THE BILL BLACKWOOD LAW ENFORCEMENT MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE OF TEXAS

"COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING AND THE TRADITIONAL POLICE ORGANIZATION"

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ABSTRACT

Police organizations are in a quantry as to the need for change in order to serve the needs of an ever changing society. Police Departments are finding that the traditional Professional Police Organization philosophy is not effective in detering crime. The purpose of the paper will be to inform the reader of the differences between Professional Policing and Community Oriented Policing. By the conclusion of the paper, the reader should know that Police Organizations must change and Community Orietned Policing is the needed change.

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<u>Introduction</u>

The increasing rate of urban crime in America is a practically undisputed presumption. Speculation as to its causes is varied and not widely agreed upon. For example, political campaigns emphasizing declining family values as a major cause. Others claim TV and movie violence has desensitized our culture. Another train of thought stresses the decline in economic opportunities, especially in the ghetto and underclass areas. But whatever the cause, it is generally agreed that our traditional policing approach, as a means of controlling crime, has been marginally effective at best.

This recognition that traditional policing methods have not been successful in the control of crime has opened the door to change in police departments throughout the nation. This change includes changes in the policing mission, changes in the physical implementation of the mission, and the increased use of technology in the policing process. This paper will attempt to identify the most important of these trends and evaluate their effect on policing organizations and police supervision.

<u>Historical Perspective</u>¹

The first references to police organizations can be found in the works of the early philosophers. Such writers as Plato, Aristotle, Aquintas, Montaigne, and Voltaire all referenced, in their own way, the purpose of police organizations. However, these scholars were mostly concerned with the inherent right of the state to govern rather than the implementation of police organizations. Consequently, there is little mention of actual police administration or practice.

The German Idealists, such as Fichte, Kant, and Hegel continued these discussions during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Much of their discussion focuses on the role of police organizations. Interestingly, these roles were often extended to include such duties as road maintenance and flood control. Additional attention was also focused by these writers on the conflict between the right of the individual and the duty of the police to ensure those rights. Examples such as gun control and the consequences of victimless crimes were used to examine these issues. The recognition of police organizations as powerful institutions may have prompted these discussions.

Nineteenth century philosophers such as Mill, Green, and Sidgwick also addressed the issue of policing within their works.

This section owes significant credit to a Police Foundation publication entitled <u>Police</u> <u>Ethics: Source Materials</u> by Frederick A. Elliston.

However, they were primarily concerned with the jurisdiction and function of the police. A recurrent topic among these writers was to which brand of the government police should be subject. These discussions begin to challenged the concept of police as extensions of the state. Other discussions seem to indicate that police should only be responsible for protecting citizens from dangers caused by crime. The result of this view was that by the end of the nineteenth century, police practice was focused primarily on enforcing the law.

The early twentieth century philosophers avoided discussion of police organizations. However, there was discussion of such related topics as civil liberties, the criminal system, and the power of police by writers such as Dewey, Mead, and Russell.

Rather than speculate on the police's function in society, contemporary philosophers tend to be concerned with the details of policing. Their discussions focus on the amount of discretion allowable in police duties, the use of deadly force, the right to privacy from police intrusion, and the ethics of subvert tactics. It is these discussions that have provided a means for change in police organizations.

The Police in the United States

The first 24 hour American police force was established by New York City in 1844. The original force consisted of 800 men who were equally divided between day and night shifts.

Prior to 1844, state police organizations such as the Texas
Rangers had existed, however most cities used poorly organized
systems such as watchmen to maintain order.

Within ten years after the New York force was established, most other eastern cities had also set up police organizations, including Chicago, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Boston. However, many of these organizations encountered significant citizen resistance; during the 1863 draft riots in New York City, several police stations were burned to the ground.

