Seventh Edition

Community and Problem-Oriented Policing

Effectively Addressing Crime and Disorder

Pearson

Ken Peak | Ronald W. Glensor

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To the several members of my family circle—attorney, sheriff, police commander, assistant sheriff, and federal agent—who uphold the legal maxim "Mind your manners, tell the truth, know the law."

–K.J.P.

To my wonderful and supportive family: my wife Kristy, daughter and son Breanne and Ronnie, son and daughter-in-law Derek and Katie, and grandchildren Addison, Chloe, Claire, and Heidi.

–R.W.G.

BRIEF CONTENTS

CONTENTS

NEW TOPICS IN THIS SEVENTH EDITION

In addition to updated information, case studies, exercises, and exhibits newly added throughout the book, following are other substantively new materials added to this edition:

Chapter 1:	Contributions of the federal government/COPS Office to community policing
Chapter 2:	A "new professionalism"; "guardians" or "warriors"? addressing fear of crime; effects of economy; civilian review boards—blessing or curse?
Chapter 3:	(Formerly Chapter 10) States crack down on sanctuary cities; lessons from history and Ferguson; how to achieve harmony, justice, and policy; transparency with Web sites and databases; calls for police body cameras; guardian mindset; early intervention systems for identifying problem employees
Chapter 4:	(New Chapter) Faces of terrorism—homegrown, lone wolf, cyberterrorist; law enforcement strategies; legislative measures; drones; roles of local police, community policing, social media
Chapter 5:	"CHEERS" method for problem analysis; problem solving in New Zealand
Chapter 6:	Problem-oriented policing, community, crime prevention as symbiotic relationship; community role in preventing crime and restoring anchor points
Chapter 7:	IT comes to policing; federal stimulus; rationale for IT; exploiting young officers' flair for IT; choosing which tools to use; smart policing; using civic apps and applying social media; dedicated software for problem solving
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Chapter 9:	Strategic planning example—planning one's future; a forward-thinking perspective; examples of planning and implementation
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Chapter 11:	Knowledge and skills evaluators should possess; quantitative and qualitative measures; validity; the Evidence-Based Policing Matrix; evaluating agencies' and officers' efforts; RAND's benchmark program; Sweden's use of crime prevention committees
Chapter 12:	The changing war on drugs (especially with marijuana, prescription drug abuse, and synthetic drugs); problems and responses with neighborhood disorder
Chapter 13:	Cybercrime—types, police tactics, and federal efforts for addressing; human trafficking problems and police strategies
Chapter 14:	Technology, terrorism, cybercrime of the future, and what community policing and problem solving can do to address them; applying science to policing; need for strong police leadership (in several areas).

PREFACE

This is a most exciting point in time to be studying (or working in) law enforcement, as evidenced by the fact that, since this book's last (sixth) edition appeared, the new strategies (smart policing, intelligence-led policing, predictive policing, and so on), technologies, and methods that have come into being have changed the field to a major degree. Added to the already challenging philosophy and strategies of community- and problem-oriented policing, these even newer strategies challenge the intellect and ability of today's police officers to address crime and disorder in ways that are more stimulating and exhilarating than ever before.

This book, like its six preceding editions, is what works in policing for combating crime and disorder in our neighborhoods and communities. It is about the evolution of the latest era in policing that began in the mid-1970s, one that centers on collaborating with the community and other agencies and organizations that are responsible for community safety. It examines from many perspectives a philosophy and style of policing that requires officers to obtain new knowledge and tools for solving problems, and it is grounded in strategic thinking and planning to enable agencies to keep up with the rapid societal changes in such areas as homeland defense.

This seventh edition is premised on the assumption that the reader is most likely an undergraduate or graduate student studying criminal justice or policing, or instead a police practitioner with a fundamental knowledge of police history and operations who is working in policing or a government agency and is interested in learning about community policing and problem solving. Citizens who are collaborating with police to resolve neighborhood problems in innovative ways can also be well served by reading this book.

We also impart some of the major theories, research, practices (with myriad examples), and processes that are being implemented under community policing and problem solving. Our ongoing primary emphasis is on the practical aspects of problem-oriented policing—putting the philosophy into daily practice. We continue to emphasize that problem-oriented policing is an individualized, long-term process that involves fundamental institutional change, going beyond such simple tactics as foot and bicycle patrols or neighborhood police stations; it redefines the role of the officer on the street from crime fighter to problem solver; it forces a cultural transformation of the entire police agency, involving changes in recruiting, training, awards systems, evaluations, and promotions.

It has been said that problem solving is not new in policing, that police officers have always tried to solve problems in their daily work. True enough; but as is demonstrated throughout this text, problem solving is not the same as solving problems. Problem solving in the context of community policing is very different and considerably more complex, requiring that police officers identify and examine the underlying causes of recurring incidents of crime and disorder. This policing approach thus seeks to make "street criminologists" of the officers, teaching them to expand their focus on offenders to include crime settings and victims.

We also emphasize that this book is not a call to ignore or discard policing's past methods, nor do we espouse an altogether new philosophy of policing in its place. Instead, we recommend that the police borrow from the wisdom of the past and adopt a holistic approach to the way police organizations are learning to address public safety more successfully. This book describes how many agencies should, and are, actively going about the process of revolutionizing their philosophy and operations.

ORGANIZATION AND CONTENTS OF THE BOOK

As indicated above, like its six predecessors, this book is distinguished by its applied approach. In doing so, it showcases dozens of exhibits and additional case studies and examples of problem solving in the field.

