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COMMUNITY POLICING

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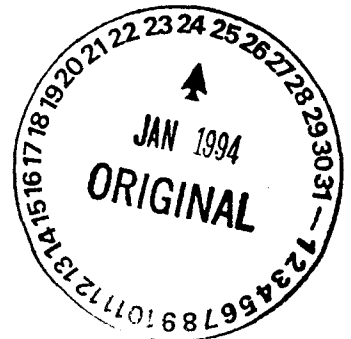
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COMMUNITY POLICING

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I. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Many Federal grants now contain a requirement that monies be used to support community policing objectives. United States Attorney General Janet Reno, in a letter dated August 30, 1993, states that 150 million dollars will be awarded to law enforcement agencies throughout the nation. These monies are targeted to increase the number of officers on the street and to expand community policing as a major part of the overall strategy to combat crime. This document, entitled "Police Hiring Supplement Program," further states that applicants must be committed to using community policing to address crime and related problems in their jurisdictions. The application requirements also state that law enforcement agency plans must be developed in consultation with community groups. The plan submitted has to specify how additional officers will be employed in community policing activities. This particular grant application calls for a three year commitment to community policing. [1]

However these grants did not create the need for community policing trends. Instead, community policing developed as a response to the needs of the local communities. It developed differently in various countries and states based upon the politics of the community and the monies available to the law enforcement agencies.

At the same time, citizens were disenchanted with police services. Minority citizens in inner cities continued to be frustrated by police who whisk in and out of their neighborhoods with little sensitivity to community norms and values (e.g. stopping "suspicious" persons in the neighborhood because of their appearance, determining the amount of force to be used on suspects based on the neighborhood). Working and middle class communities of all races are demanding increased collaboration with police in the determination of police priorities in their neighborhoods. Many merchants and affluent citizens have turned to private security services for protection.

Research in the early 1970's revealed that the mainstays of traditional police services were ineffective, preventive patrol, rapid response, and investigative work. These mainstays had little impact on the views that citizens held of their police forces.

The patrol division, the backbone of policing in many departments, became the dumping grounds for the incompetent, the burned out, and those with other problems. Officers did not get "busted" to detective, they were "busted" to patrol. Never mind that patrol officers have the most important function in the department; they deal with the public's most pressing problems and must make instantaneous decisions.

It is within this context,then, that the public has mandated improved law enforcement services and accountability of law enforcement agencies and individuals. This can be seen through the increased coverage of law enforcement issues by the media and the outcries of the public from incidents related to the Los Angeles riots of the 1990's. Los Angeles responded by establishing various commissions to address problems from those same riots.

The **Christopher Commission** was headed by now Secretary of State Warren Christopher. It found (a) excessive force aggravated by racism and bias, (b) officers repetitively misusing force and ignoring written policies and guidelines, and (c) offic-

ers' treatment of the public with rudeness, disrespect, resentment, and hostility. These are problems that Chief Willie Williams of Los Angeles hopes to correct by changing to the use of community policing concepts. [2]

The **Webster-Williams Panel** was headed by former FBI Director William Webster and Police Foundation President Hubert Williams. This panel found problems related to (a) hostility and mistrust between police and residents, (b) failure of command staff to plan and prepare for riots, (c) failure of the decision-making process, and (d) lack of cooperation with other governmental agencies and the public. Again, Chief Williams hopes to address these problems through community policing as he did in Philadelphia.

Even more recently, the issue of "crime" in America has been addressed by federal legislators in developing bills relating to gun control and a stricter Federal crime bill. President Clinton's administration, through the new U.S. Attorney General, is developing a plan to deal with the increasing violence in America. Washington, D.C. has one of the highest homicide rates in the United States.

In his article "Community Policing and the Police Officer," Edwin Meese reports that police agencies nationally and world-wide:

> are developing new concepts to better satisfy the demands and needs of the citizens they serve. In the course of the self-examination and creative thinking that are taking place, fundamental questions have been raised about the purpose and responsibilities of the police, the capabilities they possess, and the types of contributions they can make to society, the optimum methods of their organization and deployment, and the relationship that they have with the communities that employ them. In contrast to a philosophy of 'business as usual,' police executives sense the need to 'redeploy the money and authority entrusted to them in hopes that their organizations will produce greater value for society.' [3]

Documents available on the subject of community policing typically relate to an urban setting. This paper will investigate the feasibility of using this concept in an urban/rural setting. It will include political considerations, budgetary considerations,

the impact of an international border, and the desirability of implementation of community policing in the urban/rural setting.

First to be examined are the definition and principles of the concept of community policing. Issues and trends in community policing will be identified. A review of national and international programs in community policing will then be presented.

The background information and experiences presented in the paper will form the basis for an assessment of need for community policing program(s) in El Paso County, Texas. A plan for implementation of such a program in a border community, much of which is rural, may then be developed.

II. DEFINING COMMUNITY POLICING

A. Definition

Community Policing is "a new strategy for delivery of basic police services." [4] This refers to a change where law enforcement officers do not just respond to calls for service, but instead focuses on the inclusion of law enforcement officers in the development of long-term strategies for improving the community, thus improving the quality of life for the citizens of that community. Another term often interchanged with community policing is "problem-oriented policing."

Community policing is now recognized to be a philosophy and organizational strategy. It is not a single program. Community policing requires that law enforcement officers seek creative and unprecedented solutions to the problems of the community. [5]

Meese defines community policing as a new philosophy which also includes "problem-solving techniques, strategic utilization of resources, and increasingly so-

phisticated investigative capabilities. . . .The police, then, must be more than a reactive force that responds to crimes already committed. They must develop into a proactive entity that deals with a broad variety of conditions that tend to disrupt the community peace or adversely affect the quality of life." [6]

Other views of community policing include that it is "a panacea for all social ills, a means of bring the police to heel or merely a new name for an old method of policing." [7] In his discussion of community policing, Inkster further discusses the principles of Sir Robert Peel in 1829 when the London Metropolitan Police Force was established. Peel's principles are illustrated in Figure 1. These precepts reinforced the role of the community and the role of the police in the community. [8]

FIGURE 1.

PEEL'S PRINCIPLES OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

- The duty of the police is to prevent crime and disorder.

- The power of the police to fulfill their duties is dependent on public approval and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.

- Public respect and approval also mean the willing cooperation of the public in the task of securing observance of the law.

- The police must seek and preserve public favor not by pandering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law.

- The police should strive to maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police.

- The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder; not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with these problems. [9]

Galvin discusses the impact of the social chaos of the 1960's on law enforcement:

> Police researchers began to question law enforcement's traditional assumption and values. The effectiveness of random police patrol, the significance of response time, and the fluctuating crime rates were challenged as a valid barometer for evaluating police service. A profession so ingrained with a paramilitary tradition and reluctance to change was under tremendous attack.....In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson established a Presidential Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The Commission's final report, **The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society**, was published in 1967. The Commission recommended that criminal justice agencies should welcome the efforts of researchers and other independent experts who understand their problems and operations. These agencies cannot undertake needed research on their own; they urgently need the help of outsiders, according to the Commission. [10]

In their article on community policing, Barnett and Bowers describe the historical descriptions established initially by Kelling and Moore. They identify three eras in policing: the political era, the reform era, and the community problem-solving era. They examine each of these eras in terms of the authority, role of the police, organizational structure, external relationships, police management, and outcomes. Similarities and differences exist across each of the eras:

- During the political era and the community problem-solving eras there is political and community support.

- Crime control remains a police function across all three eras.

- Organizational structure is decentralized in both the political era and the community problem-solving era.

- Foot patrol is a key strategy during both the political era and the community problem-solving eras.

- Citizen satisfaction is a key outcome in both the political era and the problem-solving era. [11]

B. Why Community Policing?

The phrase "Community Policing" has been in use since early research efforts during the 1960's and 1970's, however, the strategy is just beginning to receive national attention and the approval of the general public as well as law enforcement officials. [12] Research from the past decades has led to the identification of many myths about law enforcement. Major findings from this early research include:

- 1. Police spend only 30% of time in dealing with crime.

- 2. Major police contacts involve peacekeeping activities.

- 3. Routine patrol activity is limited in its ability to deter crime.

- 4. Reducing the level of patrol has minimal impact on the level of crime activity.

- 5. Reduction of patrol response time does not increase the numbers of arrests.

- 6. Most "cleared crimes" solve themselves on the basis of information obtained by the first officer on the scene.

- 7. Recognition of the limits of the crime-fighting abilities of law enforcement officers.

- 8. Recognition of the importance of citizen participation. [13]

  Galvin, reporting on the progress of police over the past decades, states:

  In the 1920's Police Chief August Vollmer introduced the first fully motorized police force in Berkeley, California. Two-way radios were introduced to police work by 1930, and the era of the foot patrolman was coming to an end. The introduction of the motor vehicle had significant impact on how we delivered police services. no longer was the foot patrolman present to interact regularly with the citizen he served. We opted for speed and efficiency in our crime prevention efforts while reducing interaction with our communities. The 'cop on the beat,' the neighborhood policeman, no longer existed. . . . Unfortunately, the application of new technology has not solved the problem of crime. Motorized patrol, Computer Aided Dispatch (CAD), and a national crime information system have yet to make urban streets any safer than metropolitan London in the 1700's. [14]

Cox reports findings from the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) that "[seventy-nine percent] of police agencies in the United States employ 25 or fewer officers, and 60 percent of that number employ fewer than 10 sworn officers." [15] It is thought by some that these small departments are practicing community policing principles based upon their environment. However, it is not necessarily true that all small departments have incorporated the philosophy of community policing into their operations. Those departments which have incorporated community policing principles into practice are reported to be more willing to try new ideas.

Walters states "....the more proactive approach of problem-oriented policing stresses the long-term benefits of crime prevention. . . . The combination of these two law enforcement strategies [swift police response to incidents and disorder and problem-oriented policing] provides an even more dynamic form of law enforcement--community-oriented policing (COP). [16]

Strandberg states that the commitment of community policing to address the causal factors of crime on a community-wide basis "is most often done by programming, with law enforcement and community sponsored programs such as job training, alternatives to crime, sports, and so on." [17]

Riley discusses his results from an investigation addressing the question of "How will law enforcement reduce community fear of crime in major urban areas by the year 2000?" In his research he utilized the nominal group technique to evaluate the issues identified. He writes:

> The average citizen does not regularly refer to the FBI's Uniform Crime Report in order to determine the level of crime in his neighborhood. Rather, he looks out his window and observes those conditions which appear to be leading to community decline. Thus, the NGT panel postulated that by addressing issues of community disorder, fear of crime, and quality of life in our neighborhoods, police would assuredly be perceived as more responsive to their community's needs. It is predicted that as citizens become more educated and more critically demanding of police services, law enforcement agencies will have to become more willing to address a wider array of community concerns. Departments which do not meet the challenge will be harshly judged and will ultimately face a more laborious and perhaps volatile future. [18]

Advocates of community policing identify several positive impacts of community policing. These include:

- Direct contact between the police officer and the members of the community provide more immediate information about the problems of the community.

- Decreased emergency response requirements allows the police officer to participate in proactive crime prevention activities.

- Increased visibility of the police officer increases police accountability to the public.

- Decentralization of police operations increases police familiarity with the community and allows adaptation of procedures to meet community needs.

- Viewing citizens as partners improves the relationship between the police and the public.

- Increasing decision-making authority of the police officer allows the individual who knows the community's problems and needs to react appropriately.

- Developing a positive relationship between the police and the public encourages citizens to increase initiative in preventing and solving crimes. [19]

Citizens have been positive in their support of community policing; they like the idea of the officer on a beat and enjoy working with the officer to solve problems. In Boston, Crisley Wood, Executive Director of the Neighborhood Justice Network, puts it this way:

> The officer on the beat, who meets regularly with citizens' groups is the most important service, provided by the Boston Police Department. The new tactics of community policing foot patrol, bike patrol, and horse patrol have reduced citizen fear of crime and improved relations between law enforcement and the community. [20]

C. Preventive Police Patrol

Galvin reports that a detailed study of preventive police patrol was completed in Kansas City, Missouri, and sponsored by the Police Foundation. He states "The results of this research shook the foundation of the traditional law enforcement view that preventive patrol was the backbone of law enforcement crime prevention and deterrent efforts." [21]

In this study, fifteen patrol areas were divided into three groups, each with five patrol areas. Each group employed one of three different types of patrol techniques for one year. The findings indicated that the level of preventive patrol did not have a measurable effect on the outcome measures of crime rates and citizen satisfaction. [22]

FIGURE 2.

PREVENTIVE PATROL TECHNIQUES [23]

PATROL TYPE	PREVENTIVE TECHNIQUES
REACTIVE BEAT	No preventive patrol was performed.
CONTROL BEAT	Preventive patrol was carried out as usual.
PROACTIVE BEAT	Increased level (two to three times) normal level of patrol was implemented.

Riley also discussed the 1974 Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment. He cited that citizens were not aware of the increase or decrease of motorized patrol units within their neighborhoods. Additionally, the level of fear of crime by citizens

D. Problem-Oriented Policing

The concept of problem-oriented policing is attributed to atributed to Herman Goldstein (1979). His contention was that law enforcement officers' roles are to identify various problems which lead to identification of strategies to solve those

problems. This planning process then allows measurable evaluation of the effectiveness of the police activities. He further argues that law enforcement is often in a reactive role (responding to calls for service) rather than in a proactive role of focusing on the basic causes of the problems. [24]

Problem-oriented policing was implemented a planning process in an experiment in Newport News, Virginia, in the mid-1980's. Figure 3 illustrates this planning process. Further discussion of the Newport News project may be found in Section V, Case Studies of Community Policing Programs, in this paper.