In the West, police duties continued to be awarded to the best marksmen. "Many western lawmen were themselves lawbreakers, criminals, killers, and fugitives." This tradition of often using the most burly and least ethical citizens as police had two important implications for future policing. First, policing was identified as a macho career that encouraged violence. Second, the actions of these lawmen often set the precedent for uneasy police-community relations.

Corruption of the Police

Corruption soon became the Achilles Heel of police concept.

This corruption was in the form of bribes, criminal involvement,
and political interference with police duties. It was a common
perception in most western towns that the sheriff was on the
take.

Ralph Lee Smith, <u>Tarnished Badge</u> as quoted by Richard L. Worsnop, "Police Brutality," <u>CQ</u>
<u>Researcher</u> 1 (September 6, 1991): p. 640.

In the cities, control of the police force was routinely granted as political spoils. There developed a close connection between crime and the police throughout the country.

A particular series of articles in <u>McClure's</u> during 1901 and 1902 brought public attention to the problem by documenting a severe case of corruption in Minneapolis. According to the series, the newly elected mayor of 1901, Alfred Elisha Ames, had dismissed Minneapolis' best 107 officers. The remaining officers were required to pay a fee for the privilege of retaining their positions. Subsequently, it was reported that the department controlled all major gambling, prostitution, pickpocket, and cardshark rings in the city. Criminals from throughout the country migrated to Minneapolis to "negotiate" for franchise crime rights. Similar incidents were reported in other large cities as well.

The Beginning of Reform

Although there was substantial public knowledge about these abuses, it was not until the 1920's that a reform movement began to emerge. Two major changes lead the way for this reform. The first was the amendment of city charters to depoliticize police departments. Los Angeles became the model of reform in 1925 by placing police control under a five member Board of Police Commissioners. This resulted in insulating the department and the chief of police from political pressures.

The second primary vehicle for reform was the introduction of the automobile to patrol work. The hope was that the car would put an appropriate distance between officers and the community, thereby discouraging corruption. Departments accepted the car patrol concept since more area could be patrolled by fewer officers. Giving the force mobility also meant a decrease in response time to incidents. Specialized response units, such as Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams, became the eventual outgrowth of this concept.

The Age of Professional Policing

By the 1930's, the police reform movement was calling for professionalization of police organizations. Prior to this time, many departments were amateurishly managed. Most police officers were paid minimal salaries and few had college educations. Many forces were inefficient since older officers often remained on the payroll after retirement was warranted. The reformist advocated creating a centralized bureaucracy based on division of labor and unity of control. The model most often copied was developed between 1928 and 1939 in Wichita, Kansas by then police chief Orlando Wilson.

The concept Wilson employed included a "clear cut chain of command, specialization of tasks, delegation of authority and responsibility, and close supervision of officers."

³ Ibid.,p.642.

Wilson also advocated education for police officers and stressed the importance of personal integrity among members of the force. Under his model, police work was conceptually divided into three distinct activities: (1) patrolling the streets in random motions to deter criminal acts, (2) responding rapidly to calls for service, and (3) conducting investigations of criminal acts. Noticeably absent from these activities was the less formal interaction with the community that had characterized previous police work. Cities throughout the nation rushed to copy this formula which became known as incident oriented policing.

The policing style that resulted can be characterized as a being a professional but detached from both situations and the citizenry. Police encouraged the perception that crime control was their responsibility and citizen assistance was mostly discouraged. For example, crowds at crime scenes were often dispersed using such words as "go about your business, we have it under control here." There was little attempt to inform the community of the nature of criminal activity.

Under this policing model, victims often received little comfort from the officers who responded to their calls. Sergeant Joe Friday of the LAPD, a character on the weekly TV show Dragnet, exemplified the professional policing mode of operation with his catch phrase, "just the facts, ma'am." Items other than the hard facts were considered beyond the scope of police work.

The relatively low crime rates during the thirties, forties, and fifties helped reinforce the perception of professional policing as an effective deterrent to crime. Many departments continued to evolve around the professional policing model.