Also newly emphasized in this seventh edition are methods of policing a diverse society—particularly disenfranchised minorities in the "post-Ferguson" era and the call for a re-examination of police methods—as well as the fight against terrorism and applications of new information technologies (IT) for problem solving. In addition, chapters will examine major issues and challenging crime problems (e.g., drugs, gangs, youth and crime, neighborhood

disorder, domestic violence, and human trafficking), crime prevention, changing agency culture, evaluating problem-solving initiatives, cyberbullying and cybercrime, and special populations (e.g., the mentally ill), and the future. A chapter-by-chapter breakdown follows.

Part I of the book describes what we term the "long road" to community policing and problem solving. Chapter 1, Evolution, begins with a brief discussion of policing's inception in Britain's and the efforts of Sir Robert Peel leading to the Metropolitan Police Act in England. We also review the onset and evolution of policing in the United States, including a look at policing's three eras (focusing on the emergence of community problem-solving and new strategies for this century and the significant assistance of federal resources); also briefly discussed is the development of the community- and problem–oriented policing for today's challenges and the contributions of problem-oriented policing to homeland security. In Chapter 2, community partnerships are examined in this time of tremendous police–citizen discord, opens with an examination of what is meant by "community," and (as noted above) why all such efforts to involve citizens in addressing crime and disorder have led to community policing. Included is a review of the need for a new professionalism, the police role as "guardians," signs of a healthy community, economic challenges facing police and society, the use of civilian review boards, and how communities can connect with their courts and corrections organizations.

Part II includes two chapters that focus on two police priorities: managing diversity and ensuring that our homeland is protected. Chapter 3, looking at diversity, thus examines the challenges posed by people immigrating to the United States, the history (often very combative) of relations between minorities, how problem-oriented policing can enhance police–community relations, and the need for police to become more transparent and address racial profiling and bias-based policing. Chapter 4, Protecting the Homeland, examines the many faces of terrorism (to include cyberterrorism and bioterrorism) and what the local police and community policing—with the assistance of legislation and technologies—are doing to combat it.

Part III centers on problem solving and its approaches, programs, and practices. Chapter 5, Problem Solving, serves as a bulwark of the textbook as it specifically focuses on the development and methods of community- and problem-oriented policing, which are complementary core components. The problem-solving process, known as SARA (for scanning, analysis, response, and assessment), is discussed as the primary tool for understanding crime and disorder. Included are the basic principles of police problem solving, the role of the street officer within it, some difficulties with problem solving, and some ways to tailor strategies to individual neighborhoods. Crime prevention, discussed in Chapter 6, considers two important and contemporary components for preventing crime: crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) and situational crime prevention; included are discussions of which crime-prevention approaches work, do not appear to be successful, and hold promise for crime prevention. Chapter 7, Tools for Problem Solving, looks at how IT came to policing as well as the tools that are available for crime analysis and other functions. Included are several relatively new tools for analyzing and managing crime: CompStat, intelligence-led and predictive policing, social media, real-time crime centers, and smart policing.

In Part IV, we examine the necessary organizational foundations required for community policing and problem solving to flourish. In Chapter 8, Changing Agency Culture, we discuss what is meant by organizational culture and the need for some police agencies to modify their culture so as to become more constitutional and legitimate in the eyes of the public; how an organization can move from one that is "good" to being "great"; recruiting quality officers; and the roles and responsibilities of chief executives, middle managers, supervisors, and rank-and-file officers. Chapter 9, Planning and Implementation, discusses the key functions of preparing and initiating problem-oriented policing, which must be accomplished by thoughtfully laying the proper foundation; we also explain the strategic planning process, roles of key leaders in this process, addressing resistance to change, and how to measure whether or not planning and implementation were properly accomplished. Chapter 10 addresses the challenge of providing the best means and types of training, particularly in the context of engaging in constitutional, fair and impartial policing; we also consider the value of higher education, what works best for adult- and problem-based learning, and some technological approaches to training and the basics of a curriculum. The last chapter in this part, Chapter 11, confronts the issue of evaluation, including the different tools and methods for doing so. An ongoing challenge for community policing and problem solving is determining whether or not police responses to crime were successful.

Part V focuses on specific methods and challenges for dealing with crime and disorder in our society. In Chapter 12, we describe the application of problem-solving methods to drug abuse, youth gangs, and neighborhood violence. Chapter 13 continues this same theme, examining what works with the mentally ill population, domestic violence, cybercrime (including identity theft), and human trafficking.

Finally, in Part VI, we look at challenges that will likely confront the police in the future. Chapter 14 explores what kinds of factors will shape and drive change, to include the language of policing, the economy and demographics, technologies, terrorism, cybercrime, applying science to policing, and the need for strong leadership in several areas (e.g., militarization, transparency, succession planning, civilianization, and training).

Two appendices conclude the text; the first includes several award-winning case studies of excellent problem solving, and an example of a problem-oriented policing training curriculum.

We believe this book comprehensively lays out for today's student how problem-oriented policing should be, and is being applied in the United States. As noted above, the major strength of this book lies in its many case studies, exhibits, and "learn by doing" segments, which demonstrate how the concept is planned, implemented, operationalized, and evaluated. As Samuel Johnson wrote, "Example is always more efficacious than precept."

We are extremely grateful for the helpful suggestions made by the following reviewers of this edition: Jay Berman, New Jersey City University; Douglas Davis, Mary Baldwin College; Jennifer Estis-Sumerel, Itawamba Community College; and Michael Pittaro, American Military University.

INSTRUCTOR SUPPLEMENTS

Instructor's Manual with Test Bank. Includes content outlines for classroom discussion, teaching suggestions, and answers to selected end-of-chapter questions from the text. This also contains a Word document version of the test bank.