FIGURE 3.

PLANNING PROCESS IMPLEMENTED

IN THE NEWPORT NEWS PROJECT

```
|------------------>SCANNING
|                    |
|                    v
|------------------>ANALYSIS
|                    |
|                    v
|------------------>RESPONSE
|                    |
|                    v
|-------------------ASSESSMENT
```
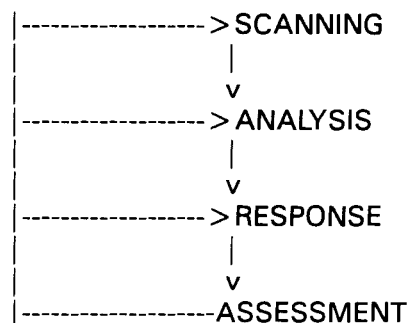
Broken Windows Concept. Goldstein's process was followed by a professional publication by James Wilson and George Kelling in 1982 entitled "Broken Windows." This article analyzed research on the success of police activity. Wilson and Kelling argued that police were unlikely to prevent major crime and thus should focus on the

smaller problems which impact the neighborhoods. The title of the publication, "Broken Windows" was a symbol of the impact of the small crimes on the communities--the increasing degeneration of the neighborhoods of the past decades. [25]

Wilson and Kelling's famous "Broken Windows" article was published in the March, 1982, issue of <u>Atlantic Monthly</u>. They described the impact of disorder on the crime in the community by stating:

> ....[when] a piece of property is abandoned, weeds grow up, a window is smashed. Adults stop scolding rowdy children; the children, emboldened, become more rowdy. Families move out, unattached adults move in. Teenagers gather in front of the corner store. The merchant asks them to move; they refuse. Fights occur. Litter accumulates. People start drinking in front of the grocery; in time, an inebriate slumps on the sidewalk and is allowed to sleep it off. Pedestrians are approached by panhandlers......[26]

Wilson and Kelling also described the impact of disorder as a base upon which serious crime begins. They state:

> Serious street crime flourishes in areas in which disorderly behavior goes unchecked. The unchecked panhandler is in effect the first broken window. Muggers and robbers, whether opportunistic or profession, believe they reduce their chances of being caught or even identified if they operate on streets where potential victims are already intimidated by prevailing conditions. If the neighborhood cannot keep a bothersome panhandler from annoying passersby, the thief may reason, it is even less likely to call the police to identify a potential mugger or to interfere if the mugging actually takes place. [27]

Riley further discusses the Broken Windows concept as a developmental sequence. He states that social psychologists agree that disorder and crime are linked through the Broken Windows concept:

> Thus, by dealing with the issue which concerns citizens most, i.e., order maintenance, police will not only be deemed responsive to the public's needs, but they will also ultimately decrease crime through prevention of the conditions which serve as a breeding ground for criminal activity. This task could arguably be one of the foremost objectives of any professional police organization....Nevertheless, the experimental evidence clearly supports the hypothesis that fear is reduced among citizens exposed to community-oriented food patrol It should be emphasized, however, that this new paradigm of foot patrol is vastly different than previous attempts at the task. Today's community police officers must be better trained, more educated, and have superior technology at their disposal. While these officers may be either on foot or in a vehicle, they will do more than simply patrol The same officers day after day will diagnose the beat area and develop a problem-solving approach to deal with situations which confront them and their

community. . . . The introduction of neighborhood-oriented patrol officers specifically trained to deal with issues of crime and disorder in a neighborhood, promises to reduce the fear of crime and improve the qualify of life in our cities. Many other professions have realized the importance of _acting_ as compared with simply _reacting_ to a problem. In medicine, for example, the discovery that malaria is transmitted by mosquitoes led not only to the development of new medicines for the benefit of those already infected, but also to the draining of swamps to prevent people who were still uninfected from coming into contact with the mosquitoes that cause the disease. In police terms, by reducing the amount of disorder in a given neighborhood, patrol officers diminish fear of crime and thus deter crime from occurring at its inception--preventative medicine. Police departments can reduce fear by changing their activities to include more frequent and sustained contacts with citizens. Ultimately, by integrating fear reduction as an important objective of policing, departments can transform their efforts into something that can help build strong social institutions and genuinely improve the quality of life for all citizens. [28]

Wesley Skogan identified two major divisions of disorders in the communities. These include human behavior disorders and physical decay. Human behaviors specified include public drinking, corner gangs, street harassment, drugs, noisy neighbors, and commercial sex. Physical decay includes vandalism, dilapidation and abandonment, and rubbish. [29]

E. Basic Principles of Community Policing

Gerald T. Galvin, Chief of Police in Clovis, California, stated, in his research paper for the Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, that:

the most pronounced feature of this policing method ["Community Oriented or Community Based Policing."] is its commitment to community and responsibility in preventing crime. It redirects available police resources to a proactive stance rather than a reactive position. . . .The Community Based Policing model calls for a dramatic shift away from our whole perception of how the 'Police' go about their business of maintaining order, preventing crimes, and arresting offenders. It challenges the validity of our traditional means of evaluating police services, i.e., response time, crime and arrest rates, and preventive police patrol. [30]

The basic principles of community policing are summarized by Walker as:

- 1. Decreased emphasis on response to calls for service

- 2. Decreased emphasis of crime-fighting

- 3. Increased emphasis on community/neighborhood disorder

■   4. Increased involvement of the citizens in police services

■   5. Increased cooperation between community and government organizations to solve community problems

■   6. Refocused police activity on problem-solving and community organization. [31]

Cox describes those activities which he has found to be necessary to implement community policing. These steps include:

■   1. Consider changes to reshape internal organization

■   2. Examine approaches to internal problem solving

■   3. Redefine the organization's role and develop a clear mission statement.

■   4. Provide training for all officers on the principles and philosophy of community policing

■   5. Evaluate those participating in community policing differently from practicing traditional policing. Appropriate criteria could include productivity and creativity.

■   6. Assign specific areas of responsibility.

■   7. Prioritize calls.

■   8. Adapt procedures to community needs.

■   9. Provide strong administrative leadership.

■   10. Assess the community's needs. [32]

Walters states that a foundation must be established before community-oriented policing can be successfully implemented. This foundation is a high level of police credibility within the community. Walters asserts that this can be met by adherence to the "most stringent standards of discipline and professionalism." [33]

He further states that the central focus of problem-oriented policing (POP) is the increased responsiveness of the police to the causes of crime, not simply the results of the crime. Treatment of isolated problems may not be as important as maintaining the overall safety of the neighborhood. This is a change in the view of the role of law enforcement by both the community and the police. He asserts that long-term involvement between the community members and the police officers will

lead to the development of a relationship based on trust and cooperation, thus allow-
ing an ongoing exchange of meaningful information. [34]

Strandberg reports on programs which have been in place for some time,
describing their current success, or failures. He says that community policing is man-
power intensive and means increased initial expense. He cites examples of Philadel-
phia, Houston, Washington, D.C., and Detroit in his article, "Community Policing: Is
It Working?" [35]

Philadelphia. "In Philadelphia, community policing has been in place for six
years now." It's difficult to measure precisely what community policing has done for
Philadelphia,'says Detective Ed Tenuto, public affairs officer, Philadelphia Police
Department. 'We've started to see a downturn in crime throughout 1991 from the
previous three or four years. It's very difficult to attribute this to community policing.
We'd like to think that it's in some part responsible for that slight downturn.....It
doesn't cost us any more money to work under this philosophy...It boils down to
allocating your resources into areas other than where they have been allocated tradi-
tionally (e.g. putting all your people in patrol calls and answering 911 calls, and doing
very little else). We are providing the front line police service in the community. We
are a service-oriented organization, and we've gotten away from that in the last
twenty years." [36]

Houston. "Elizabeth Watson, assistant chief in Houston, Texas, is a staunch
advocate of community-oriented policing and she has seen it in action. 'Houston is
definitely a different city today than ten years ago,'she says. 'The progress we have
made is significant, and we need to keep doing the things we have been doing. Tradi-
tional policing, with its sole emphasis on law enforcement, falls short of what society
needs,' continues Watson.' Police officers need to assume more of a leadership posi-
tion in society. There is a tendency for some officers to think that the move towards

community-oriented policing means traditional policing is wrong. It's not wrong, it's just not enough. Society needs more than just law enforcement and arrests. We've had law enforcement and arrests for decades, and we still have crime. Involving everyone is where law enforcement has to go.'" [37]

Washington, D.C. "D.C.'s Blagburn concurs. 'This notion of community policing being more expensive is off the mark: we've got officers on foot, on bikes, on scooters, and in scout cars involved in community policing,'he says. 'I think in the long run it's going to be less expensive. It's going to impact on the criminal justice system, because you're focusing on prevention. ... 'There's a certain degree of awkwardness for some officers,' he acknowledges. It can be very difficult for officers to make the transition. 'It's labor intensive--you're talking about a lot of training for police officers,' Blagburn continues. 'You have to constantly train and update, and keep the creative juices flowing.'" [38]

Detroit. "Detroit, Michigan, has been involved in community-oriented policing since 1975 and they have found it to be very successful. 'It's absolutely working,' insists Commander Dorothy D. Knox, in charge of the Community Services Division. 'Property crimes have decline in the city of Detroit over the past 20 years. Violent crime is up, and we attribute that to drugs, but no city has really gotten a handle on that. We know community policing (we call it "Crime Prevention") works, but it's hard to measure the success because it's a prevention or deterrent to crime. . . 'Yes, it's more expensive,' admits Detroit's Commander Knox. 'It's people intensive, but it's an expense you really can't forgo. It's justified: the community policing officer can go into the community and identify problems and then work to eradicate those problems. Some people think it is extravagant, but it's very cost-effective because the officers are able to prevent crimes, and at the same time reduce the level of fear. Sometimes, the perception of crime is far worse than the actual statistics." [39]

F. Differences between Community Policing and Team Policing

Team Policing. Team policing was a trend in law enforcement in the 1960's and 1970's which had similar goals as community policing. There was a neighborhood focus with increased contact with citizens, but team policing failed. It was, however, a change in organizational approach to the same **traditional police activities** described in Figure 4.

Major goals of team policing included:

■   1. Restructuring/decentralization of the police department

■   2. Improving police-community relations

■   3. Enhancing police morale

■   4. Facilitating change in the police department. [40]

The failure of team policing is attributed to poorly planned projects. Many officers assigned to the project did not understand the goals of the project or what they were to do. Police management was "threatened" by the decentralization and the perceived loss of control. This resulted in some roadblocks to the implementation of the projects. The result was a dual focus within the department: city-wide goals versus neighborhood/community goals. [41]

One of the major research projects on team policing was the Cincinnati Community Sector (COMSEC) Team Policing Project which was conducted from 1971 through 1976. There were mixed results in this study. There was a reduction in the number of people who perceived that their neighborhood was unsafe. Police attitudes, however, did not show a positive change towards community members or the cooperation from citizens. [42]

Community Policing. Galvin answers the question of what community policing

does:

> It redirects patrol activities in a more purposeful or a proactive fashion. It civilianizes sworn positions whenever feasible. It establishes community groups and asks them how law enforcement can better police their neighborhood. Finally, it decentralizes command to specific geographical areas with the goal to increase the intensity of police/community interaction. [43]

Community policing can reduce citizen fear by increasing the quantity and improving the quality of citizen and law enforcement interactions. Police anti-fear tactics can reduce burglaries, thefts, and problems associated with prostitution, according to William Spelman and John Eck of the Police Executive Research Forum PERF). [44]

FIGURE 4.

TRADITIONAL VERSUS COMMUNITY POLICING [45]

TRADITIONAL POLICING	COMMUNITY POLICING
Police are viewed as a government agency with the responsibility for law enforcement.	Police and the public work together with police giving their full attention to these duties.
The role of the police is to focus on solving crimes.	Police work with other agencies to improve the quality of life in the community.
The major crimes which police focus on are violent crimes.	Broad problem-solving of the community problems is the focus.
Effectiveness of police activity is measured by response time and number incidents responded to by the police.	Priorities are based on highest community needs. Public cooperation is a key measurement of effectiveness.
Accountability is centralized with rules, regulations, and accountability to the LAW.	Accountability to the community needs.
Prosecution in the major goal.	Prosecution is only one tool.

Galvin further goes on to state what community policing does NOT do:

What it does not do is alter the primary police mission of reducing crime and giving the citizen a feeling of personal safety in his or her own community. Community Based Policing is innovative and offers an alternative to our traditional model for the delivery of police services. To date, law enforcement has been able to stem the tide of crime. Community Based Policing gives us hope by calling on our most powerful ally, the citizen, for help. [46]

III. ISSUES IN COMMUNITY POLICING

A. Role of Law Enforcement Officers

The definition of the role of law enforcement officers is one of the issues in community policing. Is the role of the police that of response to community problems? How does the role of the police officer change in community policing? What type of educational preparation is necessary for the police officer?

Change in Police Activities. Meese states that when the strategy of policing changes so does the content of the police officer's job. The responsibilities of police officers "expand beyond attempting to control criminal activity--to preventing crime, promoting order, resolving disputes, and providing emergency assistance in social crises." [47] He further states that the methods used by the officers also expand beyond arrests and citations, now including (a) mediation, (b) negotiation, (c) referrals to other agencies, and (d) community mobilization. The new focal point of police business is the neighborhood. [48]

Mastrofski, in a National Institute of Justice Journal article discusses the impact of community policing on the daily workload of the police officer. He describes a typical day as including the traditional law enforcement activities of patrol and response to requests for assistance as well as:

- Operating neighborhood substations.

