 1980s. One factor in attempting to get an

accurate count is the turnover rate. Officers are quitting or being terminated, which affects an actual count. Latino officers in the MPD were not organized either to advocate for promotions or to champion any Latino issues within the community.

Organizing the NLPOA

Latino police officers in California organized what became a national organization for Latino peace officers. These officers wanted to address both unequal policing while also challenging the promotional system for Latino officers. In 1972, two young Chicano law enforcement officers in their early twenties formed the Latino Peace Officers Association in California.¹ According to Felipe Ortiz, former President of the National Latino Peace Officers Association (NLPOA), the civil rights/migrant labor movement led by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta gave rise to numerous Latino law enforcement organizations in the early 1970s throughout California (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013). Chavez migrant labor movement helped push the Mexican American civil rights movement beyond the migrant labor camps. Chavez's impact could be felt across different areas of the Mexican American quest for equal rights to include law enforcement. The Mexican American civil rights movement gave rise to the term Chicano; however, many Mexican Americans preferred to use Mexican American so many of the different law enforcement organizations that evolved during this period used different terms to self-identify. There were also different law enforcement groups that organized, the prison guards, probation and parole officers; there was not one united front.

Vicente Calderon of the California Highway Patrol and John Parras of the Sacramento Sheriff's Department met in 1971, and held a meeting inside of a police squad car and discussed

¹ The term Chicano refers to Mexican American. It is a term that came accepted by younger Mexican Americans in the 1960s Mexican American Civil Rights Movement. Many authors used Chicano/an interchangeably with Mexican American, depending on the period that the author authored the literature.

how to form an organization that encompassed all of the Latino law enforcement groups in the state. These groups included Chicano Correctional Workers, Mexican American Police Association, La Ley and the Los Angeles Law Enforcement Association. Calderon and Parras decided to use the term Latino instead of Chicano or Mexican, because their vision was an organization that included all Latino groups, from the onset they wanted to form a national organization (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013).

Gene Reyes, a member of the California Department of Corrections based in Sacramento, California helped create the documents of incorporation for the NLPOA. They met for about a year, finally coming up with a constitution for the organization and, a motto “Honor Family, Community and Education through Service and Mentorship (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013).”

In reviewing the original articles of incorporation, the incorporating members were John Parraz of the Sacramento County Sheriff’s Office, Vicente Calderon, California Highway Patrol, John Aleman, Oakland Police Department, California, Richard Reyes, San Jose Police Department, California, Mariano Flores, California Highway Patrol. The Latino Peace Officer Association was incorporated in California on August 7, 1974 (LPOA Original Articles of Incorporation, 1974).

Article III of the articles of incorporation states that the purpose was

- (a) to increase the number of Latinos in the law enforcement systems
- (b) To assist law enforcement agencies in locating and recruiting qualified Latin applicants
- (c) To establish an employment bank of Latino applicants whose names would be made available to all law enforcement agencies
- (d) To focus attention on the opportunities available to Latin youth in the field of law enforcement
- (e) To help those persons interested in a career in law

enforcement to meet qualifications (f) To work toward the professionalism of law enforcement and to participate in establishing standards (g) To act as spokesman in order to make law enforcement administrators sensitive to the needs of the Latino community (h) Advancement of Latinos into policy positions by motivating professional advancement of qualified personnel in law enforcement (i) To create a feeling of brotherhood and unity between Latino professionals in law enforcement and (j) Work with other organizations and individuals toward achieving the objectives of the organization (LPOA Original Articles of Incorporation, 1974).

In analyzing the articles, the NLPOA was responding to critiques who claimed that there were no qualified Latinos to recruit into law enforcement. If police departments were unable to find qualified Latinos, the NLPOA was going to help them find qualified Latinos. Traditional police unions were dominated by white males and had the interest of the majority of their members. Most police departments did not have a large number of Latino officers and Latino interest were not being addressed by traditional unions. Latinos were not being given the training necessary for advancement so the NLPOA would provide the training. The final part of the articles was to act as a spokesperson on matters dealing with the Latino community. Latino officers understood that the Latino community needed a voice in police-community affairs. In the discussions regarding organizing the association in Milwaukee, part of the concern was that Latinos in Milwaukee had no real political representation (i.e., there were no Latinos elected in office). Latinos who organized the NLPOA understood that the Latino community needed a voice within the MPD and the best way to provide that voice was from inside the department, through the NLPOA. Latino officers understood the importance of working with the Latino community, and it became a part of the articles of incorporation. There is no evidence that the NLPOA was influenced by other agencies;

in my interviews, there was no mention of other the NLPOA copying other similar groups, however there were many of these ethnic-based police organizations and the issue of other groups influencing the NLPOA cannot be discounted.

The organization started to incorporate other Latino organizations that had been around since the 1960s, and by 1971, the LPOA had five chapters in California. Clearly, the National Latino Peace Officer Association had more in mind than merely being a self-advocating group (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013). Although Latinos in Milwaukee were just being recruited into the MPD, there was no social consciousness as a group; however, the National Latino Peace Officers Association would change the landscape for both Latinos within the Milwaukee Police Department and the Latino community upon their organization in the late 1980s.

The NLPOA's original vision and their mission statement makes it obvious the Association was preparing Latinos for advancement through preparation (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013). This appealed to Latinos; it helped to fight the perception they were being selected through quotas or decrees; whether this was factual, it provided the appearance Latinos were preparing themselves to compete in the leadership process. The primary purpose was making law enforcement administrators sensitive to the "needs of the Latino community" made this an important selling point to the Milwaukee Latino officers (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012)." Ruben Burgos specifically pointed out that a prior attempt by MPD Latino officers to organize was unsuccessful because they came across as too militant, while the NLPOA appeared more professional with a clear purpose (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).

At the national level, Latinos had identified police department racism, both internally and externally. Latinos recognized that institutional racism kept them from promotions in police

departments across the country. Latino officers also recognized that institutional racism also resulted in unfair treatment of Latinos by police. Influenced by the leadership of Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta's leadership of the farmer workers grape boycott of the 1960s, Latino police officers created an organization of Latino officers that provided training for Latino officers and would reach out to the Latino community, countering the bonding of the police subculture, moving from "Blue" to "Brown."

José Luis López and the NLPOA

José Luis López played an important role in organizing the Latino police officers in Milwaukee. López had felt the sting of MPD's racism towards Latinos as a teen growing up in Milwaukee. He had also experienced racism in the military; however, a chance meeting with other Latino law enforcement professionals provided López with the outlet to confront that racism which he had encountered and in the process help other Latino officers move away from the police subculture going from "Blue" to "Brown."

López had been moonlighting from his Milwaukee Sheriff's Department job as a resident agent with Major League Baseball. In 1988, López traveled to Kansas City, Missouri to attend a baseball conference. López, along with other members of the group, was going to the baseball stadium when he met, a Kansas City police sergeant, Luis Quijas. Quijas was the President of the Latino Peace Officers Association; López stated, "Upon meeting him, I immediately became impressed with his professionalism and his positive attitude and just the atmosphere around him (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013)."

López said it was a "culture shock to me," López had been a sheriff's deputy for about eight years and it was just a job for him, and he really didn't care if he was a deputy. López had a conversation with Quijas, in which Quijas explained the problems Latino Police Officers were

having in Kansas City, and as part of that conversation, he learned Latinos in law enforcement were having the same problems throughout the country. Latinos were having problems being hired in law enforcement as well as being promoted, so Milwaukee was not the only place this was occurring (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).

Quijas told him about the LPOA and how being a member of the Association had benefited him. The Association made training available to him he could not get through his own department, and he got the opportunity to meet Latino police officers from across the country. López asked Quijas if he really enjoyed what he was doing. Quijas replied that they were working with the Latino community in Kansas City and were getting “their due respect.” López stated that he was “shocked” at the response. It was then López decided to get involved, he wanted to start his own chapter of the Association in Milwaukee, and the first step was to contact the Association’s national board to find out what he needed to do (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).

He was given guidance by the National Board and Quijas on starting a 501(c) 3 organization (non-profit organization), the tax codes, the non-profit requirements, and how to incorporate the chapter. One of the requirements was that the startup chapter had to have at least 10 to 11 members. He contacted Latinos in Milwaukee County Sheriff’s Office and MPD as soon as he returned from meeting with Quijas, there was just enough to get the ten members required to start the chapter. López said in 1988 that he believed there were 60 Latino Police Officers on the Milwaukee Police Department; he was able to get the 10 required (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).

López approached Latino businesses for funding and was able to get startup money needed to file the necessary paper work and fees. He explained to business owners the purpose of

the organization, to enhance the relationship with the community and advancement of Latinos within law enforcement and was surprised at the support he received from Latino business owners in Milwaukee (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013). López also met with Latino MPD Officers and Milwaukee County Deputy Sheriffs to discuss the formation of a Latino Peace Officer chapter in Milwaukee. During the meetings, López discussed what he had learned about the national association, the discussion revolved around the struggles of Latinos in the field of law enforcement at the national level, which were similar to their own. He also pointed out the association also helped in advancement, making the job a career not a dead end job (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).

From the Milwaukee Sheriff's Department, 10 members signed up to join; however, he quickly realized that the 10 were not going to get him to where he needed to go. He realized he needed members from the MPD; it was the largest law enforcement agency in the state. López said this would set a good example of co-existence between other non-profit agencies in the city. One of the issues that stood out to law enforcement officers that worked the Latino community was the division among the Latino non-profit organizations servicing the community. The different groups were often competing for grant money and often did not work together; rather they competed with each other. "As a law enforcement officer we were able to see the need for a united front. This was important and uniting the different law enforcement groups within the LPOA seemed like a start (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013)."

According to López, the LPOA was providing training for officers that wanted to pursue an investigators' track, both criminal or traffic investigator. Members of the LPOA received training required to get promotions as well as assignments that interested them. They were not getting the training from their departments. The LPOA had members who were qualified to

provide the training and they used these individuals as trainers. López stated that he felt like a “kid in a candy store”; in their departments, only a select few that were considered the chosen would get the training. However, the Association provided all the training they needed at their annual conferences (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).

López reached out to the Latino community, “I had to learn to beg, you know, go to people and say, hey, I want to start this group of Latino Law Enforcement Officers to enhance our position, but also to enhance our relationship with the community (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).” López clarified when he stated he has “to beg” by saying that he went to the different businesses in Latino community and ask for startup funds to cover the costs of organizing the LPOA and traveling to Houston apply for the national charter. The national conference was being held in Houston, Texas in 1989; he had money, the members, and was ready to go to Houston, Texas to apply for a charter (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).

Once the charter was approved, it was named the Milwaukee County Chapter of Latino Peace Officers Association. The next step, according to López, was to get members to volunteer and work with Latino community organizations. The Association became involved with the Spanish Center, the United Community Center, Mexican Fiesta, the Puerto Rican Organization, LULAC, and SER Jobs for Progress and the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. The Association also volunteered to tutor at schools in the Latino community (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).

López reached out to the different Latino organizations and informed the organizations that the Association was there to help them in any way they needed. Once the Latino community recognized the Association, the MPD could not ignore them; they had to be recognized as an

entity. López said that they were an entity, and they were not going away. Once the NLPOA reached out to the different Latino agencies, the general outlook changed towards the police. They realized that not all law enforcement was out to get them. López was available to all groups, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, black and white; as long as they came to help, he made himself available (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).

One of the questions I asked López was how he balanced the difference interests of the groups, Mexican and Puerto Ricans. López stressed the Association had no divisions. He blamed the American education system for keeping the differences alive. He felt it was to the benefit of the majority group to keep different groups separated. He admitted there was some friction at times between groups. However, most of the time, it was from the outside; he recalls being warned against Mexican. He was told that Mexicans thought they were better because they had their own country, and at the same time, these people would tell Mexicans to be careful with Puerto Ricans because they think they are better because they do not need a green card (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).

López stressed that within the Association there were no divisions citing the Association motto, “united by blood and profession” (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013). The Milwaukee chapter had two officers of Mexican descent, a Salvadorian, and a Cuban and López was Puerto Rican. In his travels to different NLPOA conferences in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, New York, and Florida, he did not see the division between different Latino groups (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).

López also realized he had to get Latino police officers on board from MPD, because they were the biggest agency in the city. At the time, he approached MPD Latino officers; they had three Latino sergeants and no command staff officers. López compared his experience with

the Sheriff's Department to those of Latinos in the MPD. He had taken the sergeants exam three times and had been by-passed each of the times (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).

López also realized that it was important to reach out to the different Latino community-based organizations. In López's view, the different Latino organizations in Milwaukee were not working together; he wanted the NLPOA to be an example to the different groups that all Latinos could work together as one group (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013). Ruben Burgos, also a former president of the NLPOA, said that he recalls López maintaining close contact with Ernesto Chacon and Tony Baez, both Latino community activists (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).

Once the chapter was organized in 1988, it took off quickly. The chapter had members from Waukegan, Illinois as well as from other law enforcement agencies, to include federal enforcement agencies (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013). According to both López and Burgos, they traveled on behalf of the NLPOA throughout the state of Wisconsin and the Midwest talking with different police chiefs and Latino community leaders addressing concerns for both Latino officers and relations between police departments and the Latino community.

As I was cleaning my personal artifacts from my involvement with the NLPOA, I found a 1997 photographic calendar with photographs of NLPOA members and events. The photographs Maria Monreal Cameron pictured (President of Milwaukee Hispanic Chamber of Commerce) along with Police Chief Philip Arreola and members of the NLPOA in a scholarship fundraising event for the NLPOA. Other photographs included the NLPOA holding a meeting at the Spanish Center as well as a photograph of Dr. Filberto Murgia, the President of the Spanish Center. There

were other photographs of NLPOA members participating in various community events, these photographs showed the contact and working relationship between the NLPOA and members of the Milwaukee Latino community.

NLPOA and Politics

In the late 1990s, the NLPOA was growing across the United States at a fast pace; however, the NLPOA leaders realized that they needed political power if they were going to be an effective organization. In 1998, the NLPOA conference was held in Dallas, Texas, and the NLPOA already had a keynote speaker. They were approached by the then Governor of Texas George W. Bush who wanted to be the keynote speaker. According to Filipe Ortiz, the NLPOA was approached by Bush, who said, “My name is George Bush, and I’m going to be the next president of the United States, and I need your support (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013).” Ortiz recounted that was a tough decision, because it was a tight presidential race between Gore and Bush; however, in the end the NLPOA endorsed Bush for President (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013). Ortiz felt that Bush was Governor of Texas, and he was experienced being around Latinos. In analyzing the move by Bush to reach out to the NLPOA, it appears that he took a page out of Richard Nixon’s political playbook by reaching out to Latinos. When Nixon was unable to get the African American vote, he reached out to Latinos for their support (Skrentny, 2001).

The endorsement was not smooth sailing according to López, who was also serving on the national board. He was aware that Bush was seeking the endorsement; he was personally not in favor of the endorsement. “At the time it was difficult thing. I think that is what probably drove me to avoid it, but I gave the man his due. I was impressed with his presentation that he gave us when he spoke to us, and I understood the endorsement. I understood it and I did not vote against

it, but I was not supportive of it. In the end, it was the right thing to do and the proper thing to do our group at the time because it kicked doors open in Washington D.C., to where now we have representation in D.C., and we have a contact person there, so it did its job (J. López personal communication, November 9, 2013).”

NLPOA officials went to Washington D.C. where they opened an office, and Congressman Michael Honda paid for a reception for the NLPOA at the Capitol rotunda in 2000. Congressman Honda is of Chinese ancestry, but speaks perfect Spanish. At the reception, NLOPA officials met “many Congress people, and we started to grow (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013).”

Ortiz also recognized they were heavily Mexican American. One of the steps taken by Ortiz and then Association President José Miramontes was to reach out to Cuban-American community in Miami, and the Puerto Rican community in New York. The organization gained importance and established chapters in Indiana, Kentucky, Miami, Orlando, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Delaware, and Boston (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013).

Ortiz went on to say Bush never forgot, when Bush was elected they went to Washington, D.C. and eventually Bush appointed seven Latino U.S. Marshalls. The Association started to mentor a pool of applicants for Assistant FBI Director and U.S. Marshalls. Ortiz saw the appointment of Latino U.S. Marshalls as extremely important; U.S. Marshalls are powerful law enforcement positions, not only do they have local and federal arrest powers, but they also conduct seizures and award money through federal grants (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013).

At the local level, Luis Gonzalez realized the importance of getting involved politically. According to Gonzalez, the local NLPOA chapter formed a PAC to endorse candidates running

for political office, he was using some of his own money for political contributions; he would contribute, \$100, to \$50.00 up to \$250.00. He helped Mayor Norquist by stuffing envelopes and helping out with his campaign, eventually he wound up a member of the Mayor's roundtable (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, November 26, 2012).

Gonzalez was an early supporter of MPD chief Arthur Jones; however, he eventually fell out of favor with Jones. According to Gonzalez, while he was in the inner circle with Norquist, he became aware that Norquist wanted to replace Arreola with Jones, who was his friend at the time. In Gonzalez's view, he was a close friend of Jones; however, things were about to change. Gonzalez was asked to work at internal affairs, which he agreed to; however, according to Gonzalez a member of the LEOCART (Law Enforcement Officers against Reverse Discrimination) was commanding internal affairs. Gonzalez was President of the NLPOA, and he started receiving bad work evaluations from the commander of the internal affairs unit. Gonzalez started to push back, making copies of his evaluations for which Jones suspended him for fifteen days.

In Gonzalez's opinion, the reason he was targeted was he was friends with Marilyn Figueroa, a Norquist employee with whom Norquist was having an affair.² Gonzalez believes that maybe Norquist thought that he was aware of the affair and Jones was trying to discredit him, regardless the relationship between the NLPOA and Jones worsened (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, November 26, 2012).