TestGen. This computerized test generation system gives you maximum flexibility in creating and administering tests on paper, electronically, or online. It provides state-of-the-art features for viewing and editing test bank questions, dragging a selected question into a test you are creating, and printing sleek, formatted tests in a variety of layouts. Select test items from test banks included with TestGen for quick test creation, or write your own questions from scratch. TestGen's random generator provides the option to display different text or calculated number values each time questions are used.

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ALTERNATE VERSIONS

eBooks This text is also available in multiple eBook formats. These are an exciting new choice for students looking to save money. As an alternative to purchasing the printed textbook, students can purchase an electronic version of the same content. With an eTextbook, students can search the text, make notes online, print out reading assignments that incorporate lecture notes, and bookmark important passages for later review. For more information, visit your favorite online eBook reseller or visit www.mypearsonstore.com.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Kenneth J. Peak, Ph.D., is a professor emeritus and former chairman of the criminal justice department at the University of Nevada, Reno, where he was named "Teacher of the Year" by the UNR Honor Society and also served as acting director of public safety. He has authored or coauthored 31 books on policing, justice administration, women in law enforcement, and police supervision and management; two historical books (on bootlegging and temperance); and more than 60 journal articles and additional book chapters on a wide range of justice-related subjects. He has served as chairman of the Police Section, Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences and a past president of the Western Association of Criminal Justice. Prior to coming to UNR, Dr. Peak held positions as a municipal police officer, criminal justice planner; director of a Four-State Technical Assistance Institute; director of university police at Pittsburg State University; and assistant professor at Wichita State University. He received two gubernatorial appointments to statewide criminal justice committees while in Kansas and holds a doctorate from the University of Kansas.

Ronald W. Glensor, Ph.D., is an assistant chief (retired) of the Reno, Nevada, Police Department (RPD). He has accumulated more than 36 years of police experience and commanded the department's patrol, administration, and detective divisions. In addition to being actively involved in RPD's implementation of community-oriented policing and problem solving since 1987, he has provided such training to thousands of officers, elected officials, and community members representing jurisdictions throughout the United States as well as Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom. He is also a judge for the Herman Goldstein International Problem Oriented Policing Awards held annually throughout the nation. Dr. Glensor was the 1997 recipient of the prestigious Gary P. Hayes Award, conferred by the Police Executive Research Forum, recognizing his contributions and leadership in the policing field. Internationally, he is a frequent featured speaker on a variety of policing issues. He served a six-month fellowship as problem-oriented policing coordinator with the Police Executive Research Forum in Washington, D.C., and received an Atlantic Fellowship in public policy, studying repeat victimization at the Home Office in London. He is coauthor of *Police Supervision and Management in an Era of Community Policing* (third edition) and was coeditor of *Policing Communities: Understanding Crime and Solving Problems*. Dr. Glensor has also published in several journals and trade magazines, is an adjunct professor at the University of Nevada, Reno, and instructs at area police academies and criminal justice programs. He holds a doctorate in political science and a master's of public administration from the University of Nevada, Reno.

PART I

The Long Road to Community Policing and Problem Solving

This part consists of two chapters, which together will map the movement away from traditional policing methods, the development of community policing and problem solving, and the important role of the community in those processes. Chapter 1 traces the professionalizing of policing in England and its subsequent journey to, and elaboration in, the United States, including its various iterations and strategies; Chapter 2 focuses on the community's role in shaping, guiding, and controlling the police as well as the courts, and corrections subsystems.

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1

Evolution:
The Geneses of Community Policing

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

As a result of reading this chapter, the student will understand:

- The evolution and development of professional policing from its early use of volunteers in England to its modern-day practices in the United States
- The characteristics of each of the three eras—political, professional, and community—of policing in the United States
- The foundations and strategies of both community policing and problem-oriented policing, to include contributions of the federal government
- How empirical studies resulted in major changes in police methods and approaches
- How to distinguish the three generations of community policing and problem solving
- The contributions of community policing and problem solving to homeland security
- How, when viewing the entire history of policing, it may be said to have come full circle in its contemporary emphasis on community

TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

1. The "architect" and "crib" of professional policing—the person and agency where most initial practices were developed—was Robert Deal, in the Philadelphia Police Department.
2. Modern-day policing in the United States originated with the onset of volunteer night patrols in New York City in 1866.
3. Policing in the United States has gone through three eras: the political, the professional (or reform), and the community eras.
4. The professional "crime fighter" model of policing has served it well and continues to prevail today.
5. The community era of policing emphasizes that the police cannot solve crimes without citizen input and assistance.
6. Community-oriented policing and problem solving relies heavily on the use of statistics: calls for service, response times, and numbers of arrests by officers.
7. The federal government has had no influence or provided any assistance with the spread of community policing and problem solving.

Answers can be found on page 278.

When we pull back the layers of government services, the most fundamental and indispensable virtues are public safety and social order.

—Hon. David A. Hardy, Washoe County District Court, Reno, Nevada

To understand what is, we must know what has been, and what it tends to become.

—Oliver Wendell Holmes

INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to accurately establish the beginning of community-oriented policing in America. This is possibly because the notion of community policing is not altogether new; parts of it are as old as policing itself, emanating (as will be seen later) from concerns about policing that were indicated in the early nineteenth century.

We also must mention at the outset of this book that community policing and problem solving is not a unitary concept but rather a collection of related ideas. Several prominent individuals, movements, studies, and experiments have brought policing to where it is today. In this chapter, we examine the principal activities involving the police for more than a century and a half—activities that led to the development of community policing and problem solving.