- Meeting with community groups.

- Analyzing and solving neighborhood problems.

- Working with citizens on crime prevention programs.

- Conducting door-to-door surveys of residents.

- Talking with students in school.

- Meeting with local merchants.

- Making security checks of business.

- Dealing with disorderly people. [49]

Professionalism. Meese also asserts that the police officer must take the initiative in determining the appropriate activities to be taken in response to the community's needs. The police officer analyzes and plans the appropriate response to a problem. Thus, according to Meese, a new professionalism for police officers is emerging. The skills are more complex as well as requiring more initiative of the individual police officer. [50]

Military Model. Meese further states that a deterrent to the development of this new level of professionalism is the military model of the police forces today. He sees the military model as one which diminishes the role of the individual officer. In other words, the individual officer is often the lowest ranking individual in authority. [51] Meese describes the change in the perception and role of the police officer as critical to community policing. He states:

> This change in the perception of a police officer--on his or her own part and on the part of police superiors and the public--may be a difficult task in most places, but it is crucial to properly defining the individual officer's role in community policing. Several Federal law enforcement agencies already have moved away from the military model in their organization and rank structure. The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the U.S. Secret Service classify their basic officers as special agents, a term used for all nonsupervisory positions from entry level through veteran members. All required to be college graduates, special agents are regarded as, and expected to perform as, professionals. [52]

Empowerment. Meese states that "community policing envisions the empowerment of officers to take independent action to solve problems, work with community leaders, and improve the social environment of the neighborhoods they serve." He further describes this new role as vastly different from the current 8-10 hours of shift work with response to dispatch calls. [53]

Educational Preparation. Whenever there is a change in the activities required of police officers, the question of educational preparation for these new duties arises. The question of whether a college education should be required has been an issue debated for many years and varies from department to department. With the changes involved in community policing, this debate re-emerges. Figure 5 illustrates some of the arguments for and against a college education.

There is a new breed of leadership in law enforcement today. Unlike leaders of the past, today's leader is better trained and better educated. For example, Lee Brown, current Federal Drug Czar, has a PhD in Criminology. He was former Chief of Police of Houston, former Police Commissioner of New York City. Chief Joseph McNamara, Chief of Police of San Jose, has a PhD from Harvard. Former Director of Newark Police Hubert Williams is an attorney. The El Paso County Sheriff's Department has ten Lieutenants. Six of the ten have college degrees. Over seventy percent (70%) of the El Paso Sheriff's Department has some college education today. Just a few years ago, the typical law enforcement manager had little college; most officers had no college. Now, law enforcement is a seen as a profession made up of professionals.

Educational Programs. Another issue related to education is the need for training programs for existing officers as well as new recruits. Generally, expansion of the program in terms of time as well as content will be needed.

FIGURE 5

IS A COLLEGE EDUCATION NECESSARY

FOR COMMUNITY POLICING? [54]

YES	NO

Department composed of people from general population with:
 	
  motivation
  self-discipline
  general intelligence
  civility
  urbanity
  self-control
	College graduates may not under stand problems and attitudes of the lower class and working class public
	
	Police career is unattractive for college graduate because it is routine, unpleasant, and dangerous

Changes in society has resulted in more of the general public attending colleges work	Decrease numbers of minority citizens recruited into police
Educational level of the community at large has increased	Advanced education may increase level of cynicism of officers

A police department that has a college degree as a requirement functions at a different level
    more responsibility of individual officers
    use of a more collegial style of management
    higher professional standards
    increased potential to act proactively	

Meese states that the training programs must provide an understanding of police roles and activities. His suggested curriculum includes the following topics: "history of law enforcement, the role of police in modern society,...the need for discretion in law enforcement,....it should help them to understand their communities, the police role,...the imperfections of the criminal justice system,....communications skills,.....public speaking,....problem-solving techniques,....conflict resolution and

negotiation,....social, economic, and demographic conditions of the community,...supporting agencies in the community...." [55]

Law enforcement officers are chose based on education, maturity, and life experience. Training academies now give classes dealing with problems of the homeless, the elderly, race relations, high tech crime, AIDS, referral services, environmental law, and problem-solving techniques. The Texas Commission on Law Enforcement Officers Standards and Education (TCLEOSE) mandates inservice training for all law enforcement officers. The "Dirty Harry" and "Starsky and Hutch" of the 1970's is not the model for the officer of the 1990's. Where once the police officer may have been looked down on, now it is a desirable profession with just compensation.

B. Political Issues

A second issue in community policing is that of politics. What political issues arise from implementation of community policing? Will the expansion of the police role to the community become a danger as the political division between the government? How should police agencies be organized to improve the effectiveness of community policing?

Organizational Structure. As the role of the police officer expands to include more authority of the individual officer, there is also seen a need for a reorganized structure within the departments. Meese describes the need to shift from the current hierarchial, military structure to one which allows for "streamlined administration and fewer layers of management....[which] facilitated rapid decision making, more relevant policy guidance, and overall improvement in communication among all ranks." [56]

Meese further describes a variety of organizational styles which have been reported throughout the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. These have

included home-beat officers in London, basic car units in Los Angeles, crime control teams of patrol officers and detectives, and paired officers on neighborhood beats. The common thread which runs through all these organizational styles, however, is the decentralization of authority to the police officer who is in direct contact with the community. [57]

Changes in the organizational structure must provide a supportive environment for community policing and modify the relationship between police management and those officers in the community. Feedback from all levels of the organization is essential in determining which structure will allow the goals of the department to be reached. As the new organization is implemented, the need for flexibility and change exists until the new structure has been proven in practice. [58]

Stakeholders. In his report, Riley used the Strategic Assumption Surfacing Technique (SAST) to identify stakeholders related to the methods which are used to reduce community fear by the year 2000. His study revealed that the stakeholders include the business community, the Chief of Police, the City Council, the employees of the department, the Mayor, Neighborhood Watch Groups, Police Command Officers, consumers of police services, and special interest groups. [59]

A stakeholder is an individual or group who is affected by or who may attempt to influence an issue. These individuals may be from inside or outside of law enforcement. Stakeholders are affected by law enforcement's efforts to reduce the fear of crime. The business community desires commerce; they want a safe environment for their employees. These same community members disfavor taxes or fees unless they are related to commerce. The head law enforcement officer supports concepts that reduce crime and may react to pressure from various groups. Special interest groups are unpredictable, depending upon their cause. These groups will use political pressure to reach their objectives.

Political Influence. The head of a law enforcement agency has the responsibility to set the direction and steer the course of the agency to accomplish the law enforcement mission. The head of the agency often must respond to political demands.

Political dissension many times dictates the funding available to law enforcement for materials, labor, and capital equipment. A reduction in funding means a reduction in police services to the community. Funding, for most jurisdictions, is critical. In many areas of the nation, there is not enough money for the war on crime. Much of the money available to law enforcement, therefore, must come from federal sources.

Alternative Policies. Riley identifies several policy alternatives for law enforcement agencies to reduce community fear of crime by the Year 2000. The policy alternatives are described as:

- To redefine police service priorities regarding the types of incidents which radio cars respond to.

- To deploy increased numbers of foot patrols in inner city neighborhoods.

- To develop a City strategy to mobilize public agencies that can assist with community enhancement programs.

- To coordinate Neighborhood Watch groups' efforts to enhance their own neighborhoods.

- To pursue additional funding outside of the City budgetary process for supplementing efforts to neutralize the trepidation effect. [60]

C. Accountability

Heller defines the issue of accountability in his paper, "Addressing Community Problems Through Interagency Collaboration:"

> Accountability deals with the responsibility of the manager for the conduct of the programs he administers. This involves being answerable to superiors, and ultimately the public for the manner in which programs are administered, how resources are allocated and expended, the aims of the program, the means used, the results or outcomes of

program activities, and the decisions made in furtherance of the program. Accountability deals with the 'how' goals are reached, whereas 'effectiveness'...deals with the results of efforts directed at meeting the goals. [61]

How is the accountability of the police controlled? How are the actions of a single officer's behavior controlled with the loss of control? Can the broad-based problem-solving approach lead to increased violations of individual rights? What if the community does not like the solution the police devise for a problem? These are all issues that must be addressed in law enforcement, regardless of the strategies used.

Samuel Walker describes a critique by David Bayley which suggests that community policing may deteriorate some police standards. Individual officers may be encouraged by citizens or by supervisors to "just handle" the problem. Strategies selected could lead to violation of the rights of individuals. Community policing makes officers more vulnerable to this misuse since they are "reacting" to the needs of the neighborhood. He further relates this concept to the "kick ass" strategies reported in Wilson and Kelling's "Broken Windows" article (see discussion elsewhere in this paper). Within this famous article, a police officer describes the methods used to remove gang members from the neighborhood, stating "We kick ass." Wilson and Kelling further describe existing methods of accountability which include:

- supervision.
- training.
- auditing.
- discipline systems.
- reward systems.
- peer control. [62]

Outcomes Measurement. Another accountability issue is that of outcomes measurement. Heller defines effectiveness as:

The concept of effectiveness deals with the agency's ability to resolve issues and problems through programs directed at an issue or problem. Often times 'solving the case' or merely identifying the contributing factors which spur the problem is not enough. Effectiveness tests an agency's ability to resolve [significantly less or ameliorate] the problem or devise an effective program which addresses the issue or problem in total. [63]

In his report, Galvin defines common performance measures used in police research. They include crime prevention measures, police response time, and patrol productivity and manpower studies. These are summarized in Figure 6. [64]

FIGURE 6.

PERFORMANCE MEASURES IN POLICE RESEARCH [65]

TYPE OF STUDY	OUTCOME MEASURES
CRIME PREVENTION	Uniform Crime Report Index Local reported crime rates Victimization rates Probability of crime interception Citizen perceptions of fear of crime and level of safety
POLICE RESPONSE TIME	Travel time Travel distance Dispatch time/delay Number of citizens who report delay Apprehension probability Citizen satisfaction
PATROL PRODUCTIVITY MANPOWER STUDIES	Patrol workload Officer safety/injury Crime/victimization rates Travel time Patrol rates of area Citizen complaints Officer complaints

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Walters states that officers can be allowed more discretion when they continually perform with a high level of professionalism. He further contends that "while continuing to enjoy the respect and cooperation of the community, requires that each officer be personally accountable for the highest standards of professional behavior. . . . In order to promote citizen confidence in the police, officers should

swiftly respond to any such incidents [crimes or emergency incidents] and establish and maintain control over the situation." [66]

D. Liability

How much training is necessary in human relations, community organization tactics, and community awareness? Who is liable for solutions which fail when multiple agencies are working together to solve a community problem? When (and how?) do the police move from the role of community advocate to that of the traditional law enforcement role in the presence of criminal activity? Who is liable for the failure of the police to respond adequately to a community problem which does not involve crime prevention but instead involves housing issues, health issues, etc.?

Meese states that it is important to "have technical and logistic backup in the form of field support units(FSU's) as found in Los Angeles." [67] According to Meese, FSU's may be at either precinct or headquarters, dependent upon the size of the department's jurisdiction. Meese defines FSU's as:

> a valuable staff counterpart to the officers in the field. They should include crime prevention specialists, . . . can provide publications and materials for neighborhood meetings, as well as specialized equipment . . . can handle the printing and duplicating of invoices and other documents.....can serve as a message center for officers in the field, facilitating rapid callback responses to citizens...available to provide advise and technical assistance to community policing team leaders and officers.... provide liaison and followup activity with other elements of the police department as well as the various city departments whose services are needed to resolved community problems. [68]

Meese also states that specialized support is needed in the area of crime analysis. He describes the London Metropolitan Police's Division Intelligence and Information Unit (DIIU) within each precinct level command. The DIIU includes detectives and support personnel. Their role is to collect, analyze, and disseminate information about criminals and crimes within their areas. Information support must also timely and convenient access to records and identification facilities. [69]

IV. TRENDS IN COMMUNITY POLICING

Inkster cites an urgency to change law enforcement because of the changing world. Examples that Inkster describes law enforcement facing include the following:

- 1. Increased mobility of the populations of the world.
- 2. Increased contact between multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-lingual groups.
- 3. Increasing minority population in the United States.
- 4. Uncertain economy.
- 5. Declining educational standards.
- 6. Inadequate social and health services.
- 7. Increased high technology.
- 8. Increased socio-cultural differences.
- 9. Increased violent crimes.
- 10. International terrorism.
- 11. Increased social unrest/disorder.
- 12. Change in social values.
- 13. Increased availability of knowledge.
- 14. Increased communication through technology.
- 15. Increased information transmission through technology.
- 16. Globalization versus community feelings. [70]

A. Neighborhood Network Centers

Starting in 1990-91, five year pilot projects of Neighborhood Network Centers were initiated in three cities in the United States and one in England. The sites of the projects are (1) Lansing, Michigan, (2) Norfolk, Virginia, (3) Fort Pierce, Florida, and (4) Newcastle-Upon-Tyne in Northumbria, England. These projects were designed to allow the police officers to work in the community along with other agencies to meet the needs of the community. Figure 6 illustrates participating organizations in the Neighborhood Network Centers at onset. These centers have been funded through the C.S. Mott Foundation of Flint, Michigan. [71]

FIGURE 7

PILOT PROJECTS OF NEIGHBORHOOD NETWORK CENTERS[72]

PROJECT SITE	PARTICIPATING AGENCIES
LANSING, MICHIGAN	Lansing Police Department Community Mental Health Probate Court Social Services Public Health Public Schools City Planning
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA	Police Department "Social service agents"
FORT PIERCE, FLORIDA	Police Department Boy Scouts Girl Scouts "other service providers"
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE NORTHUMBRIA, ENGLAND	undefined

B. Planning for Year 2000

Inkster describes the document A Vision of the Future of Policing in Canada: Police-Challenge 2000 which was issued by the Solicitor General of Canada in 1992. This document presents the national plan for the next century. The mission is quoted as:

> ....in accordance with the Canadian Chart of Rights and Freedoms, the police are responsible for maintaining peace, order, and public security, for preventing crime and other offenses, for apprehending offenders and bringing them to justice and for addressing fears and concerns of the public with respect to crime and disorder. [73]

Inkster further describes the future plan for Canada with an outline of the "New Blue Line" program to be implemented. This plan parallels the role of the London Metropolitan Police Force as described by Peel in 1829. The "New Blue Line" is illustrated in Figure 8. [74]

FIGURE 8.