According to Gonzalez, in 1997, the NLPOA was hosting events for then Milwaukee County Sheriff Leverett Baldwin (Archival document LPEARC06). They were hosting candidates for political office to address their membership at their monthly meetings as well as getting

² The affair made headlines in the local newspaper forcing Norquist not to seek re-election.

involved in community events like mentoring, gun buybacks and hosting community welcome meetings for Milwaukee Police District Captains (Archival documents LPEARC07and08). The NLPOA would host welcome meetings for new district captains and local Latino citizens of the districts. Gonzalez was very involved in the politics through the NLPOA trying to promote Latino agendas. The Milwaukee Police Association (MPA) was doing the same, i.e. openly endorsing candidates and the NLPOA also got involved in endorsing candidates, at times they were not the same endorsements as the MPA.³

NLPOA, Arreola, and the Dahmer Incident

In 1991, The National Latino Peace Officers Association had approximately 22 members and represented several law enforcement agencies, including Milwaukee Police, Milwaukee Sheriff's Department and Capital Police.⁴ The Association had won a bid to bring a regional conference to Milwaukee when the Dahmer incident threatened the organization's survival within the Milwaukee Police Department, and at the same time, gain its credibility within the Latino community.

On the night of July 22, 1991, Milwaukee Police Officers arrested serial killer Jeffrey Dahmer. Tracy Edwards escaped from Dahmer, with "handcuffs dangling from his wrist" (Jeffrey Dahmer Murder 1960-1994) stopped police officers who were led back to Dahmer's apartment by Edwards. The police officers subsequently found human body parts, which led to Dahmer's arrest.

³ MPA is the Milwaukee police labor union, the bargaining unit for the uniform police officers under the rank of sergeant.

⁴ Data taken from NLPOA documents as well as estimates from José Luis López and Ruben Burgos, the number of members fluctuated between 15 and 22.

During the course of the investigation, another similar incident was discovered (Jeffrey Dahmer Murder, 1960-1994).⁵

On the night of May 27, 1991 Konerak Sinthasomphone, a 14-year-old Laotian boy fled Dahmer. Sinthasomphone was nude and dazed when the MPD officers encountered him (“It’s hard to forget Dahmer, but please remember his victims,” 2011, July 21). The police returned the escaped victim to Dahmer who subsequently killed him. A focal point of the incident was the release of the 911-recorded call to the MPD in which a female witness described seeing a boy bleeding and staggering (Terry, 2011). The tape also has one of the officers informing the dispatcher that “an intoxicated Asian, naked male was returned to his sober boyfriend.” Laughter was also heard in the background (Terry, 2011).

The officers, John Balcerzak, Joseph Gabrish, and Richard Porubcan were suspended with pay on July 26. However, Chief Arreola eventually fired Balcerzak and Gabrish. Porubcan was a newer officer and was suspended, but retained his job (“Probe in Dahmer case continues,” 1991, August 20).

The Milwaukee Police Association took a vote of “no confidence” against Arreola for suspending the officers. Arreola’s suspension of the officers should not have come as a surprise. When he was chief of the Port Huron Police Department, he suspended two officers for abusing a prisoner. The Port Huron Police Officers Union picketed city hall calling for Arreola’s resignation. Officers within the MPD had expected a Breier-type response to the incident; instead, Arreola acted quickly and suspended the officers. Milwaukee Police Officers picketed

⁵ I was working the night of the Dahmer arrest. I was involved in a different homicide investigation when Dahmer was brought in. Dahmer was struggling with the arresting officers, there was flurry of phone calls placed by the Lt. of Detectives that was in charge of assigning detectives to investigations, there was also an atmosphere of disbelief that this had occurred in Milwaukee.

city hall and a poll conducted by the Milwaukee Journal showed that 86 percent of the officers wanted Arreola fired (Worthington, 1991).

The Milwaukee Latino community and Latino police officers responded to the union's vote of no confidence by supporting Arreola. "The Hispanic Coalition, the Archdiocese of Milwaukee's office of Hispanic Ministry, the Latino Peace Officers Association and the Puerto Rican Festivals Committee" held a press conference in which the spokesperson, Juan Mireles issued a statement of support on behalf of Arreola ("*Probe in Dahmer case continues*," 1991, August 20).

This incident was important for the NLPOA; like the League of Martin's lawsuit in the 1980s, support of Arreola by the NLPOA had Latino police officers facing off against their labor union. This incident, like the Gomez lawsuit in the 1980s, was bad timing for the NLPOA. The Association had just gained momentum; however, not all Latino officers were in favor of supporting the Chief. Although many Latino officers supported Chief Arreola, they were hesitant to criticize the union as well as the officers involved. Aside from the hold of the police subculture, the blue shield, bucking the union became an issue for some of the Latinos within the NLPOA.

López, former NLPOA President and Milwaukee chapter founder, said he thought Arreola was a fair man. He met with Arreola and told him that the NLPOA did not expect him to do anything different, that the NLPOA just wanted to be on the same page as everyone else, the NLPOA was not expecting any special favors from him (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013). López said the NLPOA did not approach Arreola with the frame of mind that since he was Hispanic he had to take care of Latino Officers, like the Anglo Chiefs were taking

care of the Anglo Officers. López said, “We let him know that all we wanted was a chance to prove ourselves (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).”

As an organization, the NLPOA was aware there might be pressure against the officers of each department. Consequently, López as member of the Sheriff’s Department was elected President of the Organization, and he represented the interests of the NLPOA with the MPD. When the NLPOA needed to communicate with the Sheriff’s office one of the Milwaukee Police Officers would represent the interest of the NLPOA.

Regarding the no confidence vote, López said:

Now, he got caught in an incident (Dahmer incident) where he went against the association (referring to the police union), and it got him in hot water and all of a sudden there was a no-confidence vote, and I called a meeting. We sat down and we talked, and we drafted a letter in support of Chief Arreola. We felt that what he did was right, was fair, and he did not need to be fired, kicked out, given a no confidence vote; the man had 31 years of law enforcement experience. He had a law degree, and they were saying that he was incompetent. I don’t know too many people who have spent 31 years in law enforcement, been chief of another big department and have a law degree that are incompetent. We would not accept that, and we backed him and I think that made a big difference not only in the department, but in the community because the thought for sure that the powers that be were going to take him out of office real quick (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

When asked if there was fallout from the decision to back Arreola regarding firing of officers in the Dahmer case López replied, “Yes that is understandable. What we were trying to do, were not going to win everybody over. Moreover, we did not try to win everybody over. We

stayed the course, we said that we what we were about, we said what we were going to do, we decided to back Chief Arreola and we get backlash (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).”

López said a number of Latino officers became irritated to the point that they made it personal against him; they took a few verbal shots at him. López indicated that among those officers that disagreed with the NLOPA supporting Arreola were Latino Officers within the MPD, so he caught it from “both sides.” López said he was not hurt by the comments, because he had already “had put up with too much crap” (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).” He said, “I had put up with too much abuse that I was not going to let any person worry me not all of us. I was not going to let them deter me from what the organization wanted to do (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).”

Another former LPOA President, Ruben Burgos, had a slightly different version of the NLPOA’s backing of Arreola. He believed the firing of the Dahmer officers was wrong. He understood that the police union had wanted more of an investigation into the incident before condemning the officers. However, the NLPOA (along with the Federation for Civic Action, Hispanic Coalition, Archdiocese of Milwaukee’s Office of Hispanic Ministry, Wisconsin Hispanic Lawyers Association and the Puerto Rican Festivals Committee voted to back the chief(Rochester,91). The Latino organizations backed Arreola not because he was a Latino, but because he was actually questioning the actions of the police officers when dealing with members of the minority community, in this case there had been Latino victims of Dahmer.

Burgos remembers being approached by one of the NLPOA members, Linda Velasco, and saying that the NLPOA needed to back the chief that he was right in what he did. López and Velasco were the leaders of that movement. “I along with Tony Guajardo modified the writing of

the endorsement, of a complete endorsement to the chief was fully qualified and we were going to back him (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).” The problem Burgos saw in the original wording of the endorsement was the original wording was attacking the police union. As members of the union, we realized that it was the duty of the union to back officers, the NLPOA did not have a large number of Latino officers within the MPD and, by backing Arreola, and the NLPOA would lose more members and possibly the national charter. The endorsement was modified to eliminate any attack on the police union, while supporting Chief Arreola (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).

Burgos also recalls meeting with other activists, including Digoberto Ibarra, who was running for Milwaukee Alderman. Ibarra met with the NLPOA and urged the NLPOA support Arreola. Ibarra was a Vietnam veteran, and he pointed out that the community had supported the recruitment of Latinos within the MPD.⁶ According to Ibarra, it was time for the NLPOA to support the community. The NLPOA issued a statement supporting Arreola and allowed Latino activist to use NLPOA symbols during demonstrations in support of Arreola.

At a news conference held on Tuesday, August 20, 1991, various Latino officers (members of the NLPOA) supported Chief Arreola for the firing of the officers (Rochester, 1991). However, Chief Breier’s legacy continued to cast a shadow over the Milwaukee Police Department. In an interview with *The Milwaukee Journal*, Ernesto Chacon was quoted as saying, “We did have run-ins with Breier. Some of us were arrested; some of us were beaten up and harassed.”⁷ That racist attitude and negative attitude toward minorities is stronger than ever. It’s still alive, Arreola could

⁶ Ibarra had a daughter that would join the MPD in the late 1990s.

⁷ Ernesto Chacon was the President of the Federation for Civic Action, which was a grass roots Latino advocacy organization in Milwaukee’s Southside. The Federation function was similar to the NAACP, but was much smaller. The Federation received government funding and was headed by Chacon. The Federation was involved in stop the violence campaigns and just about any issue that affected the Latino community in Milwaukee.

be a good police chief if given the opportunity, but he's inherited all those soldiers from the Breier era, and he'll have to work twice as hard to overcome those problems (Rochester, 1991)."

The vote to support Arreola cost the NLPOA members within the MPD and the struggle for membership within the Milwaukee Police was difficult. Once the letter of support was issued, members of the NLPOA within the Milwaukee Police received criticism. However, NLPOA members also pushed back by defending their position. The police union did not attack the NLPOA's decision to support the chief publicly, and there was an era of an uneasy truce between the union and the NLPOA.

Arreola fired Balcerzak and Gabrish for violating Milwaukee Police Department "Rule 4, failing to familiarize themselves with police department responsibilities (<http://openjurist.org>). Balcerzak and Gabrish appealed the dismissal to the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission. After the Commission upheld Arreola's dismissal (Open Jurist 163 F. 3rd Balcerzak v City of Milwaukee Wisconsin), the officers appealed to the Wisconsin State Court and in May 1999 Judge Robert J. Parins found the officers "merely negligent to properly investigate" (Open Jurist 163 F. 3rd Balcerzak v City of Milwaukee Wisconsin) and threw out the dismissals. The Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission reversed its previous dismissal suspending the officers for 60 days and both officers were then reinstated (Open Jurist 163 F. 3rd Balcerzak v City of Milwaukee Wisconsin).

The Latino officers who were members of the NLPOA clearly showed that they had moved away from the police subculture. The members of the NLPOA voted to side with the Latino community supporting Chief Arreola bucking their own union who had just had a vote of no confidence on Arreola's leadership, they went from Blue to Brown siding with the Latino community. It is important to point out that not all Latinos supported Arreola's dismissal of the

officers. That was highlighted by the fact that some members of the NLPOA left the organization as a result of the NLPOA backing Arreola; however, those that stayed crossed that line leaving the “Blue Shield” behind and going “Brown” returning to their Latino identity and siding with the Latino community.

Milwaukee NLPOA Post Dahmer

As previously stated several Latino officers left the NLPOA because of the Association’s decision to support Arreola (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012; López; L. Gonzales, personal communication, December 26, 2012). López’s strategy of getting Latino officers from different law enforcement organizations from within Wisconsin ensured the Milwaukee Chapter had the minimum number of officers to keep their chapter active. In assessing the action of the Latino officers that left the NLPOA, it was not a large number; however, since the NLPOA was not that large to begin with and it had an impact on the size. The result for the NLPOA was that it showed the commitment to the Latino community by the MPD officers that remained in the NLPOA; there was a closer bond between the community and the NLPOA.

According to López, in the beginning, the Milwaukee chapter was small and majority of the work was done by four or five people, Luis Gonzales who was a member of the Milwaukee Police Department and Dave Morguilla who was a member of the Wisconsin Capital Police. López said he was “both mad and irritated” more members did not come on to help the NPLOA, but he took into account the origination was small; however, he was proud of all that it had accomplished (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

The NLPOA’s relationship with Arreola was good, a result of the Association backing the Chief on the Dahmer incident (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013). Although the NLPOA was not a bargaining unit, non-members started to approach López for help when they

were in trouble. The apparent setback for the NLPOA turned out to be a win. Other Latino officers within that had not been members started to interact with the NLPOA, the NLPOA had gained respect for its willingness to fight.

López cited an incident in which a Latino officer who was facing disciplinary action within MPD approached him. The officer along with two other officers was involved in damaging the auto of a suspected drug dealer. The Latino officer approached López and asked to act on his behalf. The problem was that the officer's version of the incident was different from the police investigation. When López approached the Arreola, the Chief explained he could not discuss the incident. López was able to piece the details of the incident and realized the officer had manipulated him; however, the Chief did treat him with respect. The officer received a suspension rather than termination; this however did not set well with the officer. López received a five-page letter from the suspended officer berating López and the NLOPA. López indicated the officer was very vocal and nasty; López stated that he was "aghast" by the reaction of the officer (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

López reaction to the incident was:

I mean, you should be out on the street begging. Realistically when I responded to him, I said, if it were up to me, I would have criminally charged you and put you in jail. That is how serious I thought the incident was. Nevertheless, I went to bat for him; I thought I did my job, he was not happy. Well, that comes with the territory that you are going to try to do the best you can help your officers and stuff but if they don't want to be helped then there's nothing you can do (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

Regarding his relationship with Arreola, López stated that he felt very comfortable with the Chief; however, he had a very professional relationship with other chiefs after Arreola, both Nannette Hegerty and Arthur Jones (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

Latino officers were not scandal free, on September 29, 1994 Milwaukee Police Officer Alex Ramirez was videotaped kicking a 17-year-old juvenile in the groin area while the suspect was face down on the ground. Ramirez was charged by the district attorney's office, however, Judge Robert Landry found him not guilty in a trial to the bench (Stingl, 1994).⁸

Ramirez's defense was that the suspect had stated that he would not be taken alive by the police and that "a person who is cuffed can kick, bite or disarm a police officer" (Stingl, 1994). The NLPOA supported Ramirez; consequently, Latino community leaders came out in support of Ramirez and were not critical of the verdict (Stingl, 1994). Community work within the Latino community by the NLPOA was important and as a result, Ramirez benefited from that support. Ramirez was acquitted of any wrongdoing and there was no community outcry.

NLPOA, the League of Martin and Affirmative Action

White officers began to push back on affirmative action rulings; the NLPOA was directly involved in one of the cases involving a group of white officers known as LEOCARD, Law Enforcement Officers against Reverse Discrimination. A second case involved a group of 17 white officers who sued Chief Jones and MPD for bypassing them for promotion in favor of promoting minority officers. Oscar Perez was one of those officers targeted in the lawsuit and had to defend his qualifications for promotions. In both cases, Latino officers had clearly pushed away from the blue shield and as a result faced retaliation from white officers through lawsuits.

⁸ A defendant can either elect to have a jury trial or a trial by the judge. In the trial by the judge, the judge decides the verdict.

On February 1993, an organization formed by white officers in MPD, Law Enforcement Officers Coalition against Reverse Discrimination, LEOCARD, filed a lawsuit in state court against the City of Milwaukee, Board of Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission, joining as “Defendant Interveners” were The League of Martin and the National Latino Peace Officers Association. On June 1993 Scott Culver, a white male was allowed to join the lawsuit by the state court (U.S. 7th Cir Ct. Case No. 01-1555).

The action by LEOCARD came because of a series of court cases from the 1990s ruling against affirmative action. LEOCARD wanted to overturn the court orders in Wisconsin Court from July 1975, October 1976 and September 1976, which became known as the Consent Decree, which were based on lawsuits filed by the League of Martin. Culver, a white male had applied to MPD and wanted to vacate the Consent Decree which had set the” goals for the hiring of minorities and women” within the Milwaukee Police Department (U.S. 7th Cir Ct. Case No. 01-1555).

Culver’s motion was initially “dismissed without prejudice “by the district court due to lack of pleading but was invited to refile. (U.S. 7th Cir Ct. Case No. 01-1555). In 1995, Judge Evans granted Culver case a “class action “status. On July 1997 the district court “granted the parties joint motion and temporary vacated the old hiring order” (U.S. 7th Cir Ct. Case No. 01-1555). In 1997, Culver was hired by the City of Chicago Police Department and filed a motion to withdraw his claim. LEOCARD also dropped its lawsuit; they had reached an agreement with Milwaukee Police and other defendants in the lawsuit. The original 1974 court order required “40% of all hires to be minorities and 20% to be women” (Nichols, 1998) in 1998 modifying the 1974 Consent Decree, the new agreement, “if 40% of those who take the written test to become police officers, then 40% of those that pass the test must be minorities (Nichols, 1998).” One formula was replaced with a different one. The eligibility list would now be based on the pool of

minorities taking the exam and those that passed (Nichols, 1998). A part of the agreement LEOCARD, League of Martin and NLPOA were allowed to have a say in the hiring process (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).