This historical examination of policing begins with a brief discussion of Britain's and Sir Robert Peel's influence and the Metropolitan Police Act in England. Then we review the evolution of policing in America, including the emergence of the political era and attempts at reform through the professional crime fighter model. Next we look at police and change, including how "sacred cow" policing methods have been debunked by research, demonstrated the actual nature of police work, and shown the need for a new approach.

Following is an examination of the community problem-solving era, including what the principles of this new model are, why it emerged, and how it evolved. Included in this chapter are brief discussions of some relatively new police analytical tools—**CompStat**, **smart policing**, **intelligence-led policing**, and **predictive policing** (all of which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7). Next is a brief discussion of how problem-oriented policing can enhance the nation's defense and homeland security (Chapter 4 is devoted entirely to this subject as well). Then, the chapter concludes with a summary, a listing of the chapter's key terms and concepts, review questions, and several scenarios and activities that provide opportunities for you to "learn by doing" (these are explained in more detail below).

BRITISH CONTRIBUTIONS

The population of England doubled between 1700 and 1800. Parliament, however, took no measures to help solve the problems that arose from the accompanying social change.[1]

London, awash in crime, had whole districts become criminal haunts, and thieves became very bold. In the face of this situation, Henry Fielding began to experiment with possible solutions. Fielding, appointed in 1748 as London's chief magistrate of Bow Street, argued against the severity of the English penal code, which applied the death penalty to a large number of offenses. He felt the country should reform the criminal code in order to deal more with the origins of crime. In 1750, Fielding made the pursuit of criminals more systematic by creating a small group of "thief-takers."[2] When Fielding died in 1754, his half-brother John Fielding succeeded him as Bow Street magistrate. By 1785, his thief-takers had evolved into the Bow Street Runners—some of the most famous policemen in English history.

Later, Robert Peel, a wealthy member of Parliament, felt strongly that London's population and crime problem merited a full-time professional police force, but many English people

and other politicians objected to the idea, fearing possible restraint of their liberty. They also feared a strong police organization because the criminal law was already quite harsh (by the early nineteenth century, there were 223 crimes in England for which a person could be hanged). Indeed, Peel's efforts to gain support for full-time paid police officers failed for seven years.[3]

Peel finally succeeded in 1829. His bill to Parliament, titled "An Act for Improving the Police in and Near the Metropolis," succeeded and became known as the **Metropolitan Police Act** of 1829. The *General Instructions* of the new force stressed its preventive nature, saying that "the principal object to be attained is 'the prevention of crime.' The security of persons and property will thus be better effected, than by the detection and punishment of the offender after he has succeeded in committing the crime."[4] It was decided that constables would don a uniform (blue coat, blue pants, and black top hat) and would arm themselves with a short baton (known as a truncheon) and a rattle (for raising an alarm); each constable was to wear his individual number on his collar where it could be easily seen.[5]

Peel proved very farsighted and keenly aware of the needs of a community-oriented police force as well as the need of the public who would be asked to maintain it. Indeed, Peel perceived that the poor quality of policing was a contributing factor to the social disorder. Peel's statement that "The police are the public, and the public are the police" emphasized his belief that the police are first and foremost members of the larger society.[6]

Peel's attempts to appease the public were well grounded; during the first three years of his reform effort, he encountered strong opposition. Peel was denounced as a potential dictator; the *London Times* urged revolt, and *Blackwood's Magazine* referred to the bobbies as "general spies" and "finished tools of corruption." A national secret body was organized to combat the police, who were nicknamed the "Blue Devils" and the "Raw Lobsters." Also during this initial five-year period, Peel endured one of the largest police turnover rates in history. Estimates range widely, but it is probably accurate to accept the figure of 1,341 constables resigning from London's Metropolitan Police from 1829 to 1834.[7]

Peel drafted what have become known as **Peel's Principles** of policing, most (if not all) of which are still apropos to today's police community. They are presented in Box 1–1.

BOX 1–1
Peel's Principles of Policing

1. The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder as an alternative to the repression of crime and disorder by military force and severity of legal punishment.
2. The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police existence, actions, behavior, and the ability of the police to secure and maintain public respect.
3. The police must secure the willing cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain public respect.
4. The degree of cooperation of the public that can be secured diminishes, proportionately, the necessity for the use of physical force and compulsion in achieving police objectives.
5. The police seek and preserve public favor, not by catering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to the law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws; by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the society without regard to their race or social standing; by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humor; and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.
6. The police should use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice, and warning is found to be insufficient to achieve police objectives; and police should use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.
7. The police at all times should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police are the only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interest of the community welfare.
8. The police should always direct their actions toward their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary by avenging individuals or the state, or authoritatively judging guilt or punishing the guilty.
9. The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

Source: W. L. Melville Lee, *A History of Police in England* (London: Methuen, 1901), Chapter 12.

POLICING IN AMERICA: THE POLITICAL ERA

Although the onset of full-time, professional policing in the United States is commonly said to have occurred in New York City in 1844, some police historians believe that the first organized, "modern" form of policing occurred in the South in the form of slave patrols.[8] Indeed, from the time Dutch slave ships began bringing slaves to the U.S. colonies as early as 1670, colonists began attempting to control slaves through informal means. The first such patrol was probably first organized as a special enforcement arm in South Carolina in 1704.[9] These men were well-armed and often visited plantations where they were allowed to flog slaves who were violating the codes.[10] In many colonies and states, anyone could legally apprehend, chastise, and even kill any slave found off of his or her plantation, and runaway slaves could even be killed in some states.[11] The slave patrols eventually became the legal mechanism for social control, particularly in rural areas of the Southern colonies, where they were to maintain the institution of slavery as well as capture runaway slaves and protect the white majority from slave uprisings and crimes.[12]

Early Beginnings

THE NEW YORK MODEL. Americans meanwhile were observing Peel's overall successful experiment with the bobbies on the patrol beat. Industrialization and social upheaval had not reached the proportions that they had in England, however, so there was not the urgency for full-time policing that had been experienced in England. Yet by the 1840s, when industrialization began in earnest in America, U.S. officials were watching the police reform movement in England more closely.