These changes included increased centralization of command, implementation of special crime units such as vice and homicide, and development of centralized communication and dispatch centers.

Reward and motivation systems were also changed to reflect Crime statistics on arrests, convictions, and tickets issued became the driving force in most departments; critics have since dubbed this the police bean counter mentality. Police chiefs relied on these numbers to justify their budgets at city council meetings. Officer promotion tracts were also changed to reflect the importance of these statistics; patrol officers with the best stats were given financial rewards, as well as, promotions into management and detective positions. Higher status and perks were afforded to the members of the special units while patrol officers remained on the bottom wrung of the police organization. The paradox which arose was that crime rates rose dramatically during the 1960's and 1970's although police organizations had become rather proficient at the activities professed by professional policing. This paradox brought to light many unresolved conceptual problems with the program.

Criticisms of Professional Policing

The largest criticism of professional policing is that it has been largely ineffective in controlling crime despite the proficiency of police in its prescribed methods. Research over the last fifteen years has confirmed doubts regarding the effectiveness of these methods. In one study, it was shown that doubling the level of random patrol had no significant effect in the reduction crime or increase in community confidence; most citizens were unaware of the increased patrol levels. Along these same lines, it has been shown that reducing response time has little effect in increasing arrest rates; any realistic response time is normally still too large to allow police to observe criminal acts. Research has also questioned the effectiveness investigation as a tool for reducing crime; less than 20% of robbery cases and 10% of burglary cases are closed through an arrest. These statistics may even be somewhat overstated since many of these cases are solved primarily because the victim knew who committed the crime.4

Another major criticism of professional policing is that it fails to address fear of crime as an important quality-of-life issue. Professional policing focuses on solving crime. However, fear is triggered more often by instances of disorder and incivility than by serious crime.

Mark H. Moore, "The Strategic Management of the Police," <u>Harvard Business Review</u> 69 (May-June 1991): p. 122.

As an example, the appearance of gang graffiti in most neighborhoods would significantly increase the level of fear even though no crime has occurred. Property values, the business base, and personal habits might all be effected solely because of the appearance of this graffiti. The professional policing model does not recognize these effects.

Motivation of officers under professional policing's strict chain of command has also been a problem. The base assumption under this paramilitary style is that officers in higher positions know more than those below them. New York City Police Commissioner Lee Brown has made the following comment regarding the command style:

The command and control culture of the [traditional] police department doesn't treat officers as intelligent, creative, and trustworthy people. It allows them very little discretion. [The system] ... is designed to make sure that they don't get into trouble, don't embarrass the department, and don't get their supervisors into trouble.⁵

Traditional police practice does not recognize the patrol officer as the backbone of the organization. Consequently, many patrol officers become frustrated and disillusioned with the system. Signs of the resulting high stress levels are evident in the profession; in 1976, it was estimated that 25% of all police officers had a serious problem with alcohol dependency.

Another shortcoming with professional policing is that it does not eliminate misconduct in the profession. For example,

Alan M. Webber, "Crime and Management: An Interview with New York City Police Commissioner Lee P. Brown," <u>Harvard Business Review</u> 69 (May-June 1991): p. 116.

Anthony Moriarty, and Mark W. Field, "Proactive Intervention: A New Approach to Police EAP Programs," <u>Public Personnel Management</u> 19 (Summer 1990): p. 155.

the Chicago Police Force was hit by a serious scandal in 1960 when eight of their officers were arrested for burglary. Other similar incidents have been documented throughout the nation. Since the mid 1960's, complaints of police brutality rather than corruption have become common. These complaints were emphasized when several members of the Chicago Police force were arraigned in connection to the "police riot" which occurred during the 1968 Democratic National Convention. These complaints again grabbed public attention in the 1989 with the Long Beach, California case, and subsequently in 1992 with the Rodney King case. The professional policing style does not inherently address misconduct or abuse of power issues. Furthermore, the mental detachment promoted under this concept may actually encourage the use of force by patrol officers.