Luis Gonzalez was Association chapter president during this period and named in the LEOCARD lawsuit, when interviewed Gonzalez said, “LEOCARD was a group of people, basically white Anglo-Saxons that were saying they were being discriminated against and so forth (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012).” LEOCARD’s assertion was the NLPOA was getting preferential treatment which was not the case according to Gonzalez, “We never had any type of preferential treatment from the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission. Never, never, we had a say why they were hiring Landy and Jacobs, who were administering the test, about the type of test that needed to be administered. We did have a say on that.” Gonzalez also pointed out when they were preparing applicants for written test, they were out in the community, and whites were being prepared along with Latinos and African Americans (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

I was an active member of the Association when the LEOCARD lawsuit was filed. In discussing the suit, members of the Association felt the trend across the country was not in Associations’ favor, but the Association could not roll over. There was not much action being taken within the Latino community in Milwaukee regarding attacks on affirmative action. The Association felt there would be long term negative ramifications to the Latino community if the Association did not fight the lawsuit. The hiring of Latino officers would probably drop off and there would not be a sufficient pool of bilingual officer in MPD. In the end Association members felt they had obtained a victory simply because they had a bigger voice in the process, “LEOCARD

had obtained a hallow victory, whites already ran the tests and were already at the table (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).”

The second case was *Alexander v. City of Milwaukee*, (2007 WL 117491 [7th Cir. 2007]), 17 white lieutenants filed a reverse discrimination lawsuit against Arthur Jones, the City of Milwaukee and Woody Welch chairman of the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission. The claim was that of the 20 minority officers promoted under Jones from 1996 to 2003, “17 had less than five years in rank vs “four of the white officers promoted during the same period” (*Alexander v City of Milwaukee*, (2007 WL 114791 [7th Cir. 2007])).

The case was decided on Wisconsin State Statue 62.50 (7) (b), 62.50 (9) which regulated police promotions to Captain, that required those already “in service to prove their fitness for the promotion” (<http://case.law.findlaw.com/us-7th-circuitit>). The court found Milwaukee Police and in particular Chief Jones did not have a process in place for promotion to Captain, in reviewing court testimony Jones stated, “he personally evaluated candidates to determine the candidate he thought would best be qualified to fill the position” (*Alexander v City of Milwaukee*, 2007 WL 114791 [7th Cir. 2007])). In upholding the ruling a Federal Appeals court conceded diversity could be a consideration for promotion however under “affirmative action,” the actions had to be narrowly tailored and in this particular case there was “no narrow tailoring” (*Alexander v City of Milwaukee*, 2007 WL 114791 [7th Cir. 2007])).

Former League of Martin President Lenard Wells criticized Chief Jones for not articulating the promotional process in court. In reviewing Jones’ testimony in court documents of *Alexander v City of Milwaukee*, Case No. 03-C-611 on February 3, 2006 he was questioned regarding the process for selecting Captains. Jones is quoted as replying, “He could not recall his thought process with respect to the nominations, that he did not post announcements when a vacancy became open

in the captain ranks and the personally evaluated potential candidates to determine the candidate he thought would be most qualified (Online Masters of Laws *Alexander v City of Milwaukee*).” Jones did say he took “individual skills, abilities and knowledge and in some measure seniority” (Online Masters of Law *Alexander v City of Milwaukee*). His conclusion were based on his “personal observations over a period of time,” he denied taking gender and race into consideration (Online Masters of Law *Alexander v City of Milwaukee*).

In interviewing one of those candidates promoted to Captain by Chief Jones, a phrase I often heard while growing up in South Texas came to mind, “Gringo Justice,” basically there were two sets of rules one for “Anglos and the other for Mexicans.” I interviewed Oscar Perez who had recently retired as Deputy Chief of Police. Regarding the reverse discrimination lawsuit Perez said a police officers he had considered his best friend, he had “broken bread with,” had attended this individual’s daughter’s christening; came to him and said, “that he was going to fight against his promotion (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).”

Interestingly, Chief Jones was not the first MPD chief that had his own system for promotion. As a result of the 1981 League of Martin lawsuit against the MPD, the agreement called for four the promotion of four African American officers to be promoted to sergeant, one to lieutenant and two to lieutenants of detectives and one captain (Bargren, 1984). Chief Breier was vocal in his opposition to the settlement with the League of Martin settlement. On the issue of promoting African American officers from the rank of sergeant to the rank of captain, Breier was quoted in a 1982 Milwaukee Sentinel article he “had no intention of promoting a black sergeant to a rank of captain (Fauber, 1982).” In the same article, it was pointed out to Breier he had done that twice; however, he claimed both were special circumstances. According to the 1981 *Sentinel* article, James Parnau was promoted from the rank of sergeant to deputy inspector,

skipping two ranks in 1976 and in 1972; Jerome Jagmine was promoted from the rank of captain to deputy inspector, skipping 30 senior officers (Fauber, 1982). The MPD had set a previous precedent in chiefs promoting on their own qualifications; however, that was never brought up in the court presiding.

Perez testified at Jones' lawsuit and had to provide his background to include education, (Perez earned a Master's Degree from UWM), his numerous assignments. Perez said he felt humiliated, especially since the white officers who had challenged his promotion were former friends and officers whom he had worked with in MPD (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013). When Perez was eventually promoted to Deputy Inspector of Police and another of the officers in the reverse discrimination lawsuit was quoted in the newspaper as saying Perez did not deserve the promotion.⁹ Perez stated, "I don't know why they embarked on that journey; I had more credentials than most of them. Throughout my entire career, even as Deputy Inspector I had fought the whole notion that my being Mexican, my being of a Latino ethnicity, that it was given, that I never earned anything in my lifetime. But my entire career, I've not received one disciplinary action, in 25 years of law enforcement I used one sick day, 72 meritorious arrests, schooling, credentials (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013)."

Dallas NLPOA and Milwaukee NLPOA Comparison

Interestingly, because of the NLPOA backing Chief Arreola in the MPAs vote of no confidence, the NLPOA had gained favor with Arreola. Latino officers that had not supported the NLPOA's vote of confidence for Chief Arreola had recognized that despite their non-support of the NLPOA they could go to the NLPOA for support when they got in trouble with the MPD under

⁹ Later this officer was promoted to a command position and was disciplined because of a D.U.I traffic accident. I decided not to use the name since the interviewee did not wish to mention the name; however, the incident is a matter of public record.

Chief Arreola. The NLPOA Milwaukee Chapter had become a non-intended bargaining unit when it came to Latino officers in the MPD. Some Latino officers within MPD thought that the NLPOA could get them a better deal than the labor union. Another NLPOA chapter that was a bargaining unit was the Dallas NLPOA; however, the Dallas chapter was a full bargaining unit.

Most of the NLPOAs are not bargaining units with the exception of the Dallas chapter. Miguel Sarmiento, a current Lieutenant with Dallas Police re-organized the Dallas chapter as a bargaining unit, challenging their labor unit. According to Sarmiento, the Dallas Police Department had the Dallas Police Association, Fraternal Order of Police, which was the second largest, and the Black Police Officers Association. The NLPOA was the last association to get organized in 1991 (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, 12 December 2012). Sarmiento said the other organizations were well established and were taking care of their own interests, “no one was taking care of the Latino needs.” Latinos were not represented in the higher ranks of the department; he felt that Latinos were not getting the opportunity for promotion. There was no pressure on the Chief to promote Latinos (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, 12 December 2012).

Sarmiento said they started to work with LULAC and different Latino associations “because there is power in numbers (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, December 12, 2012).” In Sarmiento’s view, the selection of a new police chief within the Dallas Police Department drove the change. In 1999, Chief Terrell Bolton took office and the Dallas NLPOA had scheduled a meeting with Bolton; Bolton canceled the meeting three times, however he met with the other associations. Sarmiento felt Bolton was ignoring the NLPOA, “he had done things for Black Officers (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, December 12, 2012).” According to Sarmiento, Bolton had had implemented his new philosophy by putting more officers on the street.

Bolton had finally gotten Latinos in crimes against persons, robberies, and homicides; however, as far as the assignments were concerned Latinos were last in line for assignments and the first transferred out. The special units needed Spanish-speaking officers but the last in first out was devastating the units. When he referred to devastating the units, he main the point that many investigative units needed Spanish-speaking investigators consequently many of these units no longer had what he referred to as qualified investigators to handle the investigations that required use of Spanish (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, 12 December 2012).

Sarmiento was a vice president when the meeting with Bolton finally took place, he indicated the meeting got nasty and the president of the NLPOA did not have the stomach for that typed of meeting. Bolton told Sarmiento to shut up three times during that meeting because Sarmiento was on a leash. Sarmiento claims that he did not back off pointing out all that Bolton had done for black officers. According to Sarmiento, Bolton claimed he did not know what Sarmiento was talking about. Sarmiento pulled out memos with the chief's signatures in which he had acted favorably towards black officers, and Bolton became upset (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, 12 December 2012). Sarmiento and members of the NLPOA board met a second time with the chief, this time the chief had his command staff with him. "We started calling him on the mat and I remember I told the guys, I hadn't been involved on the NLPOA board to much prior to that, but we had our first conversation with the chief I was back in (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, 12 December 2012)." Sarmiento remembers commenting, "This guy is going to give us trouble. It became a fight from there we decided we liked the tasted of the power, but now we need to become stronger and to become stronger we got to grow." Sarmiento stated that they realized that they needed to make changes and they needed money for those changes (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, 12 December 2012).

Initially, they charged \$10.00 dues, at first they kept track of dues through ledgers, but were having trouble collecting the dues. They were able to get payroll deductions of the dues through the Dallas Police Department and that was when the money started coming in.

Secondly, the LPOA joined with the other organizations to form one bargaining unit, and associations were able to put good benefit packages together (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, 12 December 2012).

According to Sarmiento, the Dallas chapter of the LPOA has 500 members, which made the Dallas chapter the largest in the NLPOA. In 2000 the Dallas chapter understood that in order to grow they had to become inclusive not exclusive. The Dallas chapter started to accept non-Latino members as long as they understood the NLPOA's primary mission was to work with the Latino community. "That and the fact that we take care of our members, whether they're black, white, you know. If there is an injustice in the department, as an association, we go out and we take care of them. We make sure that they are treated fair. Sometimes you cannot. You know they dig themselves in holes that they cannot dig themselves out. (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, 12 December 2012)."

Sarmiento said the Dallas NLPOA was involved in recruiting Latinos into the Dallas Police Department. Sarmiento said a previous mayor had looked at the numbers and the mayor was not satisfied with the number of Latinos recruited into the police department so he created a Latino recruiting unit. George Aranda, who was the NLPOA chapter president, was placed in charge of the unit and the number of Latinos entering the academy classes tripled. Some of the academy classes were 90 percent Latino (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, December 12, 2012).

On the issue of racial discrimination within the Dallas Police Department Sarmiento indicated Latino and African American officers joined forces to address that racial discrimination

issue. During the first lieutenant promotional exam, there was a disagreement with the Social Service Board. One of the main issues was out of the two percent of the top Latino Officers and African American Officers who had scored in top percentage, 50 percent dropped drastically after the assessment center. All top ten scores from the assessment center went to white officers. The assessment board was supposed to be a racially diverse group, however when he reviewed the racial make-up of the board out of the 36 assessors there were four African Americans, one Native American and 1 Latino. Sarmiento personally sued the City of Dallas for lack of diversity on the lieutenant's promotional assessment board (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, 12 December 2012).

Sarmiento filed a lawsuit in state court; however, the judge transferred the lawsuit to Federal Courts. Prior to the suit proceeding forward in Federal court the Dallas Police Chief had a meeting with Sarmiento and assigned him to work with the Civil Service board to help make sure there was a racially balanced assessment board. Prior to the board diversity being challenged there were mostly whites being promoted, after the board was diversified minorities made up the majority of the top tier promotions, both Latino and black (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, 12 December 2012).

Although the Dallas NLPOA was an official bargaining unit and the Milwaukee chapter was not an official bargaining unit there was a constant theme throughout the NLPOA; both Dallas and Milwaukee were involved in defending Latino officers. The Latino officers recognized the influence of the NLPOA within MPD and the officers had grown powerful enough to challenge the powerful white dominated police unions, these officers had separated from the powerful police subculture in a big way, going from "Blue" to "Brown."

Conclusion

At the close of the 1980s, major changes took place in the MPD. Chief Breier had retired, a new mayor, Norquist was elected, the League of Martin had challenged the MPD's hiring practices, a Latino police chief, Phillip Arreola had been hired, and a chance meeting between Milwaukee Deputy Sheriff José Luis López and the President of the NLPOA in Kansas City in 1988 opened the doors for Latinos to join the NLPOA. Chief Breier's retirement helped increase the role of both Latino and African American MPD officers in recruiting minority officers into the MPD as well as getting involved in police community relations.

The appointment of Chief Arreola by Mayor John Norquist ushered in the Community-Oriented Policing era in the MPD. The atmosphere within the MPD was friendlier and Latinos who joined the NLPOA were not threatened or harassed by Chief Arreola. The Dahmer incident in which Arreola fired the police officers who released one of Dahmer's victim back to the serial killer caused the police union to take a vote of no confidence against the chief. The NLPOA, however, backed the chief at the request of several Latino organizations.

The backing of Arreola gained the NLPOA support within the Latino community while tearing it apart internally. This allowed for good relations with the community and with the chief who survived the vote of no confidence. Yet because Latino officers were not any different from their white counterparts, and sometimes faced sanction for the use of force or other forms of misconduct, some Latino officers denounced Arreola's firing of the two white officers involved with the Dahmer incident.

Other Latino officers, who were not members of the NLPOA, realized that the NLPOA had gained influence with Arreola and they approached the NLPOA to advocate on their behalf.

Entering the 1990s the NLPOA had sufficient standing to be involved in civil suits over affirmative action practices within the MPD.

The growth of the NLPOA and the officers involved in the organization became the target of the white anti-affirmative action movement; however, these officers were able to push back through political action. The NLPOA in Milwaukee organized political action committees and got involved in endorsing candidates on the national level. The NLPOA endorsed George Bush for president eventually gaining national status. In Dallas, the NLPOA re-organized itself into a labor bargaining unit and gained influence within the Dallas PD. The Latino officers who were involved with the NLPOA had moved from “Blue” to “Brown,” they were involved in defending affirmative action programs as well as recruiting Latinos into policing. The NLPOA was providing leadership both within the police agencies and the Latino community, both nationally and in Milwaukee, changing the image of the Latino police officer into that of a leader, both in the community and in law enforcement.

Chapter 7

MILWAUKEE NLPOA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MPD CHIEFS AND LATINO COMMUNITY

This chapter will analyze the impact of Latino MPD officers who were also members of the NLPOA on MPD itself, as well as the Latino community. The first MPD Latino police chief Philip Arreola implemented Community-Oriented Policing as well diversity training for MPD officers. This chapter argues that Latino officers who had organized the NLPOA in the MPD had broken away from the police subculture, and had taken on an informal leadership role in MPD in Latino community relations. In doing this, Latino officers moved from away from the “Blue shield” and toward an ethnic or “Brown identity.”

Latino officers became key players in the implementation of diversity training. However, with Arreola's departure, the next police chief, Arthur Jones, implemented Broken Windows, and a more aggressive approach to policing, which caused a series of confrontations with the Latino community. Latino officers were instrumental in easing tensions between the Latino community and the MPD. Under the leadership of Arreola and Jones, the NLPOA became an important part of the MPD relations with the Latino community. The Latino officers (who were members of the NLPOA) had gone from Blue to Brown, and were well respected within the Latino community.

The first white female police Chief Nannette Hegerty distanced herself from the NLPOA as did the current police chief because the organization had gone from Blue to Brown championing Latino interests within MPD. This was evident in the opposition by the NLPOA regarding the movement for police departments to enforce immigration laws. The Milwaukee NLPOA chapter worked with local activists to oppose the enforcement of Federal immigration laws by MPD. Latino officers had shed the blue shield and had gone from Blue to Brown.

The chapter also analyzes the involvement of the NLPOA in community events, in particular the Mexican Fiesta. Through their participation in providing security, the NLPOA reduced the problem with Latino gangs within the festival, helping it to grow into a major ethnic festival in Milwaukee's lakefront. Finally the chapter analyzes the future of the NLPOA. With the successful efforts in getting Latino officers promoted throughout the ranks of the MPD. However the retirement of the original organizers of the NLPOA questions arise regarding the impact of the NLPOA on MPD and the Latino community.

Arreola, Community Policing and Other Police Reforms

In the wake of the civil disorders of the 1960s and the changing face of the gang problems, police departments needed new methods to address these issues. One of these responses was the innovation of Problem-Oriented Policing/Community-Oriented Policing. In 1988, Milwaukee had a new mayor, Mayor John W. Norquist, and he was looking for a police strategy that would be in line with working with the minority communities. Police departments were adopting Problem -Oriented Policing / Community Policing across the United States. Through this strategy, police officers were now required to address a problem through carefully researching the problem and finding long-term solutions. Officers were also required to reach out to communities and work with citizens of those communities to come up with solutions to crime plaguing their neighborhoods (Goldstein, 1990).

The Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission (MFPC) appointed Phillip Arreola, the city's first Latino police chief in 1989 to implement the Community-Oriented Policing philosophy. African American and Latino officers were instrumental in assisting Arreola implement this policing philosophy. African American and Latino officers were able to leverage

their ethnic identities to both improve their standing within the police department and within their communities.

Chief Arreola's firing of the police officers involved in the Dahmer case would put him at odds with the MPA (the Milwaukee police officer labor union) and the Supervisors' Union. Because of this friction over the Dahmer case, the police labor union opposed and criticized Arreola's implementation of Community-Oriented Policing. Arreola increased the diversity of the police department, however he was not appointed for a second term. After Arreola's departure in 1996, the Latinos in command positions were involved in the diffusion of conflicts between the MPD and the Latino community over police enforcement. The Latino officers in these positions were also members of the NLPOA, which placed them in a dual capacity from an organizational standpoint.