To comprehend the blundering, inefficiency, and confusion that surrounded nineteenth-century police in what would be called the **political era** of policing, we must remember that this was an age when the best forensic techniques could not clearly distinguish the blood of a pig from that of a human and the art of criminal detection was little more than divination. Steamboats blew up, trains regularly mutilated and killed pedestrians, children got run over by wagons, injury very often meant death, and doctors resisted the germ theory of disease. In the midst of all this, the police would be patrolling—the police being men who at best had been trained by reading pathetic little rule books that provided them little or no guidance in the face of human distress and disorder.[13]

New York Police Department officers initially refused to wear uniforms because they did not want to appear as "liveried lackeys." A blue frock coat with brass buttons was adopted in 1853.
Courtesy NYPD Photo Unit.

The movement to initiate policing in America began in New York City. (Philadelphia, with a private bequeath of $33,000, actually began a paid daytime police force in 1833; however, it was disbanded in three years.) In 1844, New York's state legislature passed a law establishing a full-time preventive police force for New York City. This new body was very different from that adopted from Europe, deliberately placed under the control of the city government and city politicians. The mayor chose the recruits from a list of names submitted by the aldermen and tax assessors of each ward; the mayor then submitted his choices to the city council for approval. Politicians were seldom concerned about selecting the best people for the job; instead, the system allowed and even encouraged political patronage and rewards for friends.[14]

The police link to neighborhoods and politicians was so tight that the police of this era have been considered virtual adjuncts to political machines.[15] The relationship was often reciprocal: Political machines recruited and maintained police in office and on the beat while police helped ward leaders maintain their political offices by encouraging citizens to vote for certain candidates. Soon other cities adopted the New York model. New Orleans and Cincinnati adopted plans for a new police in 1852; Boston and Philadelphia followed in 1854, Chicago in 1855, and Baltimore and Newark in 1857.[16] By 1880, virtually every major American city had a police force based on Peel's model, pioneered in New York City.

FROM THE EAST TO THE WILD, WILD WEST. These new police were born of conflict and violence. An unprecedented wave of civil disorder swept the nation from the 1840s until the 1870s. Few cities escaped serious rioting, caused by ethnic and racial conflicts, economic disorder, and public outrage about such things as brothels and medical school experiments. These occurrences often made for hostile interaction between citizens and the police, who were essentially a reactive force. Riots in many major cities actually led to the creation of the "new police." The use of the baton to quell riots, known as the "baton charge," was not uncommon.[17]

Furthermore, while large cities in the east were struggling to overcome social problems and establish preventive police forces, the western half of America was anything but passive. When people left the wagon trains and their relatively law-abiding ways, they attempted to live together in communities. Many different ethnic groups—Anglo-Americans, Mexicans, Chinese, Indians, freed blacks, Australians, Scandinavians, and others—competed for often-scarce resources and fought one another violently, often with mob attacks. Economic conflicts were frequent between cattlemen and sheep herders, often leading to major range wars. There was constant labor strife in the mines. The bitterness of the slavery issue remained, and many men with firearms skills learned during the Civil War turned to outlawry after leaving the service (Jesse James was one such person).[18]

Despite these difficulties, westerners established peace by relying on a combination of four groups who assumed responsibility for law enforcement: private citizens, U.S. marshals, businessmen, and town police officers.[19] Private citizens usually helped to enforce the law by use of posses or through individual efforts, such as vigilante committees[20] (contemporary examples of such groups would include the so-called Minutemen that patrol the Southwest borders in search of illegal aliens).[21] While it is true that they occasionally hanged outlaws, they also performed valuable work by ridding their communities of dangerous criminals.

Federal marshals were created by congressional legislation in 1789. As they began to appear on the frontier, the vigilantes tended to disappear. U.S. marshals enforced federal laws, so they only had jurisdiction over federal offenses, such as theft of mail, crimes against railroad property, and murder on federal lands. Their primary responsibility was in civil matters arising from federal court decisions. Finally, when a territory became a state, the primary law enforcement functions usually fell to local sheriffs and marshals. Sheriffs quickly became important officials, but they spent more time collecting taxes, inspecting cattle brands, maintaining jails, and serving civil papers than they did actually dealing with outlaws.[22]

Politics and Corruption

During the late nineteenth century, large cities gradually became more orderly. American cities absorbed millions of newcomers after 1900 without the social strains that attended the Irish immigration of the 1830s to 1850s.[23]