CANADA'S NEW BLUE LINE

- Police officers are peace officers rather than merely law enforcement officers involved in crime control.

- Policing is founded on partnership with the community.

- Proactive policing identifies local crime and disorder problems.

- Crime and disorder problems are addressed by problem-oriented policing.

- The underlying causes of crime require a broad police response.

- There is interagency cooperation for problem solving.

- Police officers are interactive information managers exchanging information with the community.

- Tactics are developed to reduce the unfound fear of being victimized.

- Police can be generalists rather than specialists.

- Police officers have responsibility and autonomy for solving problems at the community level.

- The structure of a police organization is flattened to emphasize the operational level.

- There is accountability to the community for the achievement of priorities identified by the community. [75]

Strandberg describes the future as very bright for community policing. He states that most forward-thinking law enforcement officials recognize the need to involve communities in the process of reducing crime. Although community policing has been around for many years, Strandberg says it is only in the last few years that aggressive implementation of the philosophy has occurred, often starting as an experimental program, and then expanding throughout the agency. He states, however, that it is still too early to evaluate the effectiveness of community policing in actual crime prevention and reduction. [76]

Riley reported that several trends and events would have an impact on the issue of the response of law enforcement to crime by the Year 2000. These trends included:

- Willingness of law enforcement to address the fear of crime.

- State of the infrastructure of the urban city.

- Changes in the demographics of the inner city.

- Increase in confrontational crimes related to drugs and weapons.

- Impact of technology on law enforcement and society. [77]

The first trend addressed by Riley was that of the willingness of law enforcement to address the fear of crime in communities. He states that crime statistics can not be the determinant of operational plans. Riley agrees that violent crimes must be dealt with by law enforcement officers, however, these same crimes do not create the role of law enforcement officers. [78]

Riley's second trend relating to the infrastructure of the urban city and his subsequent discussion contains many issues which are relevant to the topics of community policing. He states that the condition of the urban infrastructure will decline. This decline in the framework of cities will create problems in the availability of resources to combat crime, thus eroding the quality of life as previously discussed

(see section of this paper relating to "Broken Windows"). Areas of concern include the deterioration of our public facilities and resources (buildings, bridges, streets, etc.), the reduced quality of the air and water across the nation, and the subsequent gloomy view of the citizens towards their community. [79]

This trend will ultimately result in the movement of individuals and business to areas away from the inner city if they have the financial resources to move. Riley states:

> Unfortunately for the cities, as the wealthier citizens and businesses leave in search of a more secure environment, municipal tax bases will decrease. As fewer dollars are paid into the 'system,' central city areas will continue to become dilapidated, as structures age and infrastructure will be left unrepaired. Fiscal resources will be lacking due to an exodus of businesses, cultural organizations, and other economic generating entities. [80]

Riley's third trend relates to the changing demographics within the inner city. Demographic shifts show that the population in the inner city is becoming older (a twenty-three percent increase since the 1980's), increasingly minority, and poorer. The communities also include new immigrants, single parents, unemployed adults, and disadvantaged children. Riley states that these demographics have an impact on the role of the police in increasing the feeling of security of the citizens in their homes. In addition, the relationship between police and the various minority communities is critical. [81]

The fourth trend discussed by Riley is that of an increase in violent and confrontational crimes. This pattern relates to the increase in narcotics and weapons as well as the transition of gangs into organized crime associations. Statistics show there has been over a twenty-five percent increase in violent crimes since 1985; this has included an increase in involvement of innocent individual during violent crimes. [82]

Another trend described by Riley is that of the impact of technology. He states that there are useful and positive impacts of technology for law enforcement,

however, he cautions that technology cannot replace critical thinking by individual police officers. [83]

Jordan also addressed the issue of policing strategies for the Year 2000. His study identified several important trends. These trends included, in rank order:

- Level of racial, ethnic and economic unrest.

- Level of police and citizen role interaction.

- Level of crime.

- Level of political influence in the delegation of police services.

- Level of local government funding available for police services. [84]

Analysis of these trends by Jordan indicated that unless there is a change in the direction of the current pattern, the forecast for today's communities includes the following:

- The level of racial, ethnic, and economic unrest will increase to twice that of today.

- Police and citizen interaction will double that of today.

- Crime is expected to be three times that of the current.

- There will be a doubling of political influence.

- The level of funding for police services will remain at the current level. [85]

C. Impacts of Community Policing

A focus article in <u>Footprints: The Community Policing Newsletter</u> describes some of the impacts of the Lansing, Michigan project. The impacts included changes in (1) physical environment, (2) social environment, (3) drugs, and (4) within the department. [86]

Changes in the physical environment included an improved physical appearance of the neighborhood. The neighborhood groups had identified the import-

ant goals as (1) improving housing conditions and (2) developing a sense of neighbor-hood pride. The first step taken was a simple one: arranging to have trash dumpster to be placed in the area for use by the neighborhood. Once completed, a cleanup celebration was held. Further efforts from the Urban League allowed for painting of houses with donated paint and assistance with yard work (manpower and equipment). Then, the neighborhood had a "name your neighborhood contest." [87]

The social environment created by the improved physical image of the neigh-borhood had a positive impact. "The bad people were suddenly gone...They were outnumbered by the good people who had a resurgence of pride in their neighbor-hood." [88] Federal beautification money and more parties for celebration where indi-viduals became acquainted also continued to improve the social environment. Assis-tance and encouragement to seek employment is another critical activity. [89]

The Michigan COPS (Community Officers Patrolling Streets) project was ini-tiated in 1990 by the Governor. This is an anti-drug project which centers on reduc-ing drug dealing and drug-related crime. Lansing, Michigan, was one of 17 pilot cities. One emphasis of the community policing project and COPS has been that of closing crack houses. One tactic has been to improve rental properties in the area through working with the city code enforcement officials to upgrade properties yet keep them within financial reach of the community. Another tactic has been to assist rental owners to screen applicants. [90,91]

Riley's study of community policing through a cross-impact analysis indicated that enactment of community based policing and the mandate to modify police strat-egies to meet multi-ethnic community needs had the greatest influence on   the wil-lingness of law enforcement officers to address fear, changing the conditions of the city's infrastructure, and reducing confrontational crime. [92]

V. CASE STUDIES OF COMMUNITY POLICING PROGRAMS

A. Houston Fear Reduction Experiment

The Houston Police Department was one of the pioneers of the community policing movement with their program in the 1980's. The definition of neighborhood oriented policing established by Houston states:

> Neighborhood-oriented policing is an interactive process between police officers assigned to specific beats and the citizens that either work or reside in these beats to mutually develop ways to identify problems and concerns and then to assess viable solutions by providing available resources from both the police departments and the community to address the problems and/or concerns. [93]

Project Oasis was the program which was implemented in Houston immediately prior to the Neighborhood-oriented Policing Project. This program was planned to focus on the quality-of-life issues as well as crime concerns. The endeavor was conducted in a low-income housing site. Problems of the housing community were analyzed by participants from the police department, other government agencies, and the citizens. The problem identified was drug dealing. Although patrol officers worked their regular assigned areas, they were able to be "out-of-service" in the project area for extended periods of time. The results were positive with a reduced number of calls for service and in moving the drug traffic from the neighborhood. [94]

B. Newport News Problem-Oriented Policing

The project in Newport News, Virginia, was known as problem-oriented policing (POP). The police have used this method to tackle such problems as souse abuse and street prostitution. The method of dealing with the prostitution involved the judge as well as the police force. The judge agreed to put the prostitutes on probation instead of in jail if they agreed to stay out of the area. If they did not honor their probation, the probation was revoked. [95]

Problem-oriented policing is defined as a process to solve crimes which have caused recurrent calls to the police. Problem-oriented policing is described as a four phase process:

- Scanning: identification of an issue or problem.

- Analysis: collection of information on the problem.

- Response: development and implementation of solutions.

- Assessment: evaluation of the effectiveness of the response. [96]

The creation of a Problem Analysis Committee (PAC) was required to implement the Problem-Oriented Policing process in Newport News. This committee includes officers from all levels. They review projects to determine the relevance of issues identified and consider interdisciplinary solutions. [97]

One of the early problems addressed by POP was a street drug market. First, a supervisor studied the problem, identifying the known dealers in the area and studying their arrest records. Collaboration with nearby police departments led to the conclusion that drugs for street dealers were being provided by drug wholesalers. The decision was to develop cases on the entire group of dealers to avoid having others take over if just a few were arrested. Next, informants were identified and undercover officers infiltrated the drug network. Drug deals were videotaped. Finally, six months later, forty-four arrests were made in one evening. All individuals arrested were convicted and received 5 to 14 year sentences. [98]

Williams reports that success depends on support from middle management and initiative of patrol officers. There are no special units; it is the motivation of the individual police officer that determines what problems are identified and whether a POP project is started. He states:

> Often the police officers who are the most productive and conscientious in performing their normal duties are also the most generous in giving time to POP. The typical POP project takes three to four months to complete. This length of time may seem to be considerable, however, if the city has been living with the problem for years, that time requirement is negligible for the thoughtful solution or mitigation of the problem....By motivating police to give attention to the causes of crime and to incorporate other community resources into their strategies, POP enables police to do more than respond to incidents and to calls for service. [99]

C. Baltimore County Citizen-Oriented Police Enforcement (COPE)

The Citizen Oriented Police Enforcement (COPE) program was begun in Baltimore County, Maryland. A task force of forty-eight officers work with citizens to decrease the fear of crime. This project was based upon research of fear which shows that fear comes from the changes in the environment as much as the crime itself. (See earlier discussion on the Broken Windows Concept in this paper). [100]

Fear is created not only by the incidence of actual crime, but signs of disorder in a neighborhood such as vandalism, bands of rowdy youth, graffiti and abandoned cars. COPE officers worked to reverse cycles of neighborhood deterioration. The initial COPE objectives were not met because of poor planning and training. However, there were some early successes. One example of an early success was in the Garden Village area where officers were able to get streets paved and lighting improved. Officers also organized an apartment residents' association and helped to prepare a grant request for a community park. Officers involved with COPE had to adopt new roles. These new roles helped the people of the community to feel more satisfied with the job that the police were performing.

D. New York City Community Patrol (CPOP)

New York City's program is called the Community Patrol Officer Program. The goals of this program include improving police-community relations, returning the sense of security to the community members, and working on the problems that form the basis for crime. [101]

In the early CPOP program, calls for police service were answered by the regular patrol officers. CPOP officers did not respond to calls; their assignment was to address the problems of the neighborhood. This method of identifying problems of the area and describing possible solutions was called the "beat book." [102]

CPOP early evaluations were positive but wary. Initial success was found in those quality of life problems such as cleaning up abandoned areas and improving areas where citizens felt a threat to their safety. Strategies, however, maintained the traditional responses of law enforcement officers such as arrests. Early participants were also successful in motivating existing organizations to get involved but they did not begin new groups within the communities to address the new problems. [103]

The experimental CPOP program was in only a few precincts to allow for careful evaluation prior to expansion. For political reasons, however, the program was expanded to the entire city. There were over 700 CPOP officers in each precinct by 1990. Expansion of the program is often criticized as being too rapid. [104]

E. Schenectady, New York, Community Policing

Schenectady, New York, is located north of New York City. It has a population which is 52% low income and has the highest percentage of minorities in the state. The intent of the community policing program here is "to encourage people to participate in anti-crime programs, such as neighborhood watch groups, and to send a message to criminals that neighborhoods are organizing." [105]

Schenectady has had a Police Community Services Unit for over 18 years, yet reports significant impacts during the last year. Programs which are in place in this community include crime prevention classes, McGruff, Operation ID, and Neighborhood Watch. To these ongoing programs, Schenectady added a community relations program coordinator "to get the police and the community to once again 'trust' each other, and work together as a team." [106] Other programs which are being planned include an "Alternative Evening" for youth on a Friday evening, with a cook-out and dance.