In 1996, Mayor John Norquist appointed Arthur Jones, the first African American police chief. He ushered in the Broken Windows policing strategy, which required that the police strictly enforce quality of life and nuisance ordinances as a way to lessen more serious crimes. Minor crimes (such as jaywalking or noise violations) that the police regularly ignored would bring citations under Broken Windows policing. Luis Gonzalez, one of the former presidents of the NLPOA, criticized Broken Windows strategies for straining MPD's relations with the Latino community. In September 2000, two major incidents occurred that placed Jones and the MPD at odds with the Latino community. The first was MPD's handling of a drug raid at a Mexican grocery store and the second was the MPD's handling of Latino residents celebrating Mexican Independence Day. However, unlike Chief Harold Breier, Chief Jones engaged the Latino community in trying to find a solution to the problems, and directed Latino officers to help mend the fences with the Latino community. In addition, Latino officers, through the NLPOA, were

involved in several issues within the Latino that helped to stabilize an ethnic festival Mexican Fiesta as well assisting the Latino community in responding to the use of police officers in enforcing immigration laws.

A review of NLPOA documents showed that by 2000, there were 46 active members, 22 inactive members, for a total membership of 75. Out of those 75 members, 51 were listed as Hispanic active, one African American and one AngloAmerican.¹ There were 191 Latinos listed as members of the MPD (Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission Annual Reports); however, the NLPOA does not break down membership per agency so it is not possible to tell how many of the total membership were from the MPD. The NLPOA was no longer regulated to a Milwaukee chapter; by 2000, it also included a Wisconsin State Chapter with membership from 24 law enforcement agencies (LPEARC12).

There was also a wedge between The League of Martin and Chief Arreola. Although Arreola had promoted African Americans into command positions, the League was not entirely happy with Arreola. Wells, the League President was quoted saying, “Even though we have differences with the current chief, we do recognize that in the last ten years there has been an increase in of African Americans and other minorities onto the police department and throughout the ranks” (Held, 1994).

Arreola had promoted females as well as African Americans into command positions. One of those females promoted under Arreola was Denita Ball, an African American. Denita was originally from Arkansas where she attended the University of Arkansas earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in May of 1983. In September of 1983, she moved to Milwaukee to attend to her ailing mother. Originally, Ball wanted to apply for a probation and parole job for the State of Wisconsin.

¹ Source is the NLPOA membership list.

However, upon researching the job she found that there was a high turnover rate (D. Ball, personal communication, October 7, 2013).

Ball was hired by MPD in December of 1985; she attended the Milwaukee Police Academy where she was one of six female recruit officers. Ball said she was aware that some of the males were pushed by the instructors to be more physical with her in training because she was a female, however she held her own. Denita also said there were some of the white males were threatened by her because she had a college degree and they had a high school diploma, however she did not dwell on the treatment she just simply overcame the obstacles (D. Ball, personal communication, October 7, 2013).

Ball worked a series of district assignments to include working the jail, until she took the promotional exam and was promoted to sergeant. When she became eligible to take the next promotional exam, the lieutenant's exam, she took the exam, was number one on the list, and was promoted. Ball worked as a lieutenant for eight months, and was then promoted to Captain. As Captain she was assigned to work the Internal Affairs Division, she also worked as a District Captain commanding District 4. Chief Haggerty promoted Ball to Deputy Inspector of Police, and as Deputy Inspector she was the night inspector, which meant she was in charge of the night shift. Ball formulated and coordinated the Neighborhood Task Force, and returned to the Professional Standards Division (formerly internal affairs) and functioned as Assistant Chief when needed, Denita retired in May of 2011.

Ball's early experiences were not positive, while assigned, District Two, on Milwaukee's Southside she rode with a white officer for eight hours and the officer did not say "a dozen words," that were not related to the assignments. While in roll call, Ball was quizzed for about a month straight, until the sergeant realized she knew her information. According to Ball, white male

officers were not quizzed to the extent, as she was (D. Ball, personal communication, October 7, 2013).²

When asked if she thought the differential treatment she was receiving was due to her race or gender, Ball replied she felt it was due to her race. Ball indicated that she felt there was a racial divide despite the “Consent Decree,” the obstacles were subtle at times, mostly informational, she would not have access to information she needed to perform her job.

Ball also indicated there were not that many African American Officers on the Southside when she was assigned District Two and during criminal investigations, white citizens would want to talk to real police officers, meaning white officers. Ball said she just did her job and eventually she earned the respect of the other officers (D. Ball, personal communication, October 7, 2013).

While assigned to Internal Affairs she also saw disparity over handling of the investigations. In criminal cases, “particularly in criminal cases, they would go to the District Attorney’s Office and sit for years without a resolution and these were for white males. You would have an African American male go through and they may have done something similar or even less and then it’s put on the fast track” (D. Ball, personal communication, October 7, 2013).

When asked about racial profiling, Ball stated it was subjective, “when I first came on the police department, that’s what you did. You looked to see what was out of the ordinary, what didn’t fit and then it you zoned in on that you usually came up with a good arrest. So you grew up in that culture and typically we’re in neighborhoods where there’s a lot of crime going on and these communities are African American communities so because they live there they get stopped (D. Ball, personal communication, October 7, 2013).”

² Roll call is usually held prior to starting the tour of duty for police officers. During roll call officers are inspected to make sure, they are prepared for duty. Uniforms and equipment are examined as well as officers are quizzed regarding crime in their areas of patrol.

Regarding Arreola, Ball indicated she had a good relationship with the Chief, he sent her to leadership school, she Arreola at one of the training sessions. He had been there for a meeting and he made it a point to talk to her. Arreola wanted to know how she was doing, he explained to her previously an African American police officer had gone through the training and felt it was racist; he wanted to get her feedback (D. Ball, personal communication, October 7, 2013).

When asked if she had been a member of the League of Martin, Ball replied, “All African American officers were members of the League. She never was an active member of the League because when she was in the police academy she attended a meeting. There was a lot of arguing, she had not been part of the organization long enough to get the historical perspective, however she did not like all the discord, Arthur Jones was the President of the League during that period. Ball felt that the League did some good, pointing out the Consent Decree, but she did not agree with some of the tactics employed by the League, believing they were divisive and she felt that everyone should come together, discuss the different matters, and come to a consensus (D. Ball, personal communication, October 7, 2013).

President of the MPA, Bradley Debraska, also criticized the community-policing concept as “smoke and mirrors” (Held, 1994). The MPA and Supervisors Union were at odds with Arreola since the firing of the officers in the Dahmer incident. Breier’s shadow was still over the MPD. In the same news article, Breier’s statement to the reporter was, “You know officers are charged with protecting life and property and protecting the peace and enforcing the laws. Really, nowhere is there any indication that you have to woe the citizen (Held, 1994).” Chacon’s assessment on the problems facing Arreola was on the mark, Breier’s philosophy was deeply imbedded in the MPD and it made change extremely difficult to implement.

Arreola implemented diversity training within the Milwaukee Police Academy. Recruits were required to complete 25 hours of diversity training and were required to work in teams that selected a minority group within Milwaukee (Archival document LPEARCO4). Recruits were required to research the group's history and culture requiring the recruits to go into the community and interview minorities as part of the project. A community panel discussion was also part of the diversity training; not only ethnic minorities were included in the training, but gay and lesbian groups were also represented. The recruits were also taken to different community-based organizations within the community where they held a dialogue with citizens and youth from within the community. This practice was not always positive. In some instances, community groups brought active gang members and the session became finger pointing sessions (LPEARCO4). Part of the diversity training included training in community-policing concepts; this was part of the infusion of the strategy, during the early 1990s. There were a large number of police officers hired, at times there were two classes of 60 police recruits in at the academy for training at the same time. The community-policing concept was being embedded into the MPD through the new recruits.

MPD labor unions and politicians criticized Arreola on the increase of crime in Milwaukee. According to statistical information published in the same article crime had increased 7 percent from 1983 to 1994 (Held, 1994) in Milwaukee. However, Milwaukee was rated lowest among cities its size. Another criticism of the community policing strategy was that it took officers off the streets to run the feel good programs (Held, 1994).

Although Arreola did not grant an interview, he was quoted sufficiently in newspaper articles so that I was able to get the information needed. In some cases, he responded through press releases. One of his press releases had his observation that, "police officers cannot keep up with

the crime caused by deteriorating society (Held, 1994).” The elephant in the room that was not mentioned in the newspaper article was the damage caused in community relationships because of both the Dahmer and Lacy incidents. Arreola’s position was that working with community groups was important in combating crime; at this point, the relationship with the police unions had been totally damaged.

Two reasons responsible for the surge in crime across the country and including Milwaukee was the intersecting of crack cocaine, gangs, and guns. In my interviews and interrogations with gang members while a member of the MPD gang unit I always asked how they were getting their guns. Many of the gang members were simply buying them in gun stores, or gun shows some; were stealing them through burglaries.

Retired MPD Deputy Inspector of Police Ray Galaviz’s view on community policing and other policing philosophies is:

Any approach that isn’t messaged with the community to explain to them what tactics are being employed in various neighborhoods throughout these communities will be viewed as an occupying force doing something to the community, especially if the department doesn’t take its time to reach out and look for partners to explain them what the research is showing regarding the type of crime being committed. The explanation should include the type of suspects and the type of victims that are being targeted. If a department doesn’t take time to establish those key relationships based on trust and mutual respect with police officials and they carry out those tactics they alienate the very people that they’re serving. My experience is that some administrators did not do a good job as others (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).

Galaviz believed Arreola's heart was in the right place, but that the chief inherited both Breier's and Ziarniak's command structure (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013). According to Galaviz, Arreola was only allowed to hire one Assistant Chief. All of the sergeants, lieutenants and captains who really ran districts and operations, he had to rely on the inspectors and the deputy inspectors to message down to them about how he wanted community policing, problem solving policing to occur down in these levels and as a result, sometimes the message from the chief to the line officer wasn't the same message. Depending on the attitude of those different layers, that's what got messaged to the line officer. Even though he came with good intentions, unfortunately the outcomes to implement community oriented, problem solving policing in my opinion did not go as well for him because organizationally he was limited (R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013).

Towards the end of 1995, it was obvious that Arreola's contract was not being renewed. The Police unions flexed their political muscle, aldermanic candidates valued their endorsement, and there was no political support to renew Arreola's contract. Mayor Norquist did not lose sight of the rising crime rate; he saw the rising crime statistics as a political liability. He wanted a new chief and new philosophy; Community Oriented Policing was seen as soft on crime by police unions and the Mayor. Mayor Norquist had a new candidate in mind, his bodyguard, Arthur Jones, who was embracing the "Broken Windows" philosophy. The League of Martin was ready to dump their support for Arreola and had their sights on an African American chief of police, Arthur Jones, a past president. The Milwaukee NLPOA had no political muscle to help Arreola. However, this was not lost on Luis Gonzalez, who would push for political involvement by the NLPOA (L. Gonzales, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

Chief Jones, Broken Windows, and the Latino Community

The “Broken Windows” theory swept the law enforcement community throughout the United States (Harcourt, 2001) and Milwaukee was right in line with the rest of the country. Arreola’s successor Arthur Jones ushered in “Broken Windows” to the Milwaukee Police Department. Mayor Norquist favored a new police philosophy that emerged in 1982.

Arthur Jones was appointed Chief of Police for the Milwaukee Police Department in 1996 and served until 2003. “Broken Windows” was the Arthur Jones’ policing strategy; the irony was that Jones was implementing the same type of policing Harold Breier had practiced; however, minority communities were not as critical of Jones as they had been of Breier, although there were some controversial incidents, especially within the Latino community.

One of these incidents occurred when police served a search warrant at a Mexican grocery Store El Rey, in which customers were handcuffed and searched. El Rey grocery store is a large grocery store and very popular in the Latino community. It is normal police practice to handcuff all individuals in a premise when conducting a search warrant; however, the criticism of this incident was the handcuffing of a pregnant woman and customers. The store had been selling prescription drugs to its customers without a prescription. This is a practice in Latin American countries where a pharmacist can dispense medicines. The criticism was customers were not involved in any illegal activity and many felt that it was a heavy-handed way to serve this particular search warrant. There was uproar in the Latino community. Chief Jones had Latinos in his command staff and the Latino officer helped defuse the incident.

The criticism of the Broken Windows policing under Jones was best pointed out by MPD retired Sergeant Luis Gonzalez who called it “heavy handed” and zero tolerance policing (L. Gonzales, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

Robert Welch was on the board of Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission during the hiring process of Chief Ed Flynn in 2007. The MPD was supposed to have implemented the Broken Windows theory; however, according to Welch when the theory was presented to them all they got was a book and told “tomorrow broken window begins at nine o’clock; it’s a new theory (R. Welch, personal communication, November 8, 2012).” Welch’s view is Chief Hegerty, Jones predecessor had an awareness of the theory, but she had her hands full with the Frank Jude matter. Chief Flynn was the Chief who reorganized and implemented the broken windows theory; he got the cops out from behind the desks and on to the streets (R. Welch, personal communication, November 8, 2012).

Mexican Independence Day Parade

An example of the heavy-handed police tactics referred to by retired MPD Sergeant Luis Gonzalez was the police response to Latino residents celebrating Mexican Independence Day. The Broken Windows approach is to take care of the same acts of disorder and MPD officers were definitely taking care of the small acts of disorder during the Mexican Independence Day celebration on Milwaukee’s Latino community. On the weekend of Saturday and Sunday, September 16, and 17, 2000 Mexican residents on Milwaukee’s near Southside were celebrating Mexican Independence Day; there was a parade and a host of other celebrations. During the celebrations, Milwaukee Police Officers issued “191 tickets” (a. Pabst, 2000). There were nine arrests including an administrative law judge from the U.S. Equal Employment Commission, the judge was also the wife of Latino activists Ernesto Chacon (a. Pabst, 2000). The MPD appeared

not to have taken the growth of Milwaukee's Latino community seriously; consequently, the department was unprepared for Mexican Independence celebrations. Unlike Cinco de Mayo celebrations, which are not popular in Mexico, Mexican Independence Day is taken more seriously and is celebrated by Mexicans everywhere, including Milwaukee.

The arrests were for "reckless driving, disorderly conduct, driving operating without a license, resisting arrests and obstruction" according to news articles (b .Pabst, 2000). The Administrative Federal Judge, Leticia Gonzalez claimed she "stopped to see what was going on because there so many officers on Cesar Chavez Drive," when police threw her to the ground, handcuffed her, detained in a squad car and issued her a citation for obstructing an officer" (b. Pabst, 2000). Gonzalez was 60 years old, and was selected "Hispanic Woman of the Year" in 2000 by United Migrant Opportunity Services (c. Pabst, 2000). Apparently, Gonzalez had stopped to offer officers her services as a translator to police officers; however, she was arrested. According to Gonzalez, she thought it was a homicide or a gang war because of the number of police. Gonzalez further claimed the arresting officer placed his foot on her back when he knocked her to the ground. Gonzalez was acquitted of the charges at trial (Pabst, 2001).

This incident made good newspaper fodder for several days; the police response was there were complaints of "excessive noise and clogged streets" caused by cruising and Mexican flags hanging out the windows (Pabst, 2008). Police spokesperson Karen Pride Garvin stated, "There was an internal investigation into the matter (Pabst, 2008)." Ernesto Chacon replied in the same article (September 19) [sic] "There is some ordinance against carrying flags out the window, but you see Green-Bay packer fans and Harley-Davison riders carrying flags on cars and motorcycles, and they are not given citations (Pabst, 2008)." Latino representatives met in Chicago to lodge a complaint against Milwaukee Police; as a result, there was a formation of

Latino lawyers to file complaints against the MPD (Pabst, 2000). Kenneth Bergeron of the U.S. Justice Department agreed to meet with Chief Jones to “build bridges” between the Latino community and police department (Pabst, 2008). Latino activist asked Mayor Norquist to dismiss citations issued as a result, of the Mexican-Independence parade; the City Attorney dismissed 50 of the citations issued for “flying flags and blowing horns” (Pabst, 2008).

When asked regarding the Mexican Impedance Day parade arrests, Gonzalez said he was “very, very, very involved” (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012). Gonzalez was assigned to District Two, which includes Cesar Chavez Drive, he indicated he wasn’t sure if it was Mexican Independence or Cinco de Mayo, but there was an “impromptu celebration.” Because of the impromptu celebration, “there was gridlock on “16th Street” (So. Cesar Chavez Drive) and traffic would not flow.”³ According to Gonzalez, on previous occasions there had been shootings related to celebrations, the shootings had occurred on National Ave. and W. Mitchell St (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012). Gonzales indicated there were shootings occurring during the celebrations, so between his role as President of the NLPOA and police officers he tried to educate the community and tried to control the celebration through community education (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

Nearly a year later, prior to the Cinco de Mayo celebrations, Chief Jones held a news conference in which Aldermen Bob Donovan, Angel Sanchez, Captains Raymond Sucik, Robert Puente and Ernesto Chacon were present (Burnett III, 2001). At a news conference, Jones elaborated on guidelines for the celebrations; vehicles should not interfere with the traffic flow, no littering as well as “no excessive noise from horns, radios, and stereos.” While

³ So. 16th Street has predominantly Latino business and was renamed South Cesar Chavez Dr., however it is still called So. 16th Street.

acknowledging there might be “spin off celebrations,” the police would issue warnings first. The police did not offer a lot of compromise but apparently the Latino community leaders accepted the guidelines.