Detachment of the police force has often left officers out of touch with the pulse of the community. Citizens see police concentrating on minimal infractions, such as public drinking and traffic violations, while serious crime appears to go unchecked. It is unproductive for police to spend valuable resources to curb these infractions when the community at large is generally accepting of them, and not in danger.

Another problem with the detachment of the police is that the community may begin to perceive the police as outsiders who only respond when there is trouble. This leads to a separatist mentality, both on the police force and in the community.

This is especially true in ethnic communities where officers are commonly regarded as representatives of the majority class rather than agents of social control. Minority attitudes regarding the 1992 Rodney King case provide evidence of this view.

A further concern with professional policing is that it does not recognize information from the community as the lifeblood for controlling crime. With an average of only one patrol officer on duty for every 5,000 residents, police must mobilize "the eyes, ears, information, and influence" of those in the community. Professional policing constricts this interaction to formal procedures. Most community information is delivered to police via the 9-1-1 phone number. Investigations often rely exclusively on formal interviews with witnesses and victims. Even informant programs have been formalized under the professional policing model. Two major reasons that less formal information may never find its way to the police organization are fear of reprisal from others in the community and lack of trust between the community and the police department. Again, the professional policing model does not address these issues.

A further criticism is that professional policing, along with shrinking budgets and increasing crime rates, has made the patrolman a virtual slave to his radio. In New York City, 90% of all patrolman's time is spent responding to 9-1-1 calls.

Patrick V. Murphy, "Diversity and the Role of the Police." <u>Nation's Cities Weekly</u> 14 (May 6. 1991): p. 3.

In 1989, the New York City police department took an overwhelming 8.9 million 9-1-1 calls which resulted in 4.3 million radio runs or an average of 11,700 runs per day. Further increasing this load is citizen use of the 9-1-1 number as the access point for all government services. The Houston Police Department estimates that over 50% of it's 9-1-1 calls are not law enforcement problems, but quality of life issues. The point is that there is currently little time available for being proactive or solving underlying problems. This has further increased stress levels and motivation problems among patrol officers.

Another problem that has arisen with professional policing is that it promotes a mis-allocation of police resources.

Research conducted in Boston and Minneapolis indicates that 60% of all police calls result from 10% of the addresses from which they receive calls. This partly reflects the repetitive nature of many problems. A study of domestic homicides in Kansas City showed that in 8 out of 10 cases, the police had responded at least five times. Since professional policing does not promote the resolution of problems, calls continue to accrue over time.

Alan M. Webber, "Crime and Management: An Interview with New York City Police Commissioner Lee P. Brown," <u>Harvard Business Review</u> p. 116.

Stephanie Thompson, "Community Policing Comes Full Circle," <u>American City and County</u> 106 (February 1991): p. 38.

James Q. Wilson and George L. Kellin, "Making Neighborhoods Safe: Sometimes "fixing broken windows" does more to reduce crime than conventional "incident oriented" policing," <a href="https://doi.org/10.1001/jheps:10.1001/jhep

¹¹ Ibid.

These concerns regarding professional policing have opened the door during the 1980's to discussion and change within many police departments. The result has been a national debate over the form and function of the police organization. While there has not been complete consensus, a concept known as community policing appears to have gained significant support in these discussions. Today, over 300 cities are experimenting with some form of community policing. 12

Community Policing

Unfortunately, there is no one accepted definition for community policing. The term itself has become somewhat of a catch phrase for many ideas being simultaneously applied to the field. The Houston Police Department, as an early adopter of community policing, has developed the following generally accepted definition:

Neighborhood oriented [community] 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.¹³

Bill Turque, "A New Line Against Crime." Newsweek 116 (August 27, 1990): p. 36.

Camille Cates Barnett, and Robert A. Bowers, "Community Policing: The New Model for the Way Police Do Their Job," <u>Public Management</u> 72 (July 1990): p. 3.