One of the significant decisions was the decision to purchase a tavern in a depressed area of the community. This area was known for its criminal elements involving drugs and prostitution. Foster states:

> It is right in the midst of a high crime area, and we are much more visible than we were before. We provide an oasis in the middle of the desert for the people. We have opened the lines of communication, and they now have much more access to the police. They know us, and we know them. [107]

F. Santa Ana, California

Walters states that implementation of community-oriented policing in Santa Ana, California, required substantial time and effort. He describes the steps taken in the implementation:

> First, department administrators implemented community-oriented policing within the context of the city's commitment to total quality management. Then, they developed a task force of civilians and officers from all ranks to address community-oriented policing. This task force helped to guide the full implementation of this philosophy throughout the entire department. Members of the task force reviewed organizational structure, performance evaluation and reward systems, recruiting and training practices, and deployment strategies. The next step was to create a police stockholders task force, chaired by the chief and composed of representatives from the department and other related city agencies and community groups. This task force reviewed the criteria and values by which police functions and services to the community are evaluated in the context of community-oriented policing....the department trained all departmental personnel in community-oriented policing. They then evaluated the community-oriented policing test areas within the department's jurisdiction and made recommendations for possible applications to other areas of the jurisdiction. Finally, the architectural design of a new police department

facility, which was already scheduled to be built, reflect the central functions, values, and vision of community-oriented policing. This facility represents the commitment of department administrators to the community-oriented policing strategy. [108]

G. Mounted Police Officers

Although traditionally used for control situations (such as clearing roads, crowd control, demonstration control), there are examples of mounted officers who are performing the same duties as officers in police vehicles. They are patrolling high crime areas, arresting drug dealers, responding to calls, and conducting searches. There are over 700 mounted units nationally. [109]

1. United States Park Police Mounted Officers

The National Parks in the Washington, D.C., area are patrolled by the U.S. Park Police. There are 41 mounted officers. Their responsibilities are "about one-third of their time on patrol, about one-third on crowd control, and about one-third on public relations and education." [110]

2. Los Angeles Police Department Mounted Units

The Los Angeles Police Department Mounted Units reported over 700 arrests in 1992. Their goal is "proactive policing." It is described as "We work narcotics street sales in conjunction with other officers in cares. We go into a known narcotics sales area and we 'vigorously' enforce the law. It's amazing how quickly crime drops down in that area." [111]

3. Fort Lauderdale

The Fort Lauderdale, Florida Mounted Officers assist with the control of the "spring break" college students. They are able to maintain crowd control with minimal risk to the students. An officer is quoted on the role of the mounted officer:

"With the right officer and the right horse, you have a vehicle to positively influence the community's perception of the police." The Fort Lauderdale Mounted Unit also participated in Hurricane Andrew rescue activities. They established a "horse recovery unit" to locate and care for stray horses until they could be returned to their owners. [112]

4. Huntington, West Virginia

Huntington, West Virginia, has a three man, three horse unit. Fulton quotes an officer as "When it comes to community policing in high crime areas, it works better than a foot patrol. The kids are attracted to the horses. We act as a deterrent in the area, and it opens up a great line of communication." [113]

5. Albany, New York

The Albany, New York, mounted unit includes five officers. They frequently are assigned maintain control during demonstrations which occur at the capital, often preventing problems.

6. Rural Wyoming

In rural Wyoming, citizens with their own horses often assist law enforcement officials to search for missing persons. [114]

H. Programs in Small Cities

The movement of crime to small cities creates problems for each law enforcement agency. Police departments must change their former tactics to deal with the new problems facing the community.

1. Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Lancaster, Pennsylvania is in Amish country and tourist area. Lancaster,however, has reported a change in their crime rate over the last five years. The community has drug selling on the streets with over 527 arrests in 1991. The response of the Lancaster Police Department:

> Drugs became such a serious problem three-and-a-half-years ago that we were forced to take a different response to the illegal drug activity...We were having repetition, competition and jealousy between the different agencies dealing with the problem. We went to the D.A. and decided to form a County Drug Task Force, and it has been one of the most successful programs in the Commonwealth. Now, almost every city in the Commonwealth has a similar program. We succeeded because we started working together. Drugs know no boundaries--what you have inside the city you probably have outside, too. You have to have a force that won't stop at the boundary lines. [115]

2. Lansing, Illinois

Changes in Lansing, Illinois, are cited as a result of the shooting death of one officer and injury of a second by an escaped convict. One of their primary goals is to prevent the development of gangs in Lansing.

> We have been sitting on the gang problem very hard, and have so far kept them from spreading into Lansing....You have to stay on top of everything, so you don't get blind-sided. It's called survival, and its important to stay up with all the new developments (new drugs, new gangs). We have to be aware of everything before it happens. And that means everyone working together and communicating. [116]

3. Colorado Springs, Colorado

Former Los Angeles narcotics/gang commander and current Chief of Police in Colorado Springs states:

> The fastest growing gang problem is not in the major urban centers, it is in the middle to smaller size cities and towns. No one's immune. Most of these smaller towns are not trained to deal with the unusual aspects of gang crimes, and most communities are ill-prepared to deal with the fear element, the sense of disorganization resulting form gangs and gang activity......Colorado Springs is typical of many cities throughout the country that have a sense of denial, particularly with gangs, for many reasons: they don't want to acknowledge it because they'd have to deal with it, it might be looked on as being bad for business, or they deny it completely, or see it as being less serious than it is....Trends fifteen years ago in the big cities are starting to emerge in smaller areas and if mid-size cities and smaller towns are astute, they can really learn from bigger cities. [117]

4. Pine Bluff, Arkansas

The problem in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, is drugs. The solution for Pine Bluff? The Tri-County Drug Task Force. The Chief of Police states:

> It started in 1974 with marijuana, and I told many people that if they didn't put a stop to it then, it'd be very serious....Now we have a much bigger problem. It has escalated to the problems we are having now--it's everybody using crack, and you have people stealing from their own family, and crime is on the increase. I think that 75 percent of all the crime in this town is due to crack. We've had and still have a lot of murders in a town this size, and that goes back to drugs. Everything revolves around drugs in Pine Bluff.

I. International Programs

1. Edmonton Police Force, Alberta, Canada

The application of the principles of community policing in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada is unique. They applied the principles to an industrial area where there had been a high crime rate for many years. The name of the unit is the North West Industrial Area Patrol. Upon the initiation of the project, the following charge was provided:

> Crime in the industrial area has been a problem for quite some time, and traditional methods, that is, random patrol and property checks, have done little or nothing to improve the situation. See what you can do.

The tactics used to begin this project included the following:

- Visiting the area businesses.

- Focus attention on businesses which were previous crime sites.

- Recommended to businesses to improve security of businesses (lights and locks).

- Development of a Street Information Report (SIR) used by volunteers and security companies to identify suspicious vehicles in the area.

- Initiation of a "message to the criminal element."

    Newspaper feature on the Patrol.

    Communication of surveillance to criminals.

    "Phone-back" system to individuals with a criminal record who are identi-
    fied on the SIR's as being in the area to notify them of being under sur-
    veillance at a specific date and time. [118]

Initial results from this project included the following:

- Increased lighting and security of businesses.

- Increased reporting of crimes that had occurred prior to the project.

- Identification of additional resources.

    Community Police Radio Network (CB volunteers).
    Private security companies. [119]

2. London, England

The London Metropolitan Police was founded upon the principles of preventive policing established by Sir Robert Peel as discussed earlier in this paper. Today, the Metropolitan Police roles encompass both responsive and preventive policing. These are not two separate principles or strategies. It is better for the police to respond to a minor infraction (such as speeding) than to wait to respond to a severe accident with the same driver. However, responsive or reactive policing has become increasingly common in Metropolitan Police as with other departments throughout the world due to shortages of manpower and the demands on current resources. [120]

In London, as in the United States, the police are relying upon the public to identify the incidents that require police attention. This often results in the late arrival of police and the beginning of an investigation to locate the offender. Preventive measures can improve the outcomes and possibly avert the crimes. [121].pa

VI. SUMMARY

Jordan described the isolationism which existed between law enforcement and the community as an often normal practice until the 1980's. The view was that of the law enforcement professional with specialized education and experience who did not need or want assistance from the general public. This view shifted as both the law enforcement officials and the public reacted to the increasing crime across the nation. Society wanted to curtail crime and feel secure in their communities. This pressure from the public on law enforcement led to innovative efforts to reduce crime. [122]

These innovative efforts by law enforcement agencies resulted in the discovery that the interaction between the police and the public resulted in a positive impact on the reduction of crime. These early results led to more contact between police and the community and the development of more innovative projects. [123]

As stated by Meese:

Community policing is now an established concept of modern law enforcement doctrine. While much experimentation and innovation continues to occur, the benefits of this strategy are being proclaimed by more and more cities throughout the Nation. But 'making the transition from a traditional reactive, incident-driven style of policing to a more contemporary proactive, problem-directed style of community-oriented policing requires a comprehensive strategy that is based on long-term institutional change.'[124]

Jordan further described the recommendations which have been made for law enforcement agencies to prepare for the 21st century:

- Enhance 'community relations' responsibilities throughout the police department and empower all employees to respond to community needs.

- Establish an internal police service quality committee to audit, review, refine and anticipate future services the police department provides to the community.

- Establish a police-community advisory board, comprised of general community members, ethnic and racial groups, special interest groups, including the business community, and school board. Select department members of all ranks and classifications to serve.

- Increase cultural and racial awareness and sensitivity through training and educa- tion, for department employees as well as the community.

- Enhance networking with other city departments and the school district.

- More actively recruit among minority and special interest groups.

This section of this paper has reviewed the definitions of community policing, compared community policing concepts to other policing strategies, discussed issues relating to community policing such as the role of officers, educational issues, politi- cal issues, accountability, and liability. It has further looked at the impact of com- munity policing on civil disturbances, excessive force, drugs, and high profile cases. Then, case studies of existing urban and rural programs of community policing have been examined.

The next section of this paper will apply the principles of community policing in the development of a plan for a border law enforcement agency, with both a large urban setting and a large rural community within its jurisdiction--El Paso County Sheriff's Department, El Paso County, Texas.

VII. A PLAN FOR EL PASO COUNTY, TEXAS

A. Description of El Paso County

A culturally diverse, urban/rural community of over 500,00 fulltime residents, and an estimated three-quarters of a million resident commuters from across the U.S.-Mexico border, El Paso County has a majority Hispanic ethnic representation of approximately seventy-three (73) percent. The remaining ethnic groups are Cauca- sian, Afro-American, and Asian. Without question, the rapidly grouping population is one of the most dominant aspects of the community.

The population has increased approximately thirty percent within the last fifteen years. El Paso's primary population is located in the city of El Paso (approximately 325,000 residents); the remainder of the population is sparsely spread among eight rural towns within the county. All but three of these towns or cities have their own small police departments. The City of El Paso has an eight hundred plus officer force that appears to be committed to the implementation of the community policing concept.

"Texas is expected to become a 'minority-majority' state--the second, after California--by 2020. . . . But unlike California, Texas--despite a reputation for racial intolerance--has not produced a strong backlash against immigration, yet." [125] However, Operation Blockade (now called "Hold the Line") was initiated by the United States Border Patrol in the El Paso sector to stem the tide of illegal immigration into the United States. Chief Reyes of the El Paso Sector of the Border Patrol, during a meeting of the El Paso Law Enforcement Group on January 11, 1994, said that Operation Blockade was initiated at the request of El Paso citizens who wanted to protect the community's quality of life. Although complete data on this operation is not available it appears that all categories of crime in El Paso County have gone down since it started in September, 1993.

Studies produced by the Center for Immigration Studies indicate that "by 2020, Anglos--non-Hispanic whites--will be less than half of Texas' population....Currently 61% of Texans are white; 26% Hispanic; 12% are black...The number of immigrants, after first dipping following the 1986 amnesty law, has been rising steadily...In 1983, 46,489 people legally immigrated to the USA through Texas ports. In 1989, that number began to climb, reaching 212,600 by 1991." [126]

The majority of the employed in El Paso earn near or just above the minimum wage. One of the County's major employers is the Fort Bliss Air Defense Center. Many of those employed in service industries come from across the border.

In an article entitled "El Paso Income Gap Expands", the El Paso Herald Post stated that El Paso incomes are twenty-four percent below the rest of the state of Texas. Gordon Cook, Assistant Director of the University of Texas at El Paso Institute for Manufacturing and Material management said that most new jobs created in El Paso are in the low-income strata. The unemployment rate in El Paso averages ten percent, four percent higher than the state.[127]

People in El Paso are generally law-abiding and want to feel safe in their community. They are concerned about drug-dealing in the community, auto thefts, and undocumented personnel in their community.

Law enforcement agencies, to include the Sheriff's Department, have as their mission to ensure the safety and security of all people in their community by providing responsive and professional police service with compassion and concern and within the moral and legal standards of the community.

Many citizens view the border with Mexico to be a threat to their way of life. The Hispanic who illegally crosses the border is considered to be a criminal; they are blamed for deteriorating neighborhoods, drug sales, and crime against their law-abiding neighbors. There is a cry from the community for law enforcement agencies to do more. More and more frequently the call is heard "Lock them up and throw away the key."

There are twenty-six law enforcement agencies located in El Paso County, however, with Operation Blockade, little dent was made in the county crime rate. Indicates are that a number of the crimes committed in the community were committed by undocumented persons. Community members are now concerned about the increase in gang violence, incidents of drive-by shootings, and violent crime.

B. Political Scene

The political power base of El Paso is changing from the traditional Caucasian money elite to the Hispanic money elite. The major elected positions on school boards, and in city and county government are now held by Hispanics.

C. View of Law Enforcement

The community has a good opinion of law enforcement. There is a great deal of interaction between law enforcement officers and the community. The Sheriff's Department is involved in Scouting programs, anti-drug programs in the schools, crime prevention programs, Neighborhood Watch programs, and several other pro-grams which keep the officers in touch with the people served,particularly in the smaller towns of the county.

D. Needs Assessment for Community Policing in El Paso County

The data reviewed during the preparation of this paper clearly supports the fact that the role of law enforcement officers is changing from a narrow enforcement based to a wider, full-service philosophy. The model best suited for this new role is some form of community-based police service. The community is more concerned with reduction of fear, than with crime rates and with the number of arrests.

To meet today's challenges, the Sheriff's Department must move quickly to develop strong relationships with the community it serves. Service to the community must be a priority. Community relations must be given a high priority; working rela-tionships must be established with business, governmental, and residential communi-ties throughout El Paso County.