Gonzalez said that Arthur Jones “was heavy fisted towards the Latino community” he just wanted to let “the hammer down” (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012). In Gonzalez’s view, he left it up to certain individuals to “drop the hammer on the Latino community.” Gonzalez referred to Jones’ policing strategy within the Latino community as suppression, “just zero tolerance,” that was a strategy that would get the entire community upset with you (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012) [Sic]. Although Jones was a “zero-tolerance guy,” Gonzalez said that Jones was open to educating the community and working with the community. Gonzalez stated that he understood the police perspective being a police officer, but zero-tolerance policies eventually will cause the relationship with the community to deteriorate.

Under Chief Arthur Jones, the MPD had moved away from the Community Oriented Policing philosophy, adopting a more aggressive style of policing. There was a strain in relations between MPD and the Latino community; however, Latino police officers played a key role in attempting to fix the relationship. The work that these officers had done with the NLPOA had earned them respect in the Latino community. The Latino officers had moved from Blue to Brown and had earned the trust of the Latino community.

The El Rey Raid

A second incident, which was also a product of what retired MPD Sergeant Gonzalez referred to as heavy-handed police tactics, was a raid on a popular grocery store in the Latino community. In September 2002, MPD officers along with agents of the Drug Enforcement

Agency conducted raids for sale of prescription drugs at several Mexican grocery stores; one was El Rey, located at 1023 So. Cesar Chavez Dr.. Others were El Rey Tortilla Factory located at 1530 So. Muskego Ave. and El Campesino located at 635 W. Greenfield (Pabst, 2002). Latinos did not complain about enforcement rather on the manner of enforcement. There were accusations by workers and a pregnant woman they were handcuffed and made to lay on the floor (Pabst, 2002). Police used the Tactical Enforcement Team (SWAT) to conduct raids, and customers of the stores complained police pointed guns at them (Pabst, 2002).

In a press statement Chief Jones said the stores were selling prescription drugs without a license, El Rey had been warned by the DEA via a letter. The owner responded to the letter; however, a DEA representative stated, “that a response was not anticipated” (Pabst, 2002). Chief Jones also indicated there was reliable information other drugs were being sold. He further said the same tactics had been used previously at other drug stores and grocery stores. According to the newspaper article, there was video footage showing customers sitting at the food counter apparently undisturbed. The other sites without video cameras left the scenario open to dispute; another pregnant customer claimed she was made to lie on the floor; Chief Jones disputed the allegation (Pabst, 2002).

There were two underlying issues behind the raid. Traditionally, in Latin American countries, a pharmacist can prescribe medication over the counter and apparently many El Rey customers were Latinos purchasing amoxicillin (Pabst, 2002), which a doctor normally prescribes. The other issue was that information circulated by citizens to the MPD that El Rey was selling illegal drugs; the drugs were stored inside of jalapeno pepper cans. Although information was coming into the Vice Control Division there was no actual reliable information; it was more of an urban myth that might have played into the method of the raid and not all

reliable informants are reliable.⁴ The constant information coming in might have led officers to regard the opportunity to check out the previously mentioned unreliable information. This is purely a guess on my part, based on my previous experience as an undercover detective in MPD.

Reaction among the Latino community was swift and not favorable to Chief Jones. Pedro Colon, a State Assemblyman representing Milwaukee's Southside stated, "If the police chief can't tell the difference between amoxicillin and crack, then he shouldn't be chief (Pabst, 2002)." Colon criticized the Chief for not removing drugs sooner if they "were dangerous and being sold in the store (Pabst, 2002)." Sanchez, the Alderman representing the district in which the stores are located was also critical of the Chief, he wanted the Jones to resign stating, "Not enough is being done about drug houses and homicides and yet he focuses his efforts on this drug raid and cursing (Pabst, 2007)."

Ernesto Chacon planned to file a complaint against police department over the raids; Chacon commented, "While Jones has 50 officers telling him one thing I have 50 workers telling another (Pabst, 2002)." A Milwaukee County Supervisor Anthony Zielinski also commented in the press that he received complaints about drug houses, but not El Rey. He went on to say, "People don't feel safe in their neighborhoods, and now they won't feel safe at the grocery store (Pabst, 2002)."

One of the most interesting views on the El Rey raid was from Oscar Perez who was and still is a strong supporter of Chief Jones' policies. Perez was also a high-ranking member of the Jones administration when the raids occurred; he was a Deputy Inspector of Police.

Perez said:

⁴ While employed as an undercover officer and detective to the MPD Vice- Control Division I was aware of the information, however the reliability of the information was never substantiated.

This is a situation where common sense and I think again, law enforcement misses the opportunity of building trust when they take approaches and in that specific event it was because there were prescription drugs being illegally sold out of El Rey stores. And what they did is they had a search warrant, and they went in there with a tactical enforcement unit and had customers who had no knowledge of anything happening illegal that were subjected to some horrific experiences, rifles in their faces, guys with helmets and stuff on, and storming, not being able to move. I remember one pregnant woman was detained, and I remember her being very upset about it. But again, here, it was known that Latinos within the city of Milwaukee and they are deeply connected with these business leaders, and the Villarreal's have a huge part in that history of making life for Latinos in the City of Milwaukee where they can have an excellent livelihood. I mean, to this day this is an organization that has multiple franchises throughout the City of Milwaukee and branching out they are a multimillion-dollar organization. They did not have a history of criminality...they were always extremely helpful with the police (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).⁵

Perez went on to comment:

In addition, why the leaders within our Vice Control division could not go out, walk in, and tell the owner we have a search warrant this is what we like to do. They did not have to take a tactical approach and in my experience working in the Vice Control Division and being involved in hundreds of search warrants you look at the severity at each search warrant, whether or not there are weapons involved, if it is a no knock search warrant

⁵ The Villarreal family owns the El Rey stores; the grocery stores grew from one small store on So. Cesar Chavez Dr. to become a major grocery chain in Milwaukee's Southside.

because the safety level for officers is extremely great. However, this is a very, very low profile, low-risk search warrant that was escalated into something that treated people with a high level of disdain and ultimately allowed them to lose. We were set back greatly, and I do not even think to this day that the Villarreal's trust the Milwaukee Police Department (O. Perez, personal communication, June 22, 2013).⁶

Robert Welch, who served on the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission from 1997 to 2008, recalls the incident stemmed from a complaint that a grocery store on Cesar Chavez Drive was selling prescription drugs illegally.

Welch said:

It turns out that the prescription drug that was involved, and I cannot think of the medical name, was usually for children's earaches. My recollection was that there was no effort made to find out. There was someone from the state who could not speak Spanish came down there and attempted to buy something, and they just raided the place. They raided the grocery store; I think they raided El Campesino also on Greenfield. They raided the tortilla factory. There was a person at the tortilla factory named Mario Cantorel, who had his leg blown off in El Salvador, and he was working on a computer at El Rey and he was at his desk and was told to get down on the floor. There was no identification on any of the officers. There was no effort made to determine that you had a major business that was active, civically involved in the community. They just went there and busted it. They went in and raided he place, and there was no need for that (R. Welch, personal communication, November 8, 2012).

⁶ A no-knock search warrant refers to the authority given by the courts to the officers serving a search warrant. The no-knock gives the officer the authority to break the door open without giving the occupants time to open the door. The officer must provide testimony to a Judge or Magistrate that the no-knock is necessary for officer safety or prevent destruction of evidence.

Welch's view is the El Rey raid was a significant event, the following year Milwaukee Police was fortunate to have Sgt. Luis Gonzalez. Once the raid aftermath wound down, you had the September 16 celebrations. According to Welch, there were some individuals in the police department who thought the "celebration should be treated as a hostile event." Welch further stated, "Luis was very good at letting people know, this what this is, this is what you need. You don't need an over extension of personnel down there. This not a violent community, this is a community celebration (R. Welch, personal communication, November 8, 2012)."

In mentioning the El Rey raid, I am not downplaying the significance of the problem with selling of prescription drugs over the counter. The medical director from a major Southside medical clinic that treated Latinos said that there was a problem with Latino women coming from Mexico, where apparently, there was an overuse of antibiotics. Women arriving in the U.S. needed different antibiotics because the women had built a resistance to the antibiotics being used (Pabst, 2002).

In summary, Latino police officers and administrators believed that the main issue regarding the two incidents involving the Mexican Independence Parade and the raid on the El Rey store was not whether to enforce the law, but the methods used. The Latino community and Latino officers who were members of the NLPOA believed that Latinos were being treated unfairly in enforcing the laws, if the impromptu parade had been a sports celebration the parties would have been given the space to celebrate without the excessive issuance of tickets. If a grocery store in a white neighborhood were raided under the same circumstances, the customers would not have been treated so harshly. The incidents became public relation nightmares for Chief Jones and the MPD. However, unlike Chief Breier; Jones used Latino officers to formulate responses to the incidents.

Chief Nannette Hegerty and the Latino Community

As previously, stated Nannette Hegerty was appointed the first female police Chief following Jones' departure in 2003. Hegerty was one of the first females appointed in MPD, in 1976, becoming the first female lieutenant and first female captain in 1990. Hegerty was appointed a U.S. Marshall for the Eastern District of Wisconsin by President Bill Clinton in 1994 and served in that capacity until hired as Milwaukee Police Chief in 2003(Dietdrich and Borowski 2007).

According to Robert Welch, Haggerty had her hands full with the Frank Jude incident and did not have an "awareness" (R. Welch, personal communication, November 8, 2012) of the El Rey incident. Hegerty also did not have a handle with issues within the Latino community, according to Welch. Gonzalez was a big help to Hegerty and was eventually moved up to the Chief's office and appointed as a liaison to the Latino community. Previous to his appointment to the Latino liaison position under Hegerty, Gonzalez, who was president of the Milwaukee Chapter of the NLPOA, had been at odds with the Jones administration (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

The Frank Jude incident was the beating of Jude by off-duty police officers on October 2004 (Dietdrich, 2007). Jude had attended a house party in Milwaukee's Bay View neighborhood. Off-duty police officers had invited two females to a party at one of the police officers home. One of the women had invited Jude and another friend to the party, Jude is bi-racial, and the friend is African American to the party. At the party, one of the officers had accused Jude of stealing his badge. Jude and the women attempted to leave the party; however, they were stopped by off-duty officers Jon Bartlet, Andrew Spengler and Daniel Masarik. The off-duty officers accused Jude of stealing a badge and started kicking Jude as well as jamming

objects into Jude's ear, the off-duty officers shouted racial slurs at the Jude and his friend (Dietdrich, 2007).

The officers were acquitted in state court; however, they were charged in Federal court where they were found guilty. One of the issues in state court was the officers were uncooperative with investigators, however, several of the officers who had been uncooperative had agreed to cooperate in federal court. Bartlet, Spengler and Masarik claimed they had placed themselves on duty and were acting under color of authority (meaning they had placed themselves on duty and were acting as on duty police officers), which set them up for Federal jurisdiction, violation of civil rights charges. Hegerty eventually fired nine officers involved in the incident, "suspended three and demoted one" (Dietdrich, 2007).

I was assigned to the police academy as an instructor when the Jude incident occurred. I recall officers walking into the classroom the morning after the incident, everyone was silent, not the usual talkative group. Everyone was aware this incident had set back community police relations back; Jude had become a verb on the street, "don't Jude me" became a common phrase used by individuals on the street when dealing with police officers. There was no defending this action by anyone. One of the problems I found in discussing the incident with officers who had been at the scene was the off-duty officers had taken charge of the scene and the responding supervisors were inexperienced and had lost control of the scene initially.

A background story that eventually surfaced was that Bartlett, who was considered the leader of the group of officers, was convicted in 1992 of fleeing from police. The question was, how had Bartlet passed the background investigation? Bartlett, Masarik and Spengler were sentenced to "more than 15 years in prison" (Federal Court) for violating Jude's civil rights (Johnson, 2007).

Upon retiring Hegerty was credited with firing 37 officers in four years compared to Jones who fired “18 in seven years.” However, John Balcerzak, President of the Police Union accused Haggerty of being “overzealous” in investigating police officers (Dietdrich and Borowski, 2007). Haggerty had appointed Luis Gonzalez as a liaison to the Latino community and maintained good relations with the Latino community.⁷

Hegerty received favorable comments from both community leaders and politicians; Alderman Willie Hines is quoted as saying that Hegerty deserves “credit in many areas including toward the restoration of the department’s image and relations with the citizenry (Dietdrich and Borowski, 2007).”

Oscar Perez, who was promoted under Jones, fell out of favor under Hegerty’s administration; Perez felt she dismantled Jones’ community initiatives. Gonzalez, on the other hand, had a positive relationship with Hegerty, having been appointed Latino community liaison in 2003 or 2004 when according to Gonzalez, Milwaukee was experiencing one of the highest homicide rates on the Southside, mainly gang-related homicides (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012). According to Gonzalez, something had to be done, the Southside district captains were not Latinos. One recommendation he made to Hegerty was to assign Latino Captains and Lieutenants so that the community can identify with [sic] “them and they with the community.” (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012)

According to Gonzalez, under Hegerty, the police department started working with faith-based organizations within the Latino community and the relationship between the MPD and the Latino community improved. In particular, the police department started working with a Catholic Priest, Eliazar Perez and that help bring the Southside homicide rate down, according to

⁷ John Balcerzak who the president of the police labor union was one of the officers initially fired during the Dahmer incident.

Gonzalez.⁸ Gonzalez used the church and which helped eliminate the impromptu celebrations as well; those issues were resolved by working with community organizations (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

Chief Hegerty, on some occasions, relied on Latino police officers to help her with the relationships of the Latino community. Latino officers who were members of the NLPOA had broken away from the blue shield and had identified with the Latino community (moved to Brown). Consequently, they had earned the trust of the Latino community and were used by Hegerty on some occasions to attempt to repair relations with the Latino community, as was the case in using Gonzalez as a liaison between the MPD and the Latino community.

NLPOA Clashes with MPD Labor Union over Latino Officer

An incident under Chief Hegerty's tenure had unintentional impact on my research. During my research, I reviewed the incident; however prior to finalizing my information gathering, I attended the 2014 NLPOA conference in Las Vegas and was surprised by a series of events that caused me to re-evaluate part of my conclusion, weather the NLPOA was still functioning after the retiring of the main organizers.

The incident involved Officers Oscar Ayala –Cornejo and his brother Alex Ayala. Oscar had joined the MPD under the name of Jamie Morales the name of a dead cousin. The father and other family members had immigrated to the United States legally but Oscar did not have legal status. Published newspaper accounts indicated that Jaime Morales had died of cancer and both Jaime and his father had agreed to let Oscar use his identity. Oscar started using the identity in high school in 1999 (Milwaukee police officer admits being illegal immigrant, 2007, June 18) and in February 2004 Oscar was hired by the MPD. After successfully completing the police

⁸ I was unable to make a correlation for this claim.

academy, he was assigned to District 5 in 2005 (Pabst, 2007). In February 2007, a U.S. Department of Homeland Security agent received information regarding Oscar's real identity. Rumors circulated later that it was an ex-girlfriend that had turned Ayala in; however, this was never confirmed. Information provided to law enforcement agencies by confidential informants reminds secret unless ordered by a judge. In this case, there is no evidence that such an order was given. Oscar Ayala-Cornejo was arrested, and he eventually pled guilty and was sentenced of six to twelve months in prison and agreed to deportation (Milwaukee police officer admits being illegal immigrant, 2007, June 18).

This incident became another point of disagreement between the NLPOA, which came out in support of Ayala-Cornejo, and the Milwaukee Police Association, which opposed the officer's reinstatement. John Balcerzak, head of the police union, stated, "The union will not support Ayala-Cornejo because he is not a citizen and thus could not be a police officer (Pabst, 2007)." López, former President of the NLPOA said, "The MPA president has chosen to find Ayala-Cornejo guilty without due process (Pabst, 2007)." The NLPOA had wanted the MPA to provide legal assistance and support to Ayala, however, the union refused, their stance was due to his illegal status he should never been a police officer in the first place.

Retired MPD Sergeant Luis Gonzalez recalls that he "locked horns with both MPA President John Balcerzak and MPA Vice President Tom Fischer over the Ayala-Cornejo case." Gonzalez said, "The MPA were not representing this kid. They wanted him to throw him to the wolves. This kid just wanted an opportunity. We got into it; I got into it. I locked horns with them. I was Vice President of the NLPOA at the time and between me and Louis López we drafted a letter, a press release and we sent it out. That was when things started turning sour between the NLPOA and the MPA." The NLPOA continued to support Ayala writing letters of

support and asking for leniency in dealing with the case (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012)

The Latino officer's support for Ayala-Cornejo suggests that Latino officers in the 2000s increasingly identified with their Latino ethnicity and the community and because they had strong positions in the MPD they were more willing to buck the blue shield culture.

Immigration Policies and the NLPOA

The move away from the blue shield was evident on the issue of Federal immigration law enforcement by police departments. Latinos who were members of the NLPOA were in a strong position to challenge the role of MPD in enforcing immigration law.

One of the biggest challenges for Latino officers was how to respond to the 911-twin tower attacks. The federal policy to address terrorism by securing the borders quickly turned into a debate on immigration. The Federal Government enacted laws requiring non-federal law enforcement agencies to enforce federal immigration laws. The "Clear Law Enforcement for Criminal Alien Removal Act and the Homeland Security Enhance Act" passed by Congress in 2003 required local law enforcement to enforce federal immigration laws (<http://www.immigrationforum.org>). The NLOPA was among law enforcement groups that opposed the law.