Under community policing, a patrol officer is expected to manage his beat, meet the members of his community, and learn why problems occur. For example, if there is a number of accidents at a particular intersection, an officer would be expected to identify the cause and work to resolve it. This compares to professional policing where the officer would simply write x number of tickets but leave the root cause of the problem in place.

Professor Herman Goldstein of the University of Wisconsin, who is credited with the conception of community policing 14, has characterized community policing as the following four phase process: 15

- 1) Scanning: The Officer identifies an issue and determines if it is really a problem.
- 2) Analysis: The Officer collects information to determine the scope, nature, and causes of the problem.
- 3) Response: Information gathered during the analysis is used to develop and implement solutions.
- 4) ASSESSMENT: Officers evaluate the effectiveness of the response.

¹⁴ Please note that Professor Goldstein used the term Problem Oriented Policing in his work.

William P. Mitchell, "Problem Oriented Policing and Drug Enforcement in Newport News,"

Public Management 72 (July 1990): p. 13.

Professor Goldstein has also identified three components which he believes should be the focus of the analysis phase. These include:

- 1) ACTORS: Victims, offenders, and others involved in events.
- 2) Incidents: The social context, physical setting, and actions taken before, during, and after events.
- 3) Responses: The perceptions and responses of citizens and public and private institutions to the problem.

 This work has become the basis for many community policing programs.

The following table, adapted from the work of Kelling and Moore by Barnett and Bowers, summarizes the attributes of community policing as compared to earlier police styles. 16

Camille Cates Barnett, and Robert A. Bowers, "Community Policing: The New Model for the Way Police Do Their Job," <u>Public Management</u> p. 4.

Community Policing Compared to Traditional and Professional Policing

	POLITICAL ERA Traditional Policing	REPORM ENA Professional Policing	COMMUNITY ERA Community Policing
Legitimacy and authorization	Primarily political	Law and police professionalism	Community support, law, political, professionalism
The police function	Crime control, order, maintenance, broad social services	Crime control	Crime control, crime prevention, problem solving
Organizational design	Decentralized and geographical	Centralized, classical scientific management: division of labor, unity of control, bureaucratic	Decentralized, task forces, matrices
External relationships	Close and personal	Professionally remote	Consultative, police defend values of law and professionalism but listen to community concerns
Demand management	Managed through links between politicians and precinct commanders and face-to-face contacts between citizens and patrol officers	Channeled through central dispatching activities	Channeled through analysis of underlying problems
Principle programs and technologies	Foot patrol, call boxes, and rudimentary investigation	Automotive patrol, calls for service, telephones, and radios	Foot patrol, problem solving, team policing, crime watch groups
Measured Outcomes	Maintaining citizen and political satisfaction with social order	Crime control (Uniformed Crime Reports) [crime statistics]	Quality of life and citizen satisfaction

Adoption of Community Policing

Newport News, Virginia was one of the first departments to document the use of community policing. One focal point of their program was the New Briarfield Apartments, a collection of wood structures built in 1942. The complex had since become considered the worst housing project in the City with significant drug activity and a burglary rate of over 25% per year. Police response and activity was mostly ineffective. In 1984, Detective Tony Duke was assigned to the community policing task force.

He interviewed New Briarfield residents and found that they were as concerned with the deteriorating condition of the complex as they were with the criminal activity. He also found that other City agencies, including the Fire Department, the Public Works Department, and the Housing Department regarded New Briarfield as a problem. Further investigation revealed that the project owners were in default of their federal loan and that foreclosure was imminent.

With this information in hand, the Police Department wrote to the City Manager requesting that the project be demolished and its tenants be relocated. In the interim, the patrol officer assigned to the area worked with residents and members of other City agencies to fix up the project. Trash was removed, abandoned cars were towed, potholes were filled, streets were swept, fences were repaired, and improved outdoor lighting was installed. This effort resulted in a 35% decrease in the burglary rate along with a significant decrease in drug activity.