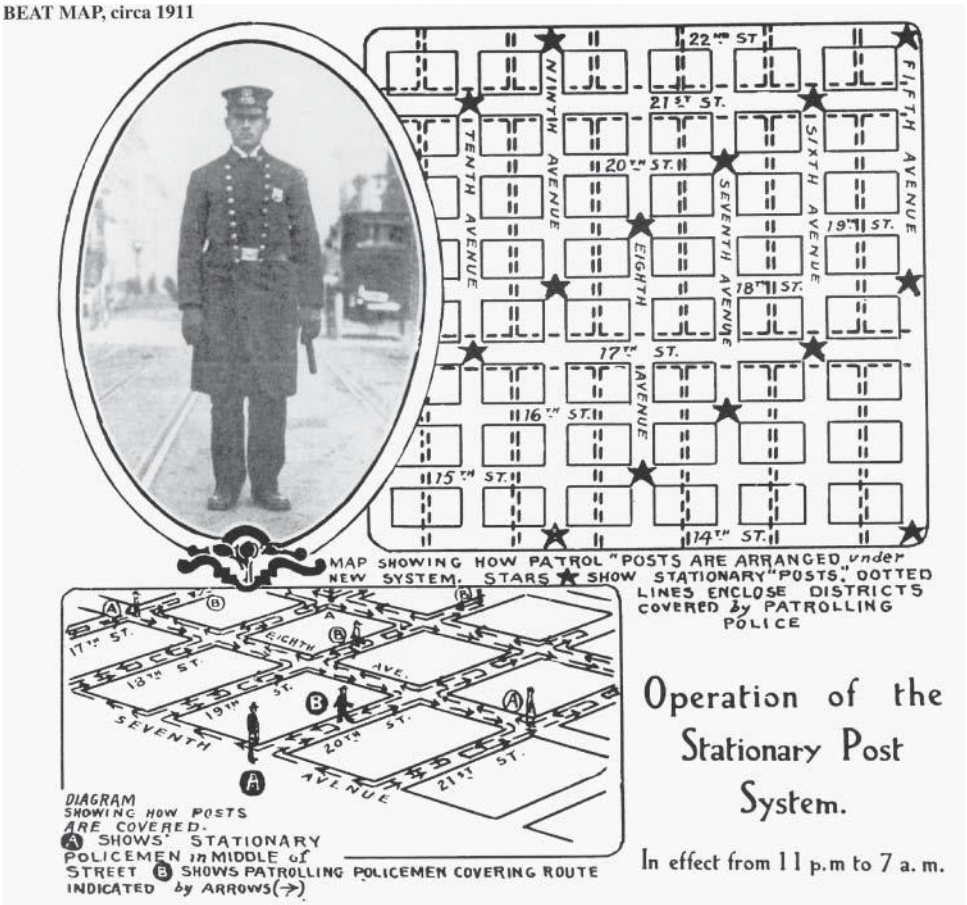
Partly because of their closeness to politicians, police during this era provided a wide array of services to citizens. Many police departments were involved in crime prevention and order

maintenance as well as a variety of social services. In some cities, they operated soup lines, helped find lost children, and found jobs and temporary lodging for newly arrived immigrants.[24] Police organizations were typically quite decentralized, with cities being divided into precincts and run like small-scale departments—hiring, firing, managing, and assigning personnel as necessary. Officers were often recruited from the same ethnic stock as the dominant groups in the neighborhoods; they lived in the beats they patrolled and were given considerable discretion in handling their individual beats. Decentralization encouraged foot patrol, even after call boxes and automobiles became available. Detectives operated from a caseload of "persons" rather than offenses, relying on their caseload to inform on other criminals.[25]

The strengths of the political era centered on the fact that police were integrated into neighborhoods. This strategy proved useful as it helped contain riots and the police assisted immigrants in establishing themselves in communities and finding jobs. There were weaknesses as well: The intimacy with the community, the closeness to politicians, and a decentralized organizational structure (and its inability to provide supervision of officers) also led to police corruption. The close identification of police with neighborhoods also resulted in discrimination against strangers, especially minority ethnic and racial groups. Police often ruled their beats with the "end of their nightsticks" and practiced "curbside justice."[26] The lack of organizational control over officers also caused some inefficiencies and disorganization; thus, the image of Keystone Cops—bungling police—was widespread.

Emergence of Professionalism

In summary, the nineteenth-century police officer was essentially a political operative rather than a modern-style professional committed to public service. Because the police were essentially a political institution and perceived as such by the citizenry, they did not enjoy widespread



Foot patrol was the primary strategy for policing neighborhoods during the early 1900s.
Courtesy NYPD Photo Unit.

acceptance by the public. As political appointees, officers enjoyed little job security, and salaries were determined by local political factors. Primitive communications technology of the era meant that police chiefs were unable to supervise their captains at the precinct level; thus, policy was greatly influenced by the prevailing political and social mores of the neighborhoods. As a consequence, police behavior was very much influenced by the interaction between individual officers and individual citizens. The nature of that interaction, later termed the problem of **police–community relations**, was perhaps even more complex and ambiguous in the nineteenth century than in the late twentieth century.[27]

THE PROFESSIONAL ERA

Movement Toward Reform

The idea of policing as a profession, however, began to emerge slowly in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Reform ideas first appeared as a reaction to the corrupt and politicized state of the police. Reformers agreed that partisan politics was the heart of the problem. Even reformers in the National Prison Association bemoaned the partisan politics that hindered the improvement of the police. Slowly the idea of policing as a higher calling (i.e., higher than the concerns of local politics), as a profession committed to public service, began to gain ground. Two other ideas about the proper role of the police in society also appeared. One emphasized improvement in the role of police with respect to scientific techniques of crime detection. The other idea was that police could play more of a social work role; by intervening in the lives of individuals, police officers could reform society by preventing crime and keeping people out of the justice system. These reformers were closely tied to the emerging rehabilitative ideal in correctional circles in what is termed the **professional era**.[28]

New Developments and Calls for Reform

There were several important developments in the **reform of policing** during the late 1800s. Policing realized the beginning of a body of literature. Most authors were closely tied to the police and thus painted an inaccurate picture in some respects (e.g., the corruption that existed in many police departments), but their writings were also very illuminating. They provided glimpses into the informal processes that governed police departments and focused on the individual officer, a focus that would be lost in the later professionalization movement with its emphasis on impersonal bureaucratic standards. Furthermore, the late 1800s witnessed improvements in the areas of testing and training. The physical and mental qualifications of police officers concerned new police commissioners, and formal schools of instruction were developed (the best being Cincinnati's, which required a total of 72 hours of instruction). During the late 1800s, there was also the appearance of police conventions, such as the National Police Chiefs Union (later named the International Association of Chiefs of Police [IACP]) and fraternal and benefit societies.[29]