In 2008, thousands of Latinos marched in major U.S. cities opposing the increase in the deportation of undocumented immigrants by the U.S. government. Some immigrant supporters wanted drivers licenses issued to undocumented immigrants (Azul, 2008). There were also protests against the perceived militarization of the United States – Mexico border (Azul, 2008), Christine Neumann-Ortiz of Voces de la Frontera was leading the effort in Milwaukee along with a nationwide network of activists coordinating marches in support of undocumented

immigrants (<http://us.oneworld.net/articles>). MPD officer Luis Gonzalez, acting as police liaison with the Latino community in Milwaukee, worked with Neumann-Ortiz to coordinate resources needed for the marches that were held in Milwaukee. Gonzalez said the number of marchers numbered in the thousands. His ability as a liaison enabled marches to go on without problems between police and the demonstrators. He communicated with both groups during the marches to avoid confrontations (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

López recalled that the NLPOA had “been fighting the issue of immigration in terms of the way the government and some of the states handle it. We felt that is a federal issue: they should be handling it and not local law enforcement. So we came out as a national organization against the federal government mandating that local law enforcement become involved in rounding up immigrants and getting involved in that issue. Our position was, we as law enforcement officers would tell the folks that, do you want me dealing with murders, robbers, thieves, domestic abuse and all these other incidents or do you want me trying to spend eight hours trying to find out the person’s name. I would rather have my officers out on the street dealing with crime (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2012).”

López wanted the undocumented workers provided with identification so when they were stopped by law enforcement they would have proper identification instead of struggling to identify the person. López said, “No, gives us I.D.s, find these people let them come in and give them identification. We as law enforcement officers, we come across somebody we want proper identification (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2012).”

In 2008, there were efforts in the Wisconsin state legislature to pass a bill denying undocumented immigrants access to drivers licenses and identification cards. The NLPOA opposed the efforts siding with immigration groups in opposing the bill. The NLPOA wrote

letters in both English and Spanish (templates were not dated) that urged Governor Doyle to “oppose AB69/SB334...” claiming it would deny access to identification cards and driver’s licenses for undocumented residents of Wisconsin (LPEARC10).⁹ There was also a three-page letter co-written with Voces de la Frontera –Working Center letterhead addressed to the members of the State Senate Committee on Natural Resources and Transportation urging non-support for AB69 which tied “access to driver’s license or state identification to immigration status.” (LPEARC09) This suggests that NLPOA had become active in supporting immigrant rights. This is significant because until the early 2000, Latino officers generally did not view the immigration issue as relevant to police matters.

Opposition to laws being passed restricting access to identification and driver’s licenses as well as enforcing immigrations was not new to the NLPOA or many law enforcement agencies. There were real concerns of creating a closed society, where certain ethnic groups were afraid to call police. American policing is full of examples, the growth of the MAFIA in America; many Asian communities distrust the police and do not report crimes to the police. Consequently, these communities are victimized, and gangs and organized crime take a foothold. Latino officers were aware that many Latino immigrants came from countries that had police death squads and these immigrants did not trust American police either, the bill would only create more distrust between undocumented Latino immigrants and the police.

Mexican Fiesta

By the mid-1990s, Latino officers through the NLPOA became more involved in community events. One such event was Mexican Fiesta, which is the largest fund raising event of the Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship Foundation. LULAC Council #9990 originally ran Mexican

⁹ The letter templates were not dated other than to refer to the 2001 911-twin tower attack, the templates would have to been written on or after 2001.

Fiesta, but the Council was renamed and incorporated in 1987 as the Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship Foundation. Organized in 1973 as a street festival to celebrate Mexican Independence (<http://www.mexicanfiesta.org>), the festival was invited by Wisconsin World Festivals Inc. to join the other ethnic festivals at the Henry Maier Festival Grounds in 1977 (also referred to as the Summerfest grounds). The purpose of the festival is to raise funds for Latino students wishing to continue their education in college. As of 2013, the Foundation had awarded over one million dollars in scholarship money to Latino students (Mercado, 2013). Currently, the fiesta is the largest paid attendance Mexican festival in Wisconsin (<http://www.mexicanfiesta.org>).

Aside from raising scholarship funds the festival's objectives are to "enhance and offer education on Mexican and Hispanic cultures, promote access to educational and professional opportunities that exist for our youth today, provide a better understanding of the arts, history, literature, culture, aspirations cultural ideas and development of Mexican/Hispanic culture in Wisconsin and the United States, encourage and support educational programs and events to provide for better understanding of Mexican/Hispanic culture (<http://www.mexicanfiesta.org>)."¹⁰

The Executive Director for Mexican Fiesta Teresa Mercado said in her view the National Latino Peace Officer Association has played an important role in the success of Mexican Fiesta. According to Mercado, the Fiesta Board has three current board members, one the author of this dissertation was president of the board for eleven years, the current board president, Ruben Burgos is a retired police lieutenant and former President of the NLPOA, and Luis Gonzalez also a retired police officer and member of the NLPOA was a board member of the Fiesta Board for about ten years (T. Mercado, personal communication, April 29, 2014).

¹⁰ Although the festival started out as a celebration of Mexican culture organizers have made an effort to include aspects of other Latino cultures, however since Milwaukee Latino population is largely Mexican, Mexican American the festival's overall flavor is reflects that population.

The importance of the NLPOA as board members cannot be overstated. One of the primary reasons that this is important is that among other members of the board and former members of the board were Ernesto Chacon (community and Latino civil rights activist), Lupe Martinez, CEO of UMOs¹¹ (United Migrant Opportunity Services), Oscar Cervera (Former Director for the Federation for Civic Action Ernesto Baca (one-time time member of the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission).¹² There was an informal link to the MPD and other local Latino social service and civil rights organizations within the Mexican Fiesta board. Aside from board members named, there were 17 board members from within the Latino community. The Mexican Fiesta had over 1,000 volunteers, and many of the largest Latino organizations earned money through the festival by operating beer tents and providing volunteer(T. Mercado, personal communication, April 29, 2014). There was interaction and familiarity between many of the NLPOA leadership and members of the Latino leadership in Milwaukee. Aside from Mexican Fiesta, the NLPOA also supported activities by the Wisconsin Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, and provided security for the Mexican Independence parade and Cinco de Mayo festivities, which were organized by UMOs (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2012).

Mexican Fiesta also provided political influence for the Milwaukee Latino community. One of the events the festival hosted was opening ceremony, as a part of the opening ceremony, Wisconsin politicians were invited to attend the ceremony and introduced. The list of politicians that attended the ceremony included Governors, the Mayor, as well as a host of city officials.¹³

¹¹ A non-profit organization that services under represented populations in Milwaukee, original organized in 1965 to service the needs of Latino migrant workers in Milwaukee. Today UMOs is one of the largest social service agencies in Wisconsin (UMOS.Org).

¹² A Latino civil rights organization originally organized by Ernesto Chacon, Cervera became the director when Chacon was hired by the State of Wisconsin to handle Latino affairs in Milwaukee for then Governor Doyle.

¹³ Republican and Democratic governors appeared at the festival and or their representatives.

During national elections, representatives from both presidential candidates made appearances at the festival and as result of hosting the opening ceremony the festival were able to form good working relations from members of both political parties.

From an operational standpoint the NLPOA provided security services for the festival, the NLPOA's President Luis López was security coordinator for the Festival. López ensured there were enough volunteers for the three days of the festival, he would send out announcement through NLPOA newsletters to the membership (LPEARC07). The other important service that the NLPOA provided was to review the Summerfest security assignments. The cost to run the festival is extremely high and the cost of security provided to the festival by the Summerfest organization takes a large portion of the money made during three days. López would review the assignments by Summerfest security and cut person-hours, where he felt that NLPOA members could handle the situation. The NLPOA members were sworn police officers while the Summerfest security members were just that security with no arrest powers.

The NLPOA also solicited volunteers from other organizations like the U.S. Army National Guard, U.S. Army Reserves, as well as college students that were studying criminal justice. The NLPOA was allowed to run beer tents to raise funds for their organization. The tents were manned by also volunteers, there were judges, lawyers, and in some cases there were politicians. These volunteers worked in the beer tents helping raise money for the festival; however, a percentage of the proceeds were ear marked for the NLPOA.

The NLPOA also handled Mexican Fiesta conflicts between fiesta security and Latino fiesta-goers. Early in my tenure as Festival President, I had to deal with complaints from Latino

attendees that Summerfest security threatened them too rough and often times used racial slurs.¹⁴ The NLPOA personnel made sure that the Latino attendees were not treated badly. Arrests were made; customers were removed for behavioral issues; however, this was done in a respectful and courteous manner. The biggest contribution by the NLPOA to the festival was the controlling of the Latino gangs on the Mexican Fiesta grounds. Latino officers were more respectful with festivalgoers. The respect was extended to those individuals who had to be arrested and escorted off the grounds. These individuals were not mistreated when they were arrested or removed from the grounds. The Latino officers who were familiar with the Latino gangs were able to recognize known gang members and were able to remove them prior to any serious conflicts occurring on the festival grounds. Any incidents of gang activity or fights would make the news media, would cause the festival to be seen as a dangerous event, and would have prevented the festival from growing.

NLPOA's Future

What became an unexpected part of my research was Alex Ayala who was fired from the police department for covering up his brother's identity. Alex Ayala, unlike his brother, was a legal resident and citizen and he appealed his firing to the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission and was reinstated and given a 10-day suspension. Alex was disciplined for not turning his brother in to authorities for using a false identity. For all practical purposes, Alex's career appeared to be over as a Milwaukee Police officer. Even if reinstated the suspension and firing would be on his record and it would have prevented him from prestigious assignments. In 2013, while finalizing my research, I attended an NLPOA conference in Orlando, Florida where

¹⁴ I had several meetings with the head of Summerfest security in the early years of the Festival to address complaints by both customers and volunteers alleging that security personnel made disparaging remarks about Mexicans. The complaints eventually diminished with time.

I learned that Alex had been elected Milwaukee Chapter president. Some of the MPD Latinos in the LPOA resigned because they felt his involvement in his brother's incident did not reflect well on the LPOA. I had all but written off the Milwaukee NLPOA chapter due to retirements in leadership by López, Gonzalez and Burgos, who had retired by 2012 (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012).

In 2014, the NLPOA was considering Milwaukee as one of the cities to hold their 2016 convention and Interim President George Aranda (Dallas Chapter) and West Coast Vice President, Jose Cuervo, and I met in an informal conversation. Both Aranda and Cuervo told me they were impressed by Ayala and his new group of members. During the visit, I was able to observe Ayala and his members work with members of the City of Milwaukee to try to sell the city as a site for the convention.

I attended the NLPOA conference in Las Vegas in 2014; I had the intentions to observe the type of training provided to NLPOA members. Alex Ayala was elected to the national board as a Parliamentarian, and Milwaukee was selected as the host for the 2016 conference. What remains to be seen is the type of relationship will develop between the NLPOA and MPD Chief Flynn. The members were young, and appeared to not be as vested in the subculture and more connected to the Latino culture.

The other side note is the Dallas chapter of the NLPOA broke off from the National Chapter and formed a new association, The Latino Law Enforcement Association. The Dallas chapter has 500 members and according to Daniel Sarmiento, a Dallas PD Lieutenant and former president of the Dallas chapter they were certified as a bargaining unit (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, December 12, 2012). Much like the Houston PD, Dallas had different labor units along racial lines (Watson, 2005).

The Dallas chapter had a conflict with what the National organization wanted from its chapters, the National did not want its chapters to be labor unions. One of the underlying reasons for the conflict between the Dallas and the National organization was that as the largest chapter, Dallas had the most votes and this was causing a problem with the California chapters (M. Sarmiento, personal communication, December 12, 2012).

Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the shedding of the blue shield by the Latino officers who were members of the NLPOA and moved toward Brown identifying with the Latino community and supporting the Latino community in areas of policing. This chapter argued that Latino officers in the MPD became more independent of the blue shield culture in the 1990s –early 2002 because of several factors. The appointment of a Mexican American police chief, Phillip Arreola, was one factor. He increased diversity in the department. Yet in the Dahmer case, he came under fire for firing officers and Latino officers and the NLPOA defended him. Second the national conservative backlash on immigration increased Latino offices sensitivity to being Latino, further pushing them to Brown. The two incidents under Jones led to stronger Latino-community relations and protests. Finally, NLPOA nationally became more involved with immigration issues.

Chief Arreola's reforms of the MPD had met with resistance from the police labor unions, which were primarily white. This has some similarities of the resistance by the Houston PD labor unions to the appointment of an African American police chief, Lee P. Brown in 1982 (Watson, 2005). The Houston labor unions were at odds with many of Brown's policies similarly to the MPD labor unions opposed to reforms implemented by Arreola, primarily Community Oriented Policing. Arreola also hired more minority officers as well as promoted more minority officers

during his tenure, which is in line with Zhao, He and Lovrich study that shows that there is an increase in the hiring of minorities within police agencies when a minority police chief is hired.¹⁵

NLPOA members were actively involved in police community relations, from both helping repairing community-police relations when police departments were involved in controversial actions such as the ticketing and arresting of Latinos celebrating Mexican-Independence Day as well as the raid of the El Rey grocery store. NLPOA members were also supporting the Latino community through their involvement in community events such as Mexican Fiesta and assisting community organizations like Voces de la Frontera in the handling of the immigration policies involving the use of police officers to enforce immigration laws.

One observation I made is probably considered anecdotal evidence. The involvement of Latino officers in working with the Latino community was primarily done through the NLPOA. I considered anecdotal because there is no way to measure the evidence at this time. During my involvement with the NLPOA, Mexican-Fiesta and other events in the Latino community in which Latino officers were involved all came through the effort of the NLPOA members and some none members were involved through the efforts of the NLPOA.

On April of 2013, Lieutenant of Detectives Ruben Burgos and President of the Milwaukee Chapter of the NLPOA retired from the MPD. When Burgos retired; the last of the original NLPOA members were gone. There were problems at the national level of the NLPOA and the new president of the Milwaukee NLPOA, Alex Ayala was not looked at as a favorable candidate for the position by a number of Latino MPD members. The survival of the NLPOA in MPD and at the national level was in question.

¹⁵ MPD had two unions a police officers and a supervisor's, while Houston had several; however, these were divided by race.

The NLOPA had not only moved the MPD Latino officer towards identifying with the Latino Community in Milwaukee, moved toward “Brown,” but had also changed the image of the Latino officer. The Latino officer not only held command positions within MPD, but also took leadership roles within the Latino community in Milwaukee, beyond that of police community relations.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

In a response to the treatment of minorities in the U.S. by the police in the 1960s, the 1967 Presidential Report on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice listed several recommendations to improve how minorities were policed and to improve the relationship between minorities and police. One of these recommendations was to increase the hiring of minority police officers, and to increase the educational requirements for police officers to four-year college degrees, and recommending that police departments create community relations programs. Many departments had public relations programs, which were considered community relations by police departments (The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967). The scholarship is divided on these recommendations (Woody, 2005; Peak, 209; Gould, 2000; Sanchez and Rosenbaum, 2000). Some studies suggest that diversity of police officers does not improve community relations. College degrees also do not seem to make much of a difference, nor do community relations programs.

What does this study tell us about minority community-police relations? This study examined incorporation of Latinos into the Milwaukee Police Department and the impact of Latino police officers in police-Latino community relations. In 1964, the MPD hired the first Latino police officer; and in 1976, the MPD hired the first Latina police officer. African Americans had traditionally been represented in small numbers within the MPD. This dissertation focused on the process in which a group of Latino officers became independent of the "blue culture." The evolution of these Latinos from "Blue to Brown" occurred in three areas. Chapter two covered the initial hiring of Latinos in the MPD from 1964 to the 1984 to the

consent decree settlement which included Latino officers. However, Latino officers in the MPD were few in the 1960s–1980s. With small numbers, no more than 20 Latino officers rarely spoke out or sided with black officers in conflicts with MPD administration, as that would have left them vulnerable in a predominantly white department. Therefore, Latino officers fell in line and embraced the blue culture to avoid conflicts. Chapter three showed the growth of the Latino population in Milwaukee and the poor community relations between the MPD and the Latino community. Chapter three also showed the organizing of the Latino community and the building of the social structures that would play an important role in the evolution of Latino officers reaching out to the Latino community as they were shedding their “blue shield” and embracing their Latino identity, going to “Brown.” The social structures included LUCAR, UMOS, Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, and the Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship Foundation. These organizations were founded by the early Latino civil rights leaders in Milwaukee and played an important role in bringing the NLPOA and the Latino community together by providing dialogue between the two groups.

Chapter four showed that the Latino officers experienced racism and discrimination within the MPD, which led Latino officers into forming a local chapter of the NLPOA. The Latino officers used the NLPOA as a vehicle for social activism within the Latino community, which was part of the browning process. Chapter five showed the importance of Latino officers in the MPD in dealing with the Latino gang problem in Milwaukee. The official policy in the MPD in dealing with gangs was suppression. Latino officers in the MPD gang unit had a different approach to the gang problem. They were reaching out to both the Latino community and the gang members in order to find a solution to the gang problem. Latino officers were moving away from the “blue shield” and towards a Latino identity. This helped them do their

work by having positive relations with community leaders. Chapter six argued that the NLPOA formation was an essential to the gradual “browning” process. NLPOA officers were few in the MPD but they had influence beyond their numbers. Chapter 7 provides evidence of their activism. Latino officers in the MPD were involved in repairing police community relationships, providing security for ethnic festivals as well as serving on the board to the Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship foundation and work with immigration advocacy groups within the Latino community to help in their advocacy of immigration rights. Latino officers who were members in the NLPOA, once they pushed away from the “blue shield” and identified with the Latino community they became community leaders.