Law enforcement personnel must be trained to be problem-solvers. Community input must be continually sought in relation to community needs and the ability of the law enforcement officers to meet those needs must be improved.

1. Manpower requirements

The manpower requirements to implement community policing in El Paso County are not within the currently authorized strength of the Sheriff's Department. The department, however, can use a modified plan, where selected components of the community policing model can be used to achieve the department's mission of protecting the public and reduction of the public's fear of crime.

2. Budgetary impacts

The budgetary impact is the area that causes the greatest concern whenever new programs are suggested. The tax base in the community of El Paso, as in most communities in Texas, is used to support education, medical care, and law enforcement. The bill for law enforcement in El Paso County is approximately fifty percent of the current budget. To fully implement community policing, the additional personnel, equipment, and space requirements would cost several million dollars. Although these are funds that would be well spent, the budgetary decision-makers may not agree. There is a constant effort in most communities to reduce government spending. This is particularly true in El Paso where many bond elections have been defeated recently. Thus, a Sheriff needing funds for new programs must turn to federal grants for assistance in implementation. Federal grants are available, but monies are limited for community policing, drug task forces, and juvenile crime problems.

3. Community Involvement

The members of the community in El Paso are involved with assisting law enforcement. Currently there is an advisory committee for the jail. The former medical advisory committee provided input to solve problems in health care management within the jail. A Sheriff's Reserves exists. However, there still is not enough input. The people who are the most impacted by crime (the lower income groups) have the least amount of input. These are the people that must be reached if El Paso is to improve the quality of life for its citizens. New methods of obtaining this input must be devised. Local advisory groups, specialized projects, and other methods cited throughout this paper could be used. How well and when this is done will dictate how well law enforcement is perceived as doing its job in El Paso County.

4. Approval process

In El Paso County, the Sheriff has the authority to establish a plan for organization and activities of the Department. This plan, however, must be within the budgetary and manpower authorized by the El Paso County Commissioners. To increase the current resources would require justification to further increase the budget of the Department.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

A. RECOMMENDATIONS:

Based upon the study of the principles of community policing, the case studies of various programs implementing community policing, and the current status of law enforcement in El Paso County, it is recommended that several concepts from community policing be implemented. These include:

1. Field officers must continue their emphasis on contact with citizens in their patrol areas. This can be accomplished through health and welfare checks, presentations to civic groups, and one to one contact. Field officers must place special emphasis on contacts with elementary school children because this is a group where the greatest impact on future behaviors.

2. Citizen complaints about the Department's personnel and services must result in some type of response from the Department. This response must be timely. Citizens must know that the Department will investigate their complaints against officers and, when warranted, take disciplinary action. It must be evident to the public that the Department will listen to the individual citizen, not simply file the complaint or turn a deaf ear to their concerns.

3. Officers must know that the chain of command in the Department will allow, and support, their efforts to implement new ideas. Initiative of officers must be rewarded through Department awards programs and advancement, not punished.

4. Educational programs on decision-making and problem-solving must be developed for current officers as well as new recruits. Officers must be encouraged to think for themselves in all situations. These efforts to increase the authority of the field officer must be supported and actively encouraged through all levels of the chain of command.

5. Efforts must be continued to teach officers about other cultures, their beliefs, customs, and conduct. The issues of potential culture shock for the officer must be addressed. Socio-economic factors which impact behavior should be explored in the training sessions.

6. Current public service programs of the Department must be expanded. The community must feel that the members of the Department are a part of the community. This can be done by publicizing what officers do in addition to the

traditional law enforcement duties. Many officers already work with church groups, help needy families and individuals in their neighborhoods or patrol areas, and work with disadvantaged youths.

7. Data collection and analysis of crime rates, social problems, and community needs must be improved. Analysis of data must be organized in a format which is usable to the officers in each community which is served by the Department. Without this data, efforts to develop appropriate preventive programs or to meet the unique needs of that community will not be successful.

8. An ongoing mechanism should be instituted which will encourage identification of successful programs throughout the nation with discussion of possible implications for El Paso County. There must be a method for officers to initiate pilot projects in all areas of the Department and for these pilot projects to receive adequate support and evaluation.

9. Evaluation of the community policing project by the El Paso City Police Department must be a priority of the Sheriff's Department. The success of this program will have a definite impact on the strategies which the public will accept or reject when implemented in the county. Response of the community may also suggest strategies which are critical to the goals of the Department.

10. A strategic and operational plan for the implementation of community policing must be developed for the Department. This plan must be developed with the participation of all levels of personnel in the Department. There must also be involvement from the business and professional communities as well as the individual citizens throughout the County. The plan should also insure that separate agencies do not develop as a result of the partial decentralization of Department functions.

B. CONCLUSIONS:

As shown throughout this paper, the merits of community policing affect the citizens and neighborhoods, not just the law enforcement officers. The values are the respect and interdependence which develops between the police and the citizens. It is the idea that individuals and communities do not have to be victims of fear and crime:

that a partnership between police and citizens can make a marked difference in reducing the problems of crime, drugs, fear, and urban decay. Relatively few police leaders have incorporated these values into a vision that is establishing the new community policing model for the nation. They are experimenting with ideas that seem to work. What police are doing is applying some management concepts that focus on the customer Where their still-evolving model leads them could determine the nature, goals, and effectiveness of municipal policing for decades to come. For the rest of us in local government, this new way of policing could play a principal role in determining how government affects the quality of urban life. [128]

Total community policing will not come easy to any urban or rural area. Law enforcement agencies must evaluate what others have done or are doing to determine what might work for them. When the decision to try community policing is made, a good plan must be developed before any action is initiated. Many well-intentioned concepts fail because of a lack of planning.

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APPENDIX

1990 POPULATIONS BY PLANNING AREA {EL PASO}
POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE IN TEXAS
PERSONS OF HISPANIC ORIGIN
HISPANIC POPULATION OF MAJOR CITIES IN TEXAS
CITY OF EL PASO 1990 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
COUNTY PROFILES BY RACE AND SPANISH ORIGIN {EL PASO}
PERSONS BELOW POVERTY {EL PASO}
AVERAGE ANNUAL PAY ACROSS TEXAS
INCOME PER CAPITA ACROSS TEXAS
COUNTY OF EL PASO 1990 BUSINESS DISTRIBUTION
POPULATION CHANGE IN TEXAS, 1980-90
POPULATION PROJECTIONS TO 2010 {EL PASO}
1990 NORTHBOUND CROSSINGS {FROM MEXICO TO EL PASO}
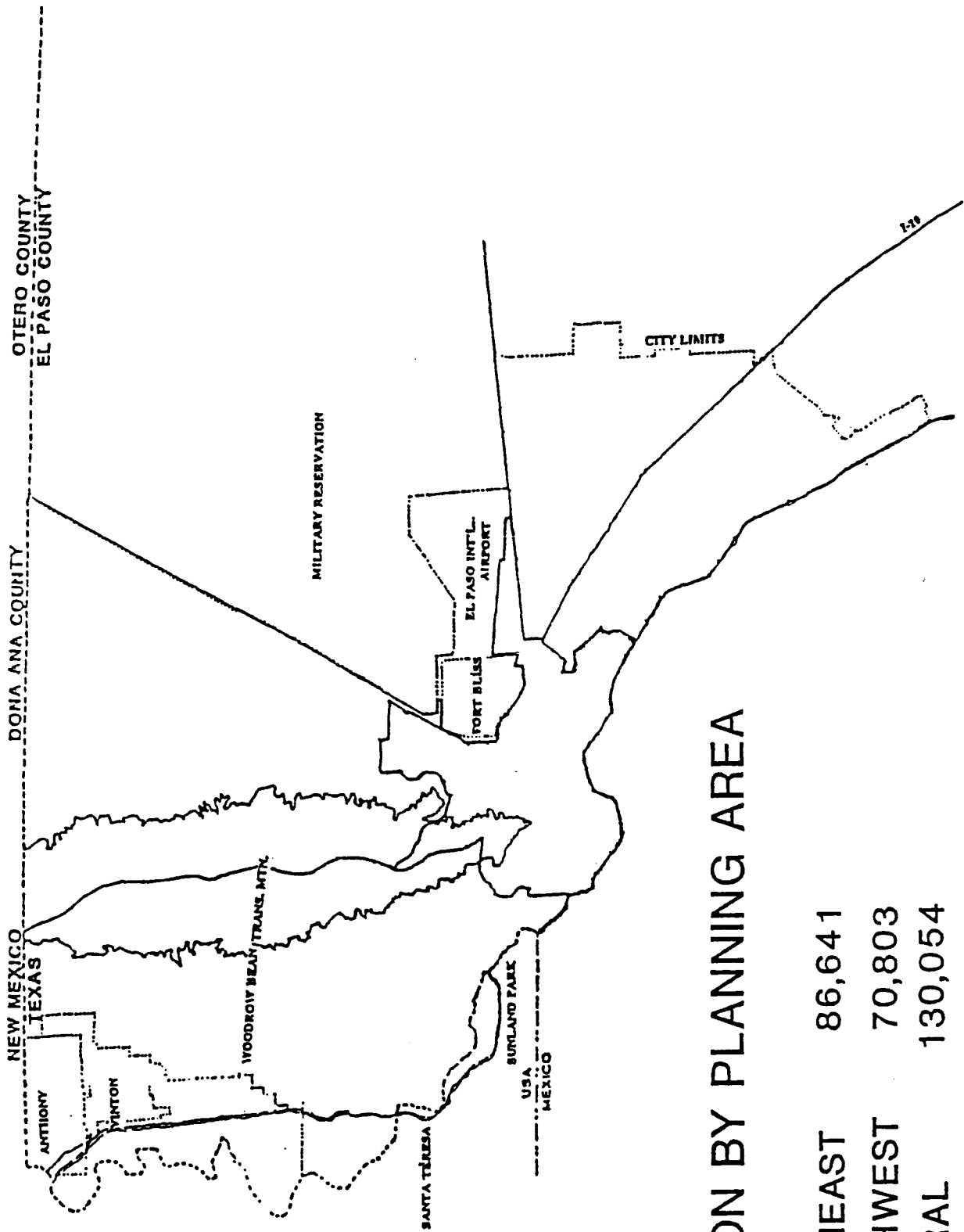
1990 POPULATION BY PLANNING AREA