Subsequent examples of police departments embracing community policing can be found throughout the United States. However, most of these departments have adopted only a programmatic approach; they have mostly developed specific programs which target particular problems or neighborhoods. These programs have included cleaning up graffiti, improving community relationships, and initiating neighborhood watch programs.

One early program in Los Angeles, dubbed DARE, targeted drug education in the public schools. Although these programs have been successful, there is a movement towards a more comprehensive approach to community policing.

A Change in Operating Philosophies

A number of large cities, including Portland, Houston, New York, and Los Angeles, have begun to implement community policing as a department wide change in operating philosophies. "These programs should not be mistaken for tinkering at the edges of police tactics or being short term public relations efforts." These programs are challenging the heart of traditional police culture and are a major break from the professional policing model.

It is interesting to note that many of these cities have recruited leadership from the outside to implement these changes. Lee Brown, one of community policing's biggest advocates, established the Houston program prior to coming to New York City. Willie Williams was recruited from Philadelphia to implement the program in Los Angeles. The fact that these cities felt it necessary to recruit from outside the department is symbolic of the scale of change required in these programs.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

It is interesting to note that Williams' predecessor, Daryl Gates, was a strong proponent of the programmatic implementation of Community Policing; he was directly responsible for such innovative programs as DARE. However, Gates continued to uphold the separatist mentality prescribed by professional policing.

Organizational Changes Required by Community Policing

The implementation of community policing requires changes in the structure and function of the police. These changes will effect all levels of the current organizations. Successful execution will require extensive evaluation of all operating areas, along with revisions of operating procedures to reinforce the new operating philosophy.

Community policing will dictate major changes in the traditional command and control structures of police organizations. Under community policing, supervisors must provide substantial independence to patrol officers. This may even include discretion over such items as how to best utilize their own paid overtime. Furthermore, police management must be willing to support their personnel even when this independence leads to wrong decisions or embarrassing situations. They must be willing to accept the consequences that decentralization may bring.

Community policing will also change the role of the supervisor. Under this model, the supervisor's primary responsibility is to assure that appropriate resources are available to the patrol officers. Supervisors must also ensure effective use of their patrol resources by enforcing service priorities; community policing can not be effective in a system that requires patrol officers to spend 90% of their time responding to 9-1-1 calls.

This will require that communities be educated so that longer response times will be tolerated for non-emergency service.

Community policing requires changing the focus of patrol officers from that of responding, to that of solving problems. Officers must be encouraged to communicate rather than just command and confront. This will require changes in the selection, training, and evaluation of officers. Officer recruitment must shift gears from searching for those with a sense of adventure, to those with a sense of service. Officer selection methods need to be modified to reflect a preference for those with the human skills conducive to community policing. The use of more subjective measures of potential may be needed. This compares to the current selection process which uses elimination methods; those prospects that pass all required objective tests are employed.

Training for patrol officers must also change. Currently, 90% of all training is devoted to making arrest and enforcing the law. Training programs need to be expanded to include problem solving and human relations. Officers need to be trained to recognize patterns in a series of seemingly unrelated events. Ethnic training also needs to be expanded.

One training concept that has gained congressional attention includes the use of a police corp similar to the ROTC programs for the military. The corp would provide a steady stream of educated and qualified candidates for police work. Critics say the money would be better used for existing programs.

Under community policing, officer recognition and evaluation programs need to be modified to reflect the non-quantifiable value of crime prevention and community relations. Promotion tracts should also be established which allow the best patrol officers to remain in the field with salaries and benefits which are comparable to those who choose to go into special units or management.

Community policing must also encourage close relationships between the department and the community. These relationships provide mutual benefits: the community gains an increased sense of security and therefore an improved quality of life, while the police gain access to valuable information. The Houston Police Department has recognized the value of these relationships by incorporating the following formula into its training program:

Contact + Trust = Information. 19

Community policing should also make us of available technology to meet its objectives. The use of computerized databases, mobile data terminals, portable phones, and mapping programs give patrol officers access to more information and provide the tools to analyze this data. This empowers officers by increasing their ability to solve community problems.