Dual Identities

Latinos are not one group. Latino is an identifying term used for several independent groups of people with Latin American origin. From a national standpoint, the Mexican American group is the largest groups and often overshadows other Latino groups. Up until the 1960s, Milwaukee’s Latino population did not have density and that prevented them from having a political voice. The Latino community in Milwaukee had to organize and according to community activists and leader Ernesto Chacon, the first priorities were helping migrant worker and getting Latinos educational opportunities (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

Keeping track of the Latino population in Milwaukee was problematic due to the different Latino groups and the way Latinos were classified. The 1960 Milwaukee census had the Mexican population at 3,218 (1960 Milwaukee Census Tack) while the 1970s had 3,657 Mexican residents and 512 of Cuban descent (Milwaukee Census 1979). Interestingly there was no mention of a Puerto Rican population in the city; however, Gurda’s 1999 *The Making of*

Milwaukee documented a vibrant Puerto Rican community in Milwaukee's Eastside starting in the 1940s. Milwaukee's Latino population did not start increasing until the 1980s when Milwaukee had 26,111 people of Spanish origin and listed the different groups, 15,363 Mexicans, 7,708 Puerto Ricans, and 390 of Cuban origin and 2,650 other Spanish origin (1980 Census of Population and Housing Milwaukee, WI).

During 1960s, Mexican Americans in the Southwest and California had been involved in the civil rights movement (Escobar, 1999; Gutiérrez, 1995; Vargas 2011; Valdes, 1991) and on the East coast; the Puerto Ricans were involved in the civil rights movement (Acosta-Belen, 2006). Latinos in Milwaukee lacked the numbers necessary as individual groups and started working together under one front building social structures to include a community newspaper, *La Guardia*. Articles in *La Guardia* were full of references of how the different Latino groups were working together towards a common identity, Latino (*La Guardia*, 1971–1974).

Latinos lacking numbers in Milwaukee not only united under one front; they also formed alliance with African Americans in their struggle for civil rights in Milwaukee (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013). Latinos were able to establish social agencies. Latinos established the United Migrant Opportunity Service in 1965, Centro Hispano Milwaukee in 1964 as well as other social agencies to meet the needs of Latinos (Rodriguez, 2011). The organizing effort was important to the future of the Latino in Milwaukee in establishing a relationship with Latino officers in MPD. When Latino police officers started to organize and reach out to the Latino community in the 1990s, these organizations were well established, and they could work with in establishing rapport with the NLPOA, they had a point of reference.

One of the results of the study was the evidence of strong influences that California and Texas played in organizing the Latino community in Milwaukee. Although Puerto Ricans

attempted to organize in the 1950s, they did not gain the traction necessary to maintain the momentum (Tolan, 2003). Tolan writes that there was a lack of political sophistication among the Puerto Rican groups of the 1950s (2003); however, one of the major problems is lack of density of population for the group. The earliest census information in the 1960s counted 3,657 Mexicans and no mention of Puerto Ricans (1960 Milwaukee Census Tack). In the mid-1960s, activists trained by the Catholic Church in Texas started arriving in Milwaukee (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013; Rodriguez, 2011). The activists trained to safeguarding the rights of migrant farm workers, these activists became organizers and had the necessary training to organize.

The California Grape boycotts of the 1960s and 70s led by Cesar Chavez also helped in organizing the Latino community in Milwaukee. The Milwaukee activists traveled back and forth to California to help Chavez in his organizing efforts. The activists that traveled back and forth to California to help Chaves were gaining experience in organizing marches and protest (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013; Valdes, 1991).

The Latino efforts in mounting protest marches led to clashes with the MPD in March of 1970. The clashes led to the arrests of two leaders of the marches, Ernesto Chacon and Jose Puente. A meeting was held in at Holy-Trinity-Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church in Milwaukee's near Southside where 500 people attended the meeting (Stewart, 1970). According to accounts in *La Guardia* (1970), there was a cross section of people to include Latinos Anglos and leaders of the African American community ("Students walk out commemorate Dolores y Lares," 1973, October, no date). Different Latino groups were forming a united front and building alliances.

Latinos in MPD used the same roadmap as the early community leaders. The first Latino hired in 1964 by MPD was Mexican American; however, it is difficult to identify the different Latino groups represented simply because the identifier is either Latino or Hispanic, its one group. What also makes it more complicated in tracking Latinos in MPD is the case of female officers. If they marry an Anglo or African American, their name could change to an American name unless they hyphenate the name it would be hard to track. Similarly, if the female officer was not of Latino descent and they married a Latino, then they would have a Latino last name and they would be misidentified. Another interesting find was the case of several individuals with Spanish surnames. These individuals had mixed heritage, white and Latino and for various reasons had no contact with their Latino culture and were Latino in name only. These individuals did not identify as Latino nor were interested in their Latino heritage.

In 1988, what started as a chance meeting between Milwaukee Deputy Sheriff Jose L López and Luis Quijas of the NLPOA evolved into the formation of a local chapter of the NLPOA in Milwaukee. Although López was not a member of the Milwaukee Police Department, his activism in law enforcement influenced MPD Latino police officers and the Latino community in Milwaukee. The importance of López's chance meeting is that he comes from a Puerto Rican family that was involved in organizing the Puerto-Rican community in the early 1960s, his father was the president of a Puerto Rican Society Club and his brother Emilio organized a group of Puerto Rican youth known as the Red Berets in 1970 (Tolan, 1999). The Red Berets were involved in protest marches in 1970 (Tolan, 1999). López came from a background of activism, which enabled him to recognize the opportunity when he met with Quijas the NLPOA president (J. López, personal communication, November 9, 2012).

The NLPOA becomes important because prior to the NLPOA organizing a chapter in Milwaukee there is no clear evidence that Latinos were reaching out to the Latino community. It is only fair to point out that prior to the 1980s there were not a large number of Latinos in the MPD. African American Officers had organized in 1972 by forming the League of Martin to address what African American officers felt were discriminatory practices by MPD (Wells, 2013). African American officers through the League of Martin had sued the MPD several times and getting Consent Decrees from the City of Milwaukee ordering the city to hire more minority officers as well as to promote more African American officers within MPD L.(Wells, personal communication, November 10, 2012).

The NLPOA organized in California in 1972 and had within its by-laws was “to act as spokesman in order to make law enforcement administrators sensitive to the needs of the Latino community” (NLPOA Original Articles of Incorporation, 1974). The inclusion of this by-law would have an important impact for the members of the Milwaukee Chapter in 1991.

In 1991, Milwaukee Police Chief Philip Arreola fired three Milwaukee Police Officers for their mishandling of the Jeffery Dahmer investigation. On May 27, 1991 police officers returned one of Dahmer’s victim (Konerak Sinthasomphone) back to him after he had escaped, Dahmer eventually killed the victim (Jeffrey Dahmer Murder 1960-1994). When another victim escaped from Dahmer on July 22, 1991, officers arrested Dahmer. A subsequent investigation revealed the fate of Sinthasomphone and Chief Arreola fired the officers that return him to Dahmer (Jeffrey Dahmer Murder 1960-1994).

The Milwaukee Police Association took a vote of no confidence on Arreola and the community responded by backing the Chief. Members of several community groups approached the Milwaukee NLPOA chapter asking for their support in backing the chief on the firing of the

officers. After a debate among its members, the NLPOA backed the community group against its labor union. The LPOA lost some of its members who had opposed backing the chief; however, their discussion centered on the by-law that required them to act as a spokesperson to law enforcement on the needs of Latino community (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012; López, 2012). The NLPOA backed the Chief Arreola at the request of the Latino community, which became an important moment in the NLPOA connection to the Latino community; it gained the community's trust.

Identity becomes important in the sense that not only Latino members of different groups within the Latino umbrella, but they are also members of the police brotherhood. There were some choices that had to be made, not all Latino MPD officers made the move from Blue to Brown. It is difficult to determine the number of Latinos that did not identify with the Latino community and bonded with the "blue shield." Latino officers who were members of the NLPOA moved to "Brown" identifying with the Latino community forming a bond with the community. However, these officers did not lose sight of their profession, as it is evident in their response in the Mexican Independence Day Parade incident. These officers tried to work with the Latino community to conform to the laws and ordinances through educating the Latino community of these laws and ordinances.

Strong Pull of the Police Sub-Culture

The intention of hiring minority police officers versus the reality of the end results appear to be surprising. Police agencies across the United States pushed to hire more minority police officers from the 1970s to the 1990s (Hahn, 1971; Gould, 2000; Woody, 2005). The hiring of minorities was based on the 1967 President's Report on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice recommendations on improving relationships with minority communities. The 1967

report also recommended that police candidates should have a four degree. Subsequent studies, (Brunson and Miller, 2006; Sanchez and Rosenbaum 2010) showed that the policing styles of Latinos and African American officers were the same as their white counter parts, with the exception of racism. Latinos and African Americans were not as racist as the white officers (Brunson and Miller, 2006; Sanchez and Rosenbaum, 2010).

The experience of the MPD officers was similar to police officers in Los Angeles during the 1940s (Escobar, 199) and Houston during the 1980s (Watson, 2005) Latino officers were used primarily in Latino areas. Milwaukee was not the exception, Procopio Sandoval, hired in 1964, worked illegal drug dealing in the Latino community as well as other criminal investigations within the Latino community. Other officers that followed, Perez was another example, and he was hired in the 1980s. Perez worked primarily in the Latino community when he was first hired, however like other Latinos that changed with new Chiefs. Latinos were dispersed throughout the city and given different assignments, as were African Americans with the different chiefs.

It is difficult to go back at this point and track the early Latino police officers, most have retired and moved out of the city; however, those that did interview appeared to function well within the police department. These officers they felt that they were discriminated against and had to endure racist comments against themselves and racist behavior towards members of the Latino community (Gomez, 2013; R. Galaviz, personal communication, October 20, 2013; Perez, 2013). Although these officers were offended by the behavior there was no apparent action taken by these officers. It is difficult to say anything based on the fact that you have to depend on the very officers that you would have to report to back-you up in the case of an emergency. The Latino officers were very aware of the race issues; however, unlike the African

American officers who had organized in 1972, Latino officers attempted to organize prior to the 1988, but were unsuccessful until López reached out to the NLPOA. According to Ruben Burgos (2012), the earlier effort did not succeed because the officers attempting to organize were too militant. It was never clear why they attempted to organize, the only officers that remembered cited the lack of opportunities to advance within MPD; however, I was unable to identify others from that group and I cannot reach any conclusions.

The NLPOA had 46 active members by 2000 (Wisconsin NLPOA 2000 roster), the MPD had 191 Latino officers in 2000 (Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission Reports). I was unable to come up with a number of MPD officers in the NLPOA since there were multiple agencies represented in the roster. The roster did not have a departmental breakdown of the officers. Any attempt to come up with a number would be inaccurate. However, it is clear that not a large number of MPD Latino officers represented in the NLPOA. What is important in interviewing these officers there was a clear commitment to get involved in issues affecting police and the Latino community. I was unable to locate any evidence of any organized efforts by Latino officers prior to the NLPOA in volunteering within the Latino community. Sandoval did volunteer work; however, it was not with the Latino community whereas the officers who were members of the NLPOA volunteered within the Latino community.

The Questions

How did Latino officers understand and or deal with the issue of race compared to African American police officers in the MPD? The Latino officers were aware of racial issues within the MPD; however, since there were not enough numbers Latino officers, they did not get organized. Once they had the connections, they organized their own association, just like African American officers organized in the 1970s. The difference with the MPD Latino officers was that

they joined a national organization whereas African American officers were a local group and depended more on individuals that filed civil actions. The Latinos in MPD joined the NLPOA (which was already established) and helped them organize and provide training to become competitive for promotion. The NLPOA by-laws also required them to get involved with issues involving community-police relations.

What influenced the Latin officers in the MPD in responding to community relations efforts between the police department and the Latino community? I could speculate that the NLPOA influenced the Latino officers to get involved in police-community relations; however, the earlier attempt to get organized would be an issue. I was unable to locate enough of those officers, so their motivation to attempt to organize is not documented. What is clear is those officers that joined the NLPOA were aware of discriminatory practices towards the Latino community. Reaching back to the Mendoza's murder of the two off-duty police officers and the police response toward the Latino community, their personal experiences were also motivations as well as lack of opportunity for themselves. On the national level Filipe Ortiz, former president and historian of the national chapter of the NLPOA cites the Cesar Chavez influences as well as the need to address discriminatory practices towards Latinos in law enforcement. They need to form some kind of liaison with the Latino community is evident by their by-laws.

What was the importance of the NLPOA in improving relations between the MPD and Latino community? The NLPOA helped improve the relationship between the Latino community and the MPD starting with Chief Arreola. Arreola's implementation of community oriented policing allowed for contact between the MPD members and the community independent of the department. Chief Breier was more controlling and all contact with community groups were subject to his approval. The NLPO backing of Arreola during the Dahmer vote of no confidence

started a positive relationship between the NLPOA and the Chief. When Chief Jones took office, the NLPOA was a fixture within MPD and the Latino community. When Jones changed policing strategy to Broken Windows there was a zero tolerance approach taken towards the public. This approach led to trouble with the Latino community due to the handling of the Mexican-Independence Day parade in 2000. Latino officers were able to get involved between in working with the Latino community and these officers were members of the NLPOA. Ramon Galaviz was a deputy inspector, Oscar Perez a Deputy Inspector and Luis Gonzalez a sergeant. That trend continued under Chief Nannette Hegerty who assigned Gonzalez as a liaison with the Latino community.

Did the NLPOA offset the influence of the police subculture for MPD Latino officers?

This answer is inconclusive. In spite of the previous numbers reported on Latino MPD members there is evidence that suggests that the Latinos who were members of the NLPOA clearly sided with the community. They often opposed their labor unions on policies such as the use of local law enforcement officers to enforce federal immigration laws.

Political Power and Law Enforcement

By the 1960s, Latinos understood the need for political power, community organizer Ernesto Chacon recalled that the Latino community lacked political power and so Latino activist formed alliances with African American activists (E. Chacon, personal communication, November 6, 2013). Latinos in law enforcement also understood the need for political power yet initially they joined the blue shield culture rather than ally with African Americans.

In 1972, police officers Vicente Calderon and John Parras met in their squad cars to discuss the formation of the LPOA (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013). Calderon and Parras identified the need for an organization to represent the need of Latino police officers.

They realized they needed to include all Hispanic groups and so chose to use “Latino.” Those identifiers meant power simply because they could attract more people and there is strength in numbers.

In their quest to become influential at the national level, the NLPOA sought to extend their political power. Politically the NLPOA took a gamble in 1998 by backing George Bush for his presidential bid (Ortiz, 2013 and López 2012). The gamble paid off, and they opened a Washington D.C. office and President George W. Bush introduced the NLPOA to political contacts as well as promoted Latinos to the U.S. Marshall position (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013). Locally Sgt. Luis Gonzalez of the Milwaukee Chapter of the NLPOA also understood the need for political power and was involved in the backing of political candidates and eventually got a seat on Mayor Norquist’s advisory committee (L. Gonzalez, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

In the MPD, the NLPOA by the 1990s had enough influence from its political strength that it was able to help the Milwaukee immigrant rights organization, Voces de la Frontera, with the immigration March security as well as get involved in affirmative action civil suites (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012; L. Gonzales, personal communication, December 26, 2012).

In the end, I am back where I started when thinking about this study, the debate between Skocpol (1996) and Putnam (1996) about American civic engagement and volunteerism. In particular, Skocpol’s argument that the new face of civic engagement was that of smaller groups of well-educated individuals such as Calderon, Parras, López, Burgos and Gonzalez who were the driving force behind the NLPOA, Calderon and Parras nationally. The NLPOA was a product of the 1960s civil rights movement, especially on the national level. On the local level, there

were ties to local activism; López came from a family of activists. Burgos and Gonzalez sat on the same boards as Chacon, a Milwaukee activist who had a long history in the Latino civil rights movement.

Incorporation of Latinos into MPD

In my analysis of the incorporation of Latinos into MPD, it appeared that there were four waves of Latinos. The first wave are the first officers hired, Sandoval was the first. Sandoval did not appear to have suffered any racial backlash. This could be debated, but according to Sandoval he did not see this. This could be for several reasons, this was prior to the affirmative action and he could have been seen as competing on the same plane as white officers. There were not that many Latino officers so they did not pose a threat as far as promotion and assignments. Finally there was growing Latino population in Milwaukee and this population spoke Spanish, which Sandoval did speak, further Sandoval was able to infiltrate the Latino illegal drug trafficking and was needed.

The second wave would be those officers hired because of the affirmative action rulings or the Consent Decrees. There appeared to be a backlash against these officers by white officers as brought out in the interviews with Gomez, Gonzalez, Burgos and Galaviz. The response by these officers was to join the NLPOA, which was a national organization of Latino officers. The NLPOA had in their by-laws that the organization was to work with the Latino community. According to the former President and Historian of the NPOA Filipe Ortiz, the organization was heavily influenced by the civil rights activism of Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta (F. Ortiz, personal communication, June 27, 2013). The history and by-laws of the organization obligated the Latino officers who were members of the organization to back Latino community in the Dahmer incident. When the police union took of a vote of no confidence on Chief Arreola, the

Latino community responded by backing the chief. Members of the Latino community then asked the NLPOA to support their stance on the chief, which the NLOPA did do.

Initially it appeared that the NLPOA had suffered a setback by supporting the community stance, but this moved the members from of the NLPOA from the blue shield to a credible organization within the Latino community, they had moved from Blue to Brown, identifying with their Latino ethnicity. The organization grew in political influence as well as had its membership within MPD come back, with Latino officers who not members were approaching the NLPOA to intercede on their behalf with the chief when they got into trouble with the department.