☐ NORTHEAST	86,641
☐ NORTHWEST	70,803
☐ CENTRAL	130,054
☐ EAST	110,014
☐ LOWER VALLEY	108,830

PERSONS OF HISPANIC ORIGIN

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===========================================
                    Percent of
State            Rank   pop, 1990
===========================================
New Mexico         1      38.23
California         2      25.83
Texas              3      25.55
Arizona            4      18.78
Colorado           5      12.88
New York           6      12.31
Florida            7      12.17
Nevada             8      10.35
New Jersey         9       9.57
Illinois          10       7.91
Hawaii            11       7.34
Connecticut       12       6.48
Wyoming           13       5.68
District of Columbia14     5.39
Idaho             15       5.26
Utah              16       4.91
Massachusetts     17       4.78
Rhode Island      18       4.56
Washington        19       4.41
Oregon            20       3.97
Kansas            21       3.78
Alaska            22       3.24
Oklahoma          23       2.74
Maryland          24       2.62
Virginia          25       2.59
Delaware          26       2.37
Nebraska          27       2.34
Louisiana         28       2.2
Michigan          29       2.17
Pennsylvania      30       1.95
Wisconsin         31       1.91
Indiana           32       1.78
Georgia           33       1.68
Montana           34       1.52
Ohio              35       1.29
Minnesota         36       1.23
Missouri          37       1.21
Iowa              38       1.18
North Carolina    39       1.16
New Hampshire     40       1.02
South Carolina    41        .88
Arkansas          42        .85
South Dakota      43        .75
North Dakota      44        .73
Tennessee         45        .67
Vermont           46        .65
Mississippi       47        .62
Alabama           48        .61
Kentucky          49        .6
Maine             50        .56
West Virginia     51        .47
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HISPANIC POPULATION OF MAJOR CITIES IN TEXAS
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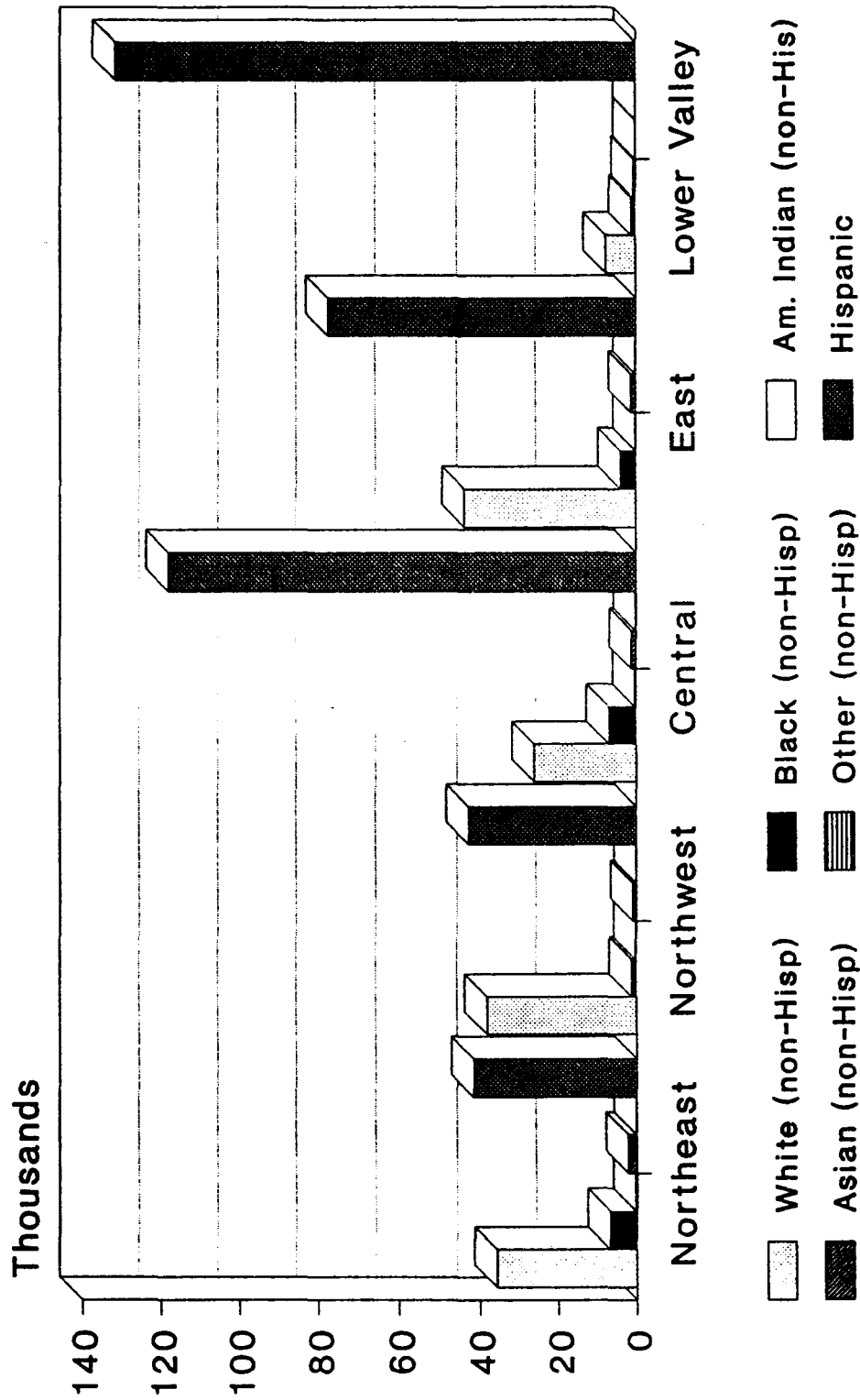| Name	Rank	% His- panic 1990	Total popu- lation 1990
LAREDO MSA (Webb), TX	1	93.87	133,239
MCALLEN-EDINBURG-MISSION MSA (Hidalgo), TX	2	85.25	383,545
BROWNSVILLE-HARLINGEN MSA (Cameron), TX	3	81.88	260,120
EL PASO MSA (El Paso), TX	4	69.58	591,610
CORPUS CHRISTI MSA, TX	5	51.98	349,894
SAN ANTONIO MSA, TX	6	47.64	1,302,099
VICTORIA MSA (Victoria), TX	7	34.12	74,361
ODESSA MSA (Ector), TX	8	31.37	118,934
SAN ANGELO MSA (Tom Green), TX	9	25.9	98,458
LUBBOCK MSA (Lubbock), TX	10	22.91	222,636
Houston PMSA, TX	11	21.43	3,301,937
MIDLAND MSA (Midland), TX	12	21.37	106,611
HOUSTON-GALVESTON-BRAZORIA CMSA, TX	13	20.81	3,711,043
AUSTIN MSA, TX	14	20.46	781,572
Brazoria PMSA (Brazoria), TX	15	17.63	191,707
ABILENE MSA (Taylor), TX	16	14.63	119,655
Dallas PMSA, TX	17	14.45	2,553,362
Galveston-Texas City PMSA (Galveston), TX	18	14.24	217,399
BRYAN-COLLEGE STATION MSA (Brazos), TX	19	13.71	121,862
AMARILLO MSA, TX	20	13.54	187,547
DALLAS-FORT WORTH CMSA, TX	21	13.36	3,885,415
WACO MSA (McLennan), TX	22	12.5	189,123
KILLEEN-TEMPLE MSA, TX	23	12.24	255,301
Fort Worth-Arlington PMSA, TX	24	11.26	1,332,053
WICHITA FALLS MSA (Wichita), TX	25	8.62	122,378
TYLER MSA (Smith), TX	26	5.94	151,309
BEAUMONT-PORT ARTHUR MSA, TX	27	4.22	361,226
LONGVIEW-MARSHALL MSA, TX	28	3.11	162,431
SHERMAN-DENISON MSA (Grayson), TX	29	2.94	95,021
TEXARKANA MSA, TX-AR	30	1.37	120,132

===

CITY OF EL PASO
1990 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
BY RACE AND SPANISH ORIGIN

WHITE (NON-HSP) 26%
136,002

BLACK (NON-HSP) 3%
16,283

OTHER (NON-HSP) 1%
7,388

HISPANIC 70%
355,669
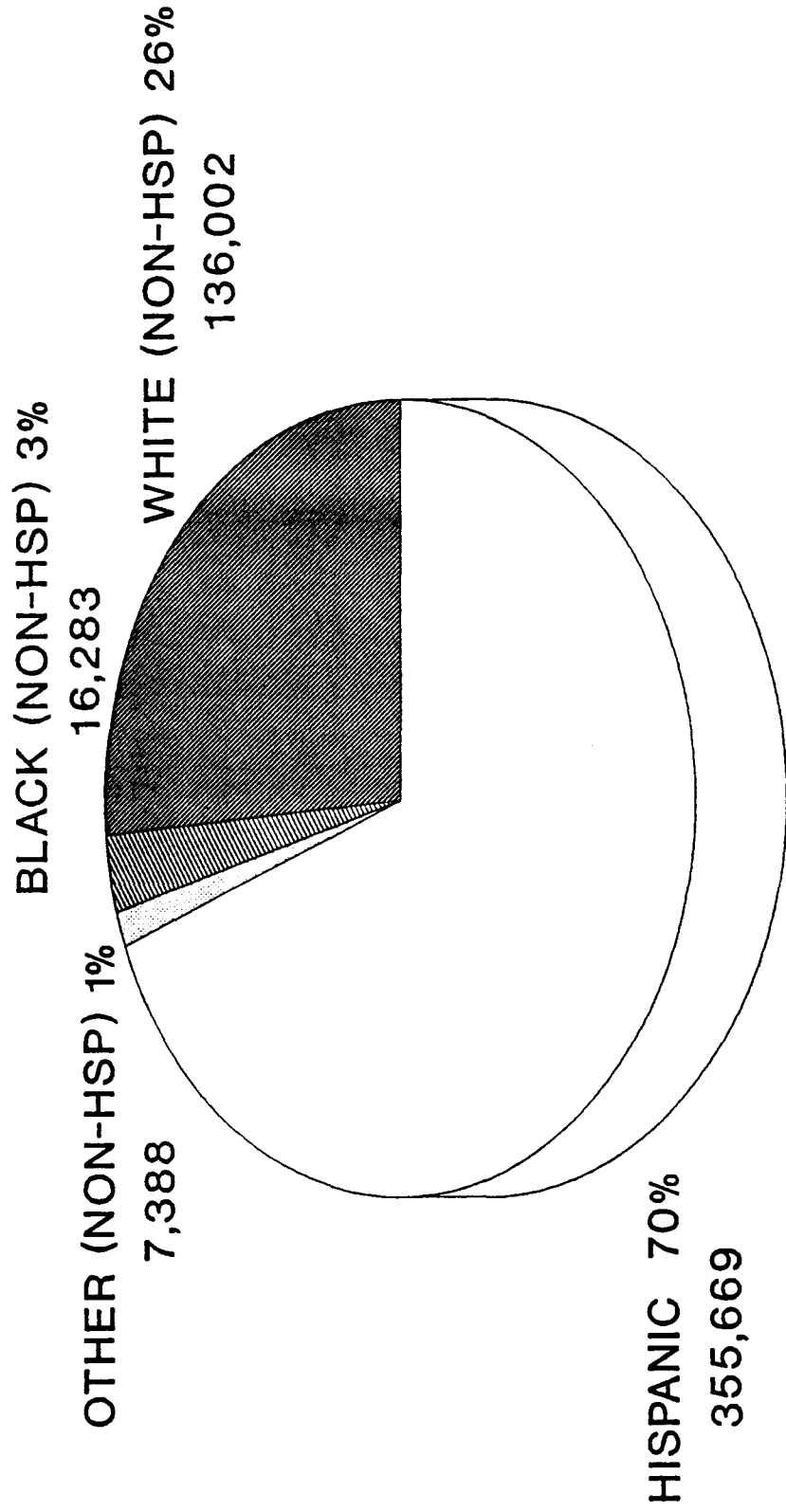
COUNTY PROFILES BY RACE & SPANISH ORIGIN
FROM 1990 CENSUS PL94-171

Thousands

Legend:
- White (non-Hisp)
- Asian (non-Hisp)
- Black (non-Hisp)
- Other (non-Hisp)
- Am. Indian (non-His)
- Hispanic

X-axis categories: Northeast, Northwest, Central, East, Lower Valley

Y-axis: 0, 20, 40, 60, 80, 100, 120, 140

PERSONS BELOW POVERTY
BY RACE & SPANISH ORIGIN

White
19.9

Spanish Origin *
29.2

Black
20

Asian
15.3

Am. Ind.
30.9
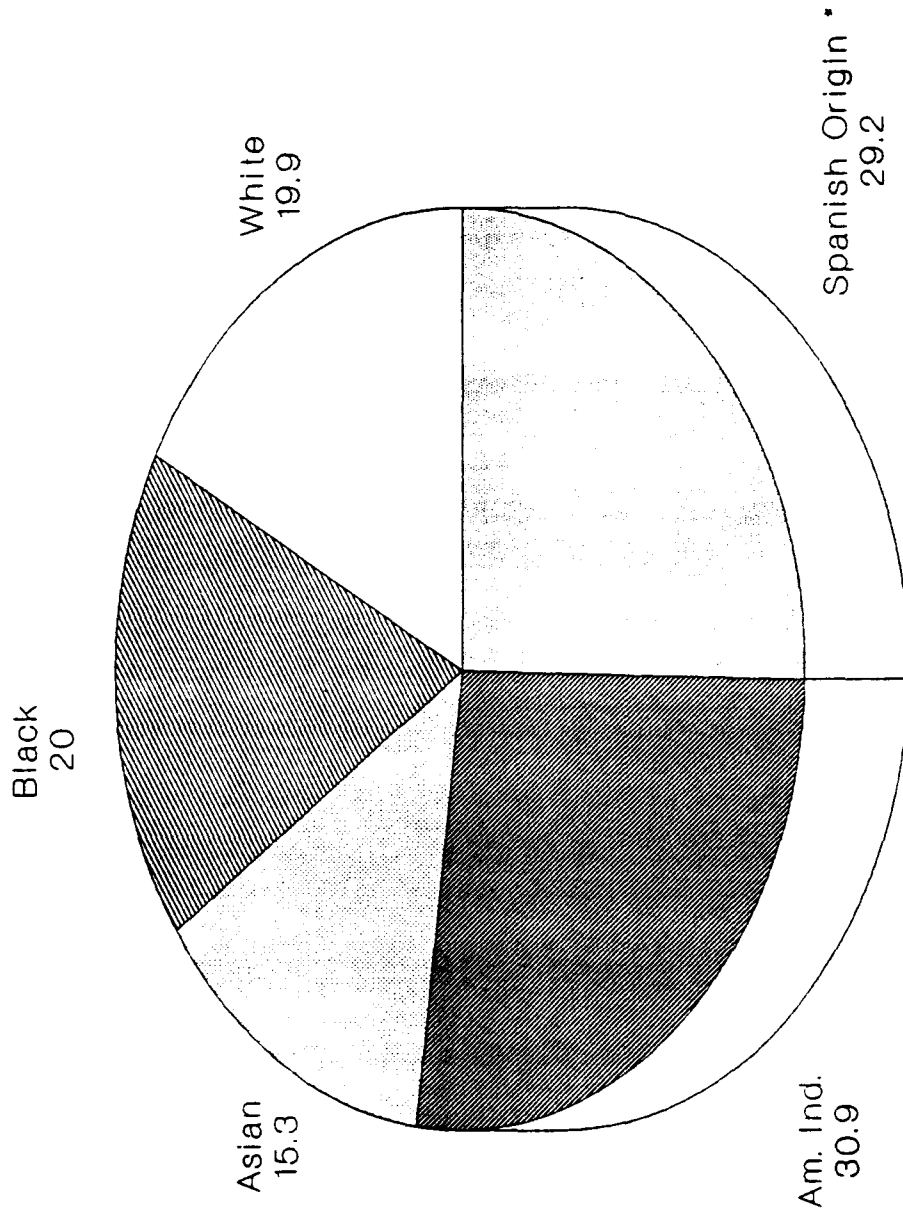
1980 Census
Note: Spanish includes other races.