August Vollmer, pioneer of police professionalism from 1905 to 1932, rallied police executives around the idea of reform during the 1920s and 1930s, emerging as the leading national spokesman for police professionalism. What is often overlooked among the abundance of Vollmer's contributions to policing was his articulate advocacy of the idea that the police should function as social workers. The belief that police officers should do more than merely arrest offenders, that they should actively seek to prevent crime by "saving" potential or actual offenders, was an important theme in police reform. It was an essential ingredient in the notion of professionalism. Indeed, in a series of addresses to the IACP, Vollmer advanced his ideas in "The Policeman as a Social Worker" (1918) and "Predelinquency" (1921). He began by arguing that the "old methods of dealing with crime must be changed, and newer ones adopted."[30]

Vollmer's views were very prescient for today, especially given the contemporary movement toward community policing. Vollmer felt that traditional institutions and practices were no longer adequate for a modern and complex industrial society. He believed that the police should intervene and be involved with people before they entered lives of crime, and he suggested that police work closely with existing social welfare agencies and become advocates of additional reform proposals. Vollmer also suggested that police inform voters about overcrowded schools and support the expansion of recreational facilities, community social centers, and antidelinquency agencies. Basically, he was suggesting that the police play an active part in the political

August Vollmer, a national spokesman for and early pioneer of police professionalism, established one of the first fingerprint bureaus and formal police schools while he was chief of police in Berkeley, California. *Courtesy Samuel G. Chapman.*

life of the community, yet the major thrust of police professionalization had been to insulate the police from politics. This contradiction illustrated one of the fundamental ambiguities of the whole notion of professionalism.[31]

Other reformers continued to reject political involvement by police, and civil service systems were created to eliminate patronage and ward influences in hiring and firing police officers. In some cities, officers could not live in the same beat they patrolled, to isolate them as completely as possible from political influences. Police departments, needing to be removed from political influence, became one of the most autonomous agencies in urban government.[32] However, policing also became a matter viewed as best left to the discretion of police executives to address. Police organizations became law enforcement agencies, with the sole goal of controlling crime. Any noncrime activities they were required to do were "social work." The "professional model" of policing was in full bloom.

The scientific theory of administration was adopted, as advocated by Frederick Taylor during the early twentieth century. Taylor had studied the work process, breaking down jobs into their basic steps and emphasizing time and motion studies, all with an eye toward maximizing production. From this emphasis on production and unity of control flowed the notion that police officers were best managed by a hierarchical pyramid of control. Police leaders routinized and standardized police work; officers were to enforce laws and make arrests whenever possible. Discretion was limited to the extent possible. When special problems arose, special units (e.g., vice, juvenile, drugs, tactical) were created rather than assigning problems to patrol officers.

Crime Commissions and Early Police Studies

The early 1900s also became the age of the crime commission, including the **Wickersham Commission** reports in 1931. President Herbert Hoover, concerned with the lax enforcement of prohibition and other forms of police corruption, created the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement—popularly known as the Wickersham Commission after its chairman, former U.S. Attorney General George W. Wickersham. This commission completed the first national study of crime and criminal justice, issuing 14 reports and recommending that the corrupting influence of politics be removed from policing, police chief executives be selected on merit, patrol officers be tested and meet minimal physical standards, police salaries and working conditions be decent, and policewomen be used in juvenile and female cases. Many of these

recommendations represented what progressive police reformers had been wanting over the previous 40 years; unfortunately, President Hoover and his administration could do little more than report the Wickersham Commission's recommendations before leaving office.

The most important change in policing during this decade was the advent of the automobile and its accompanying radio. Gradually the patrol car replaced foot patrol, expanding geographic beats and further removing people from neighborhoods. There was also Prohibition (which affected the police very little in a long-term way), a bloody wave of racial violence in American cities, and the rise and defeat of police unionism and strikes. The impact of two-way radios was also felt, as supervisors were able to maintain a far closer supervision of patrol officers, and the radio and telephone made it possible for citizens to make heavier demands for police service. The result was not merely a greater burden on the police but also an important qualitative redefinition of the police role.[33]