There were also non-Latinos that joined the NLPOA, whites as well as black; they were socially oriented officers that understood the importance of working with the community. Many Latino officers participated in social events that the NLPOA was involved in, event like Mexican-Fiesta where they assisted the NLPOA in providing security, or they participated in social events sponsored by the NLPOA. Yet they never totally moved to “Brown,” the “blue shield’s” pull is very strong. Besides providing a social acceptance into the policing community, it also provides protection. The type of protection that is not spoken of is the family circle that is extended to family members of officers that are killed in the line of duty; if you chose to leave the protection, you do it at your own risk. That is why in my assessment the officers that moved to “Brown” were extremely courageous.

The third wave was after the court battles over affirmative action with the group of white officers LEOCARD filed a lawsuit in 1993 challenging the affirmative action and consent decrees entered upon by MPD. Which the result was a dismissal of the lawsuits, there was an agreement reached replacing the first agreements. Ruben Burgos former president of the NLPOA

during the LEOCARD lawsuit felt the Latinos had been successfully incorporated into MPD and Latinos were being promoted and he signed off on the consent decree (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012). The officers of the third wave did not feel the need for joining the NLPOA, these officers were being promoted and were experiencing the “blowback” of the affirmative action rulings that the second wave of Latino officers in the MPD experienced.

By 2000, it seemed that with the success of the NLPOA and the retirement of the founding members there seemed to be little activity from the organization relating to community events. This changed, however; the rise of the immigration debate after 911 gave the NLPOA a new cause. The NLPOA opposed the use of police officers in enforcing immigration laws. The Milwaukee chapter had evolved into the Wisconsin chapter and members of the NLPOA joined forces with Latino immigration groups in opposing the use of police officers to enforce federal immigration laws (R. Burgos, personal communication, December 7, 2012). In 2007, MPD Officer Oscar Ayala-Cornejo was fired for using a false identity to join the MPD. He had used the identity of a dead cousin to join the MPD, because he was not a legal immigrant and his cousin was a legal immigrant. Oscar’s brother Alex was also an MPD police officer and he was fired for not turning in his brother. Alex was re-instated and he eventually became the president of the Milwaukee chapter of the NLPOA as well as elected to the national board of the NLPOA. Alex recruited new members into the NLPOA and this would be the fourth wave. These are young Latino officers hired after 2006, when many of the older members of the NLPOA retired. The jury is still out as to how they will interact with the Latino community.

Importance of Study

The importance of the study is evident in what is going on today. Across the US many police departments have become more militarized even as policing strategies emphasize closer community relations, Community Oriented Policing, Broken Windows and Zero Tolerance Policing to name a few. It is my view that regardless of the strategies employed, it comes down to the people that are carrying out the everyday duties. Minority officers like white officers bond to the organization, the profession and each other. Currently, many departments have minority command officers; MPD has district captains and higher minority officers, both African American and Latinos. Minority officers have accomplished great gains within law enforcement from a personal perspective but the Milwaukee Chapter of the NLPOA has been silent since the founding members retired. Apparently, the NLPOA has become a victim of its own success. Latinos have been successful in being promoted through the ranks of the MPD and they no longer feel the need to band together, maybe they feel accepted and have again fallen in line with the “blue shield” moving away from the Latino identity and connection to the Latino community.

The importance of groups like the NLPOA cannot be overemphasized, the Latino community built permanent social structures like UMOs, the Spanish Center to name a few. The NLPOA has to be kept alive at the local level to keep the bonding between the Latino community and the Latino officers intact. Like the League of Martin and the NLPOA, law enforcement agencies through the country have numerous minority organizations. There is a need to study these organizations and try to ascertain what impact they have in local law enforcement, if any. Community organizations need to reach out to these groups; much like the Milwaukee Latino community reached out to the NLOPA during the Dahmer incident. It reminded the Association that they had a responsibility not only to themselves and the police

department but to the community. In studying minority groups, there needs to be an understanding of the everyday battles that go on inside the police agencies. While surveys are good to measure the attitude of the general population, there needs to be an understanding of what is going on through the minds of the individuals carrying out the everyday duties and the community has to reach out and try and form a bond with these groups.

There are other groups, such as the Hispanic American Police Commanders Association, National Association of Women Law Enforcement, National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executive, and Gay Organization of Law Enforcement in the North East. Are these groups as active in community relations as the NLPOA, or do they have a dual objective like the NLPOA or are they strictly for self-promotion?

While finishing this study other questions that I felt stood out needed further study. What impact do internal power struggles within police departments have on police and Latino community relations? What is the current influence of the NLPOA in the Latino community? Is the promotion of Latinos into higher command positions making an impact on the relationship between Latinos and the MPD? Did the NLPOA help build trust between the Latino community in Milwaukee and the MPD?

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Appendix

Biographies of Interviewees

Ball, Denita

Denita Ball is a retired police officer. She is African American and she was hired by the Milwaukee Police Department in December of 1985. Ball retired in May of 2011 with the rank of Deputy Inspector. Ball is originally from Arkansas and moved to Milwaukee in 1983 after graduating from the University of Arkansas with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Criminal Justice. Ball earned a Masters in Criminal Justice from the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and is currently enrolled in the Cardinal Stritch University Leadership Learning and Service, PhD program. Ball was a member of the League of Martin. Among her assignments Ball was in charge of the Professional Standards Bureau of the Milwaukee Police, which is the Bureau of Internal Affairs Division.

Burgos, Ruben

Ruben Burgos is Mexican-American born and raised in Milwaukee. Ruben joined the Milwaukee Police Department in July of 1979 and retired on April of 2013 as a Lieutenant of Detectives. Burgos earned a Bachelor's of Science degree in Criminal Justice from the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and a Master's of Science in Organizational Management and Leadership from the Springfield College Milwaukee Campus. Burgos also served two years active duty with the U.S. Navy and 8 years as a U.S. Navy reservist, assigned to naval intelligence. Burgos as served as president of the Milwaukee, chapter of the National Latino Peace Officers Association and is currently on Board President of the Wisconsin Hispanic

Scholarship Association. Burgos is currently employed by the University of Wisconsin as a lecturer in the Criminal Justice program.

Chacon, Ernesto

Ernesto Chacon is a Mexican American civil rights activist and community organizer. Chacon was born in Piersall Texas where he began working with migrant worker's rights. Chacon worked for the Catholic Youth Organization in Piersall, Texas. He worked as an advocate for the farm workers. Chacon moved to Milwaukee in 1965 where he became a community organizer worked the United Migrant Opportunity Service Chacon worked with Cesar Chavez helping organize the farm workers in Wisconsin. Chacon took an active role in Latino civil rights marches in Milwaukee which resulted with clashes with the police and in his arrest. Chacon was also one of the early organizers of Mexican Fiesta on Milwaukee's lake front and served on the board of the Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship Foundation.

Flores, José

Jose Flores is an ordained minister who worked as a gang intervention specialist, working with Latino gangs in Milwaukee. Flores was born and raised in Milwaukee and is of Puerto Rican descent. Flores was hired in 1978 by Dr. John Hagedorn to work as a gang intervention specialist in the Youth Gang Diversion Program. Flores owned four martial arts schools in the Milwaukee area when he was hired by Dr. Hagedorn. Flores also worked as the director of the United Neighborhood Centers of Milwaukee, a health initiative created by the Medical College of Wisconsin studying violence as a public health issue.

Galaviz, Ramon

Ramon Galaviz is a retired Milwaukee police officer and member of the NLPOA. He is Mexican American and is from Milwaukee. Ramon was hired by the Milwaukee Police Department in 1982 and retired in 2013 with the rank of Deputy Inspector of Police. Galaviz served both in the U.S. Navy and Air Force. He earned an Associate in Police Science from MATC in 1986, he received a certificate of completion from the FBI National Academy in 1991. In 1991, he also earned a certificate of completion from the School of Police Staff and Command, Northwestern University. Galaviz earned an Associate's Degree in Applied Sciences, Community College of the Air Force in 1995, Bachelor Degrees in Public Administration and Criminal Justice Administration in 1996, Mount Scenario College, Masters in Vocational Technical and Adult Education University of Wisconsin-Stout in 2002, Masters of Science in Training and Development, University of Wisconsin-Stout in 2009, and a certificate of completion from the International Association of Chiefs of Police-Leadership in Police Organizations in 2012.

Gomez, Moises

Moises Gomez is a retired Milwaukee Police Detective. Gomez was born in Leon Guanajuato, Mexico, but raised in Milwaukee, having immigrated to Milwaukee in 1960. Gomez attended Marquette University dropping out when hired by the Milwaukee Police department. Gomez was hired by the Milwaukee Police Department on October of 1981 and retired on October 2009. Gomez successfully sued the Milwaukee Police Department in 1991 to collect translation pay.

Gonzalez, Luis

Luis Gonzalez is a retired Milwaukee Police Sergeant. Gonzalez is Mexican American. He was born in Killeen, Texas and moved to Milwaukee at the age of 19. Gonzalez earned a bachelor's

degree in criminal justice from Mt Senario College. Gonzalez was employed as a factory worker in Waukesha, Wisconsin prior to joining the Milwaukee Police Department in September of 1985. He retired from the MPD on December 27, 2012. Gonzalez served on the board of the Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship Foundation until 2012 when he retired and moved to Killeen, Texas. Gonzalez was a member of the National Latino Peace Officers Association and served as president of the Association.

López, Jose Luis

Jose Luis López is a retired Milwaukee County Sheriff's Deputy. López was born in Puerto Rico and moved to Milwaukee in 1955. He served two years in the U.S. Army and did a tour in Vietnam. López attended the University of Wisconsin where he earned 62 credits before dropping out and joining the Milwaukee County Sheriff's Department in 1980. He was the leader in organizing the Milwaukee Chapter of the NLPOA. He served as Vice President of the national board of the National Latino Peace Officers Association.

Mercado, Teresa

Teresa Mercado is the Executive Director for Mexican Fiesta, having held that position for 11 years. She is originally from Guadalajara, Mexico and holds a bachelor's degree in accounting.

Ortiz, Felipe

Filipe Ortiz is the Historian for the National Latino Peace Officer Association. Ortiz was a Federal Probation and Parole Officers for twenty-five years working in the state of New Mexico. He retired in 2013. He currently resides in Las Vegas Nevada. Ortiz is Mexican American and he served as national president of the National Latino Peace Officers Association from 2005-2007.

Perez, Oscar

Oscar Perez is a retired Milwaukee Police officer. He was hired by the Milwaukee Police Department in 1981 and retired as a Deputy Inspector of Police after 25 years of service. Perez was born in Corpus Christi, Texas and moved to Milwaukee in 1964 when his father was hired by the A. O. Smith Corporation of Milwaukee. Perez worked for the Milwaukee Railroad prior to being hired by the Milwaukee Police Department. Perez is Mexican American and he earned a Bachelor's degree from Mount Senario College in Criminal Justice administration and a Master's degree from the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee in Administrative Leadership with an emphasis in education. Perez was a member of the National Latino Peace Officers Association.

Sandoval, Procopio “Nick”

Procipio “Nick” Sandoval is Mexican-American. Sandoval was born in San Antonio Texas and moved to Milwaukee at the age of 12. He served in the U.S. Army after graduating from high school in 1959. Sandoval retired from the Milwaukee Police Department on January of 1993 as a Milwaukee Police detective. He was the first Latino police officer hired by the Milwaukee Police Department in March of 1964. Sandoval attended Marquette University for three years on the G.I. Bill, dropping out after he used up the funding. Sandoval was also the first MPD Latino officer to work undercover (drug investigations) in Milwaukee.

Sarmiento, Michael

Michael Sarmiento is Dallas Police Department Lieutenant and former member of the Dallas Police Department National Latino Peace Officers Association chapter. Sarmiento is Mexican-American and was born in Texas. He grew up as a migrant worker until he enlisted in the U.S. Air Force. He worked for Walmart as a store management in their planning division. He was

involved in the setting up of new stores for Walmart, to include the training of employees for the new stores. He joined the Dallas Police Department in 1991 and currently hold the rank of police lieutenant. Sarmiento was involved in negotiations of labor contracts as part of the Dallas National Peace Officers Association move into a trade union status.

Torres, John

John Torres is Puerto Rican American who is a Milwaukee Native. Torres is a long time journal/reporter in Milwaukee. Torres worked for the La Guardia, community newspaper covering local events from the Latino community perspective. Torres also worked WISN Channel 12, a Milwaukee station. As a reporter for WISN, Torres covered Latino the Latino civil rights marches of the 1970s. He is currently the owner of WJTI a Spanish radio station in Milwaukee.

Velasco, Linda

Linda Velasco was the first Latino hired by the Milwaukee Police Department. Velasco is of Mexica, Honduran and Spanish descent. Linda was born in Los Angeles, California and raised in East Chicago, Indiana. Velasco moved to Milwaukee in 1974 and was hired in December of 1976 as a Milwaukee Police Officer. Velasco retired in February of 2002 as an administrative lieutenant working out of the chief's office. Velasco was a member of the National Latino Peace Officers Association.

Villarreal, Ramona

Ramona is a retired Madison, Wisconsin teacher. Ramona was born in Laredo, Texas and is Mexican American. Villarreal was a migrant farm worker when her family settled in Wautoma, Wisconsin as farm laborers. Villarreal was active in the farm workers movement in Wisconsin and nationally. She was involved in the farm workers movement of the 1960s where she met the national leader Cesar Chavez as well as local Latino activist, Ernesto Chacon and Jessie Salas.

Welch, Robert “Woody”

Robert Welch is a Milwaukee native having joined Milwaukee Mayor Henry Maier’s administration in 1969 and served on the administration for 16 years. Welch helped set up the City of Milwaukee cable system from 1982 to 1988. He was also Milwaukee’s chief lobbyist under Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist from 1992 to 1995. Welch served as the Chairman for the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission from 1997 until 2008. He is currently retired, however he is an active member of the Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship Association.

Wells, Lenard

Lenard Wells is a retired Milwaukee Police Lieutenant. Wells is African-American originally from Alabama. He moved to Milwaukee after graduating from high school and worked at the A.O. Smith Corporation for 5 years before joining the Milwaukee Police Department in 1971. Wells earned a bachelor’s degree in psychology from the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, his Master’s degree in Public Administration also from the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee. He earned a PhD. from Cardinal Stritch University in 2008 in Leadership Learning and Service. Wells was also served as president of the League of Martin. Wells currently reside in Olive Branch, Mississippi and works as an adjunct instructor at the University of Memphis.

CURRICULUM VITAE

ANTONIO GUAJARDO JR

5515 W. Roosevelt Dr., Milwaukee, WI 53216 | 414-702-4078 | agguajardo71@gmail.com

Place of Birth: Weslaco, Texas

EDUCATION

University of Wisconsin Milwaukee

PhD. Philosophy in Urban Studies

2015

Dissertation: "Incorporation of Latino Police Officers into the Milwaukee Police Department:
How a Group of Latino Officers Shed the "Blue Shield" for a Latino Identity

University of Wisconsin Milwaukee

MS in Cultural Foundations of Education

1999

Mount Scenario College

BS in Criminal Justice Administration

1994

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Springfield College School of Professional and Continuing Education
Springfield, Mass.

Campus Director

2013-Present

Responsible for the operation of the Milwaukee Campus

Responsible for managing the Milwaukee campus:

I responsible for developing a budget, the hiring and managing of
both full time and

Part-time instructors and staff. I'm also charged with developing a
schedule, recruiting and

Community relations.

Hiring instructors

Bryant and Stratton College

Milwaukee WI

2007-2013

Market Program Director

Helped develop curriculum for criminal justice courses

Supervised Instructors as well as managed budgetary items.

Taught criminal justice course

Bryant and Stratton College

Milwaukee, WI

2006-2007

Lead instructor Criminal Justice

Taught criminal justice courses and helped develop curriculum for the criminal justice course.

Milwaukee Area Technical College**2005-210**

Recruit Training Instructor Cultural Competency/ Gang Recognition

Springfield College School of Human Service, Milwaukee**Campus**

Springfield, Mass.

1999-2006

Adjunct Instructor: Instructed Core Classes, Education,

Oppression and Social Intervention

Project in Change Course

Marion College, Milwaukee Campus**2005-2006**Adjunct Instructor: Instructed Course, Stress Management
for Law Enforcement**Work Experience**

Milwaukee Police Department

1977-2006

Retired police detective

Police Assignments

Gang Crimes Investigator: Investigated gang homicide, drug trafficking and collected general intelligence on Latino gang.

Crisis/ Hostage Negotiator

Instructor Milwaukee Police Academy:

Courses taught: Cultural Competency courses, Defense and Arrest Tactics. First Responder,
Emergency Vehicle Operations

Property Crimes Investigations

Violent Crimes Unit: Investigated shootings, stabbings and other types of violent crimes.

US Marshall Task Force: Prosecution of Latin Kings

ATF Federal Task Force: Investigated illegal guns trafficking in the general Milwaukee area.

Professional Police Related Development:

Identification of Child Predator and Sex Offenders Course

Terrorist Screening Investigations

Homicide Investigations

Effective Management: The role of Labor Unions

Criticism and Discipline for Improved Employee Performance

Milwaukee Police Department Fundamentals of Crises Negotiations

Milwaukee Police Department Training Bureau Advanced Crisis Negotiations Course

Institute for Law Enforcement Administration: Teaching Diversity Train the Trainer

Volunteer Positions**1988 – Present**

Wisconsin Hispanic Scholarship Foundation/ Mexican Fiesta:

Board member and served as board President for 11 years
Milwaukee County Commissioner of Veteran Affairs

2005-Present

LANGUAGES

Spanish- Speak fluently read/write

MEMBERSHIPS

American Legion

Wisconsin G I Forum