AVERAGE ANNUAL PAY ACROSS TEXAS

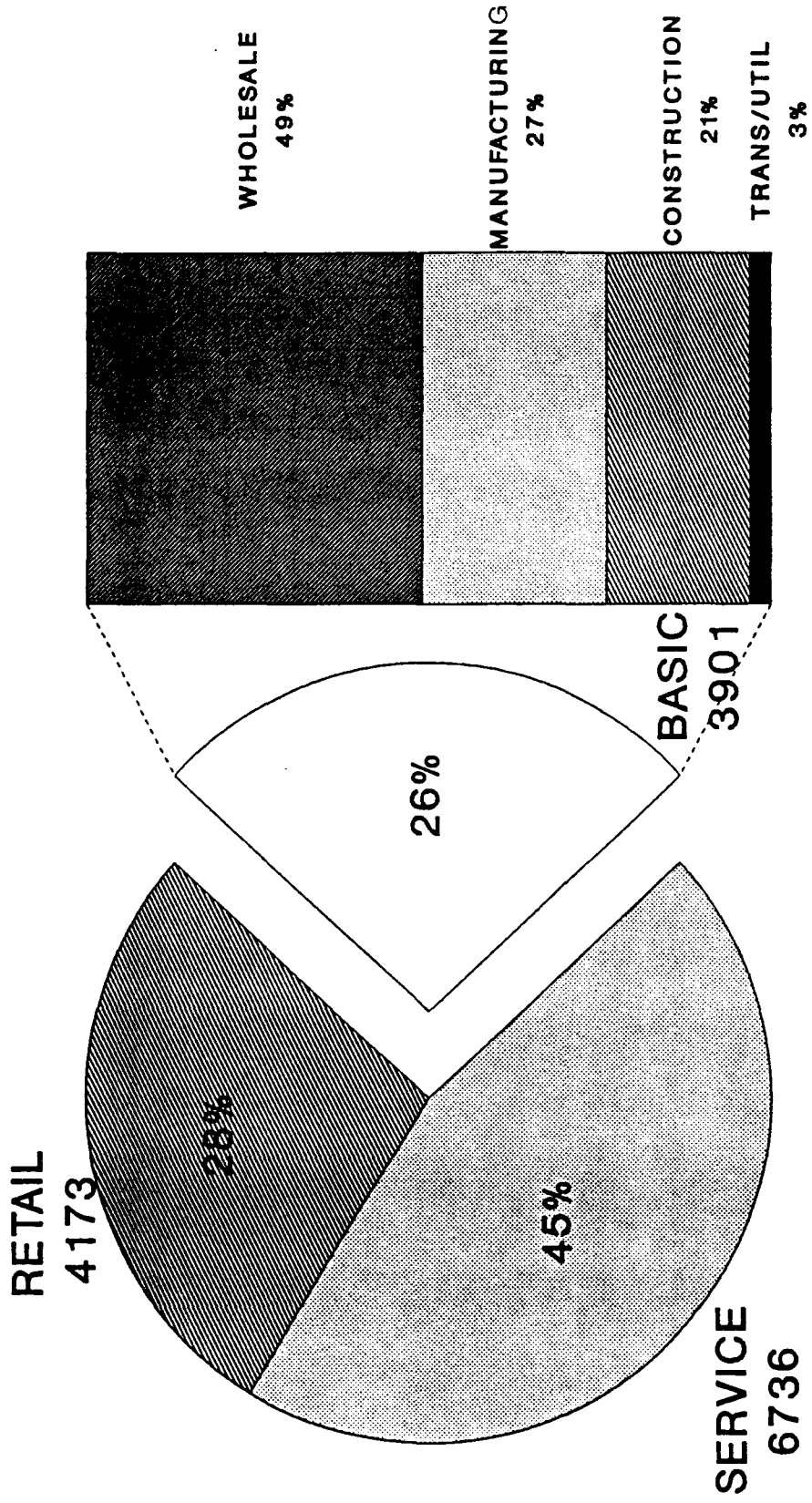| Name	Rank	Average an- nual pay, all employees 1989 ($)
Dallas PMSA, TX	1	25,240
Houston PMSA, TX	2	25,222
Brazoria PMSA (Brazoria), TX	3	25,037
HOUSTON-GALVESTON-BRAZORIA CMSA, TX	4	25,023
DALLAS-FORT WORTH CMSA, TX	5	24,297
MIDLAND MSA (Midland), TX	6	24,087
BEAUMONT-PORT ARTHUR MSA, TX	7	22,009
Fort Worth-Arlington PMSA, TX	8	21,868
ODESSA MSA (Ector), TX	9	21,185
Galveston-Texas City PMSA (Galveston), TX	10	20,991
AUSTIN MSA, TX	11	20,942
SHERMAN-DENISON MSA (Grayson), TX	12	20,267
TYLER MSA (Smith), TX	13	20,089
LONGVIEW-MARSHALL MSA, TX	14	19,767
CORPUS CHRISTI MSA, TX	15	19,740
SAN ANTONIO MSA, TX	16	19,677
AMARILLO MSA, TX	17	18,983
VICTORIA MSA (Victoria), TX	18	18,689
TEXARKANA MSA, TX-AR	19	18,537
LUBBOCK MSA (Lubbock), TX	20	18,119
WICHITA FALLS MSA (Wichita), TX	21	18,043
WACO MSA (McLennan), TX	22	17,889
ABILENE MSA (Taylor), TX	23	17,697
EL PASO MSA (El Paso), TX	24	17,372
KILLEEN-TEMPLE MSA, TX	25	17,121
BRYAN-COLLEGE STATION MSA (Brazos), TX	26	17,038
SAN ANGELO MSA (Tom Green), TX	27	17,038
BROWNSVILLE-HARLINGEN MSA (Cameron), TX	28	14,907
LAREDO MSA (Webb), TX	29	14,833
MCALLEN-EDINBURG-MISSION MSA (Hidalgo), TX	30	13,785

INCOME PER CAPITA ACROSS TEXAS

Name	Rank	Money income per capita, 1987 ($)
MIDLAND MSA (Midland), TX	1	13,680
Dallas PMSA, TX	2	13,398
DALLAS-FORT WORTH CMSA, TX	3	13,006
Fort Worth-Arlington PMSA, TX	4	12,254
Houston PMSA, TX	5	12,253
HOUSTON-GALVESTON-BRAZORIA CMSA, TX	6	12,154
AUSTIN MSA, TX	7	11,764
Galveston-Texas City PMSA (Galveston), TX	8	11,501
AMARILLO MSA, TX	9	11,196
Brazoria PMSA (Brazoria), TX	10	11,149
TYLER MSA (Smith), TX	11	10,666
SHERMAN-DENISON MSA (Grayson), TX	12	10,512
ODESSA MSA (Ector), TX	13	10,484
WICHITA FALLS MSA (Wichita), TX	14	10,215
LUBBOCK MSA (Lubbock), TX	15	10,172
BEAUMONT-PORT ARTHUR MSA, TX	16	10,061
SAN ANGELO MSA (Tom Green), TX	17	9,982
VICTORIA MSA (Victoria), TX	18	9,947
LONGVIEW-MARSHALL MSA, TX	19	9,733
ABILENE MSA (Taylor), TX	20	9,675
SAN ANTONIO MSA, TX	21	9,596
WACO MSA (McLennan), TX	22	9,260
TEXARKANA MSA, TX-AR	23	9,234
CORPUS CHRISTI MSA, TX	24	9,069
KILLEEN-TEMPLE MSA, TX	25	8,923
BRYAN-COLLEGE STATION MSA (Brazos), TX	26	8,819
EL PASO MSA (El Paso), TX	27	7,723
BROWNSVILLE-HARLINGEN MSA (Cameron), TX	28	6,132
LAREDO MSA (Webb), TX	29	5,642
MCALLEN-EDINBURG-MISSION MSA (Hidalgo), TX	30	5,622

COUNTY OF EL PASO
1990 BUSINESS DISTR. BY ECONOMIC SECTOR

WHOLESALE
49%

MANUFACTURING
27%

CONSTRUCTION
21%

TRANS/UTIL
3%

BASIC
3901

26%

RETAIL
4173

28%

45%

SERVICE
6736

POPULATION CHANGE IN TEXAS, 1980-90

===

Name	Rank	Popula- tion, % change 1980-90
===	===	====
AUSTIN MSA, TX	1	45.6
Fort Worth-Arlington PMSA, TX	2	36.9
MCALLEN-EDINBURG-MISSION MSA (Hidalgo), TX	3	35.4
LAREDO MSA (Webb), TX	4	34.2
DALLAS-FORT WORTH CMSA, TX	5	32.6
Dallas PMSA, TX	6	30.4
BRYAN-COLLEGE STATION MSA (Brazos), TX	7	30.2
MIDLAND MSA (Midland), TX	8	29
BROWNSVILLE-HARLINGEN MSA (Cameron), TX	9	24
EL PASO MSA (El Paso), TX	10	23.3
SAN ANTONIO MSA, TX	11	21.5
Houston PMSA, TX	12	20.7
HOUSTON-GALVESTON-BRAZORIA CMSA, TX	13	19.7
KILLEEN-TEMPLE MSA, TX	14	19
TYLER MSA (Smith), TX	15	17.9
SAN ANGELO MSA (Tom Green), TX	16	16.1
Brazoria PMSA (Brazoria), TX	17	13
Galveston-Texas City PMSA (Galveston), TX	18	11.1
WACO MSA (McLennan), TX	19	10.8
VICTORIA MSA (Victoria), TX	20	8.1
AMARILLO MSA, TX	21	8
ABILENE MSA (Taylor), TX	22	7.9
CORPUS CHRISTI MSA, TX	23	7.3
LONGVIEW-MARSHALL MSA, TX	24	7
TEXARKANA MSA, TX-AR	25	6.2
SHERMAN-DENISON MSA (Grayson), TX	26	5.8
LUBBOCK MSA (Lubbock), TX	27	5.2
ODESSA MSA (Ector), TX	28	3.1
WICHITA FALLS MSA (Wichita), TX	29	1.1
BEAUMONT-PORT ARTHUR MSA, TX	30	-3.2
===	===	====

POPULATION PROJECTIONS TO 2010
(TOTAL POPULATION)

Thousands

CITY OF EL PASO · OUTSIDE CITY · JUAREZ

Dept. of Plng. City of El Paso
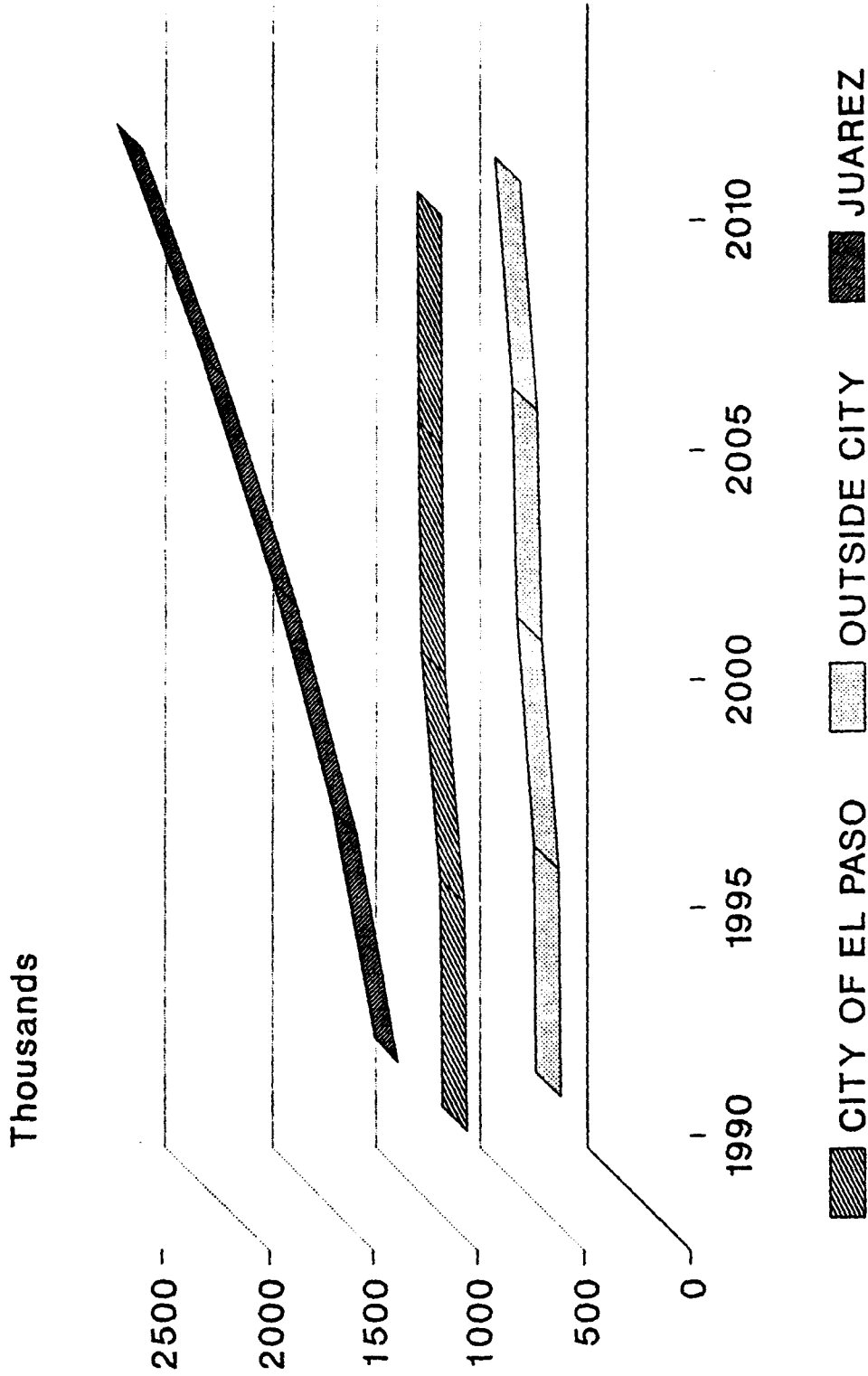
1990 NORTHBOUND (TO EL PASO) CROSSINGS

Millions

Legend: CARRIERS | PEDESTRIANS | TOTAL PERSONS

Categories: PASO DEL NORTE | AMERICAS | ZARAGOSA