City councils and the public at large will need to change how they evaluate the police. Traditional crime statistics are not a valid measure of community policing goals.

¹⁹ Stephanie Thompson, "Community Policing Comes Full Circle," American City and County p. 38.

Furthermore, as the community feels more comfortable with the police, reported crime rates commonly increase even as real crime rates are being reduced. New evaluation systems might be based on citizen satisfaction with the police, the rate of citizen complaints, and quality of life factors.

Finally, city management must promote cooperation between their difference departments if community policing is to be effective. John Mudd's "rat problem" provides a good example of why cooperation is required: "If a rat is found in an apartment, it is a housing inspection responsibility; if it runs into a restaurant, the health department has jurisdiction; if it goes outside and dies in an alley, public works takes over." The police provide a natural focal point to promote cooperation between these agencies to resolve community problems. City management must endorse this cooperation if it is to succeed.

Criticisms of Community Policing

The community policing concept has experienced substantial resistance from officers trained in traditional policing methods. Many such as Sergeant John Karshner of the Houston Force feel community policing has been oversold as a crime prevention measure.

For an interesting analysis of this occurrence, please see Dorothy Guyot's article entitled "Problem Oriented Policing Shines in the Stats."

James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling, "Making Neighborhoods Safe: Sometimes "fixing broken windows" does more to reduce crime than conventional "incident oriented" policing," The Atlantic p. 52.

He states, "Neighborhood policing is a fallacy. It sounds real good, but it can't work... It is a silly pseudo-scientific philosophy rife with inconsistencies and half truths." Officers like Sergeant Karshner do not accept community policing as real police work. furthermore, they question the responsibility of the police for the social problems that have led to these high crime rates.

Many officers are also concerned about their personal safety once they trade their patrol cars for a pair of comfortable shoes. Jerry Williams, Police Chief of Aurora, Colorado, counters these fears by stating, "...As officers become closer to the community, they are a part of the community instead of apart from the community, and they'll be safer. The officers and the community are looking out for each other. Partners."²²

Some have challenged the assumption that community policing actually reduces crime. They argue that crime is simply shifted from one neighborhood to another by these programs. Supporters counter by pointing out that a large portion of serious crime is adventurous in nature rather than a result of "inexorable social forces or personal failings." Furthermore, most crime in most neighborhoods is local; that is the offender lives close to the victim.

²² Stephanie Thompson, "Community Policing Comes Full Circle," <u>American City and County p. 40.</u>

James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling, "Making Neighborhoods Safe: Sometimes "fixing broken windows" does more to reduce crime than conventional "incident oriented" policing," <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/jhc.2007/j

Therefore, "one should not assume that changing the environmental conditions conducive to crime in one area will displace crime to other areas."24

Critics have also claimed that community policing implies being soft on crime. However, supporters counter that community policing helps officers work smarter rather than harder. Current experience with these programs tend to support this view.

Finally, many critics are concerned about the cost for such a labor intensive program. Supporters counter by citing the increasing price of crime and the ineffectiveness of the current system in controlling that crime.

Conclusion

Whether community policing is adopted or not, change in police organizations is justified. A recent interview with a group of New York City patrol officers resulted in a list of ten problems they feel exist in police organizations. The most troubling of these items was their perceived ineffectiveness in reducing crime. They cited such items as the dominance of the civil service mentality, the politics of the force, the push for minority recruiting, and the lack of support from above. They were also concerned about their increasing role as the middleman and the increasing violence associated with the drug problem.

²⁴ Ibid.

If these officers are right in their assessments, then we have a major problem on our hands. If they are wrong, then we need to find new ways to motivate and reward them. In either case, change must come.

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