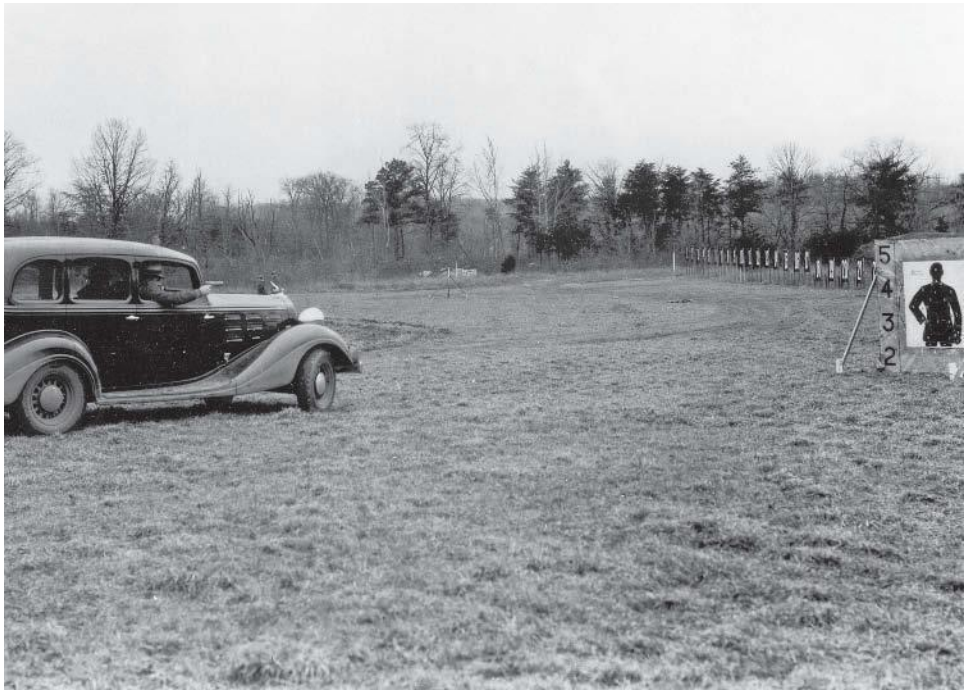
The 1930s marked an important turning point in the history of police reform. The first genuine empirical studies of police work began to appear, and O. W. Wilson emerged as the leading authority on police administration. The major development of this decade was a redefinition of the police role and the ascendancy of the crime fighter image. Wilson, who took guidance from J. Edgar Hoover's transformation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) into an agency of high prestige, became the principal architect of the police reform strategy.[34] Hoover, appointed FBI director in 1924, had raised eligibility and training standards of recruits, giving FBI agents stature as upstanding moral crusaders and developing an incorruptible crime-fighting organization. He also developed impressive public relations programs that presented the bureau in the most favorable light. Municipal police found Hoover's path a compelling one. Following Wilson's writings on police administration, they began to shape an organizational strategy for urban police that was analogous to that pursued by the FBI.

Also by the 1930s, the policewomen's movement, begun in the early 1900s, had begun losing ground. Professionalism came to mean a combination of managerial efficiency, technological sophistication, and an emphasis on crime fighting. The social work aspects of policing—the idea of rehabilitative work, which had been central to the policewomen's movement—were almost totally eclipsed. The result was a severe identity crisis for policewomen: They were caught between a social work orientation and a law enforcement ideology. Later, by the 1960s, women would occupy an extremely marginal place in American policing.[35]

In sum, under the reform era's professional model of policing, officers were to remain in their "rolling fortresses," going from one call to the next with all due haste. As Mark Moore and George Kelling observed, "In professionalizing crime fighting, the 'volunteers,' citizens on whom so much used to depend, [were] removed from the fight. If anything has been learned from the history of American policing, it is that, whatever the benefits of professionalization (e.g., reduced corruption, due process, serious police training), the reforms . . . ignored, even attacked, some features that once made the police powerful institutions in maintaining a sense of community security."[36]

Professional Crime Fighter

EMPHASIS ON EFFICIENCY AND CONTROL. The decade of the 1930s ended the first phase in the history of police professionalization. From the 1940s through the early 1960s, police reform continued along the lines that were already well established. Police professionalism was defined almost exclusively in terms of managerial efficiency, and administrators sought to further strengthen their hand in controlling rank-and-file officers; however, many of the old problems, such as racial unrest and an unclear definition of the police role, persisted. Nonetheless, by the late 1930s and early 1940s, there was a clear sense of mission for the police, a commitment to public service where one had not existed before.[37] Also, policing had begun to develop its own sense of professional autonomy. And, ironically perhaps, the most articulate groups and the most creative thinking were to be found in nonpolice groups: the National Prison Association, the social work profession, and the field of public administration. The efforts by reformers to remove political influence over police, though not entirely successful, were beginning to take hold as police boards and powerful police chiefs met their demise. Police unions reappeared, however, and the emergence of careerism among police officers significantly altered their attitudes toward the job and the public they served.



FBI agents practice shooting from vehicle in the 1930s.
Courtesy FBI.

The professional model demanded an impartial law enforcer who related to citizens in professionally neutral and distant terms, personified by television's Sgt. Friday on "Dragnet": "Just the facts, ma'am." The emphasis on professionalization also shaped the role of citizens in crime control. Like physicians caring for health problems, teachers for educational problems, and social workers for social adjustment problems, the police would be responsible for crime problems. Citizens became relatively passive in crime control, mere recipients of professional crime control services. Citizens' responsibility in crime control was limited to calling police and serving as witnesses when asked to do so. Police were the "thin blue line." The community's need for rapid response to calls for service (CFS) was sold as efficacious in crime control. Foot patrol, when demanded by citizens, was rejected as an outmoded, expensive frill. Professionalism in law enforcement was often identified in terms of firearms expertise, and the popularity of firearms put the police firmly in the anti-gun control camp.[38]

Citizens were no longer encouraged to go to "their" neighborhood police officers or districts. Officers were to drive marked cars randomly through streets, to develop a feeling of police omnipresence. The "person" approach ended and was replaced by the case approach. Officers were judged by the numbers of arrests they made or by the number of miles they drove during a shift. The crime rate became the primary indicator of police effectiveness.

REESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNICATION: POLICE–COMMUNITY RELATIONS. While much of the country was engaged in "practicing" and "selling" police reform embodied in the professional model of policing, a movement was beginning in Michigan to bring the police and community closer together. Louis Radelet served on the executive staff of the National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ) from 1951 to 1963, when he became a professor in what was then the School of Police Administration and Public Safety at Michigan State University (MSU). In 1955 Radelet, having conducted many NCCJ workshops dedicated to reducing tensions between elements of the community, founded the National Institute on Police and Community Relations (NIPCR) at MSU; he served as institute director from 1955 to 1969 and was also coordinator of the university's National Center on Police and Community Relations, created to conduct a national survey on police–community relations, from 1965 to 1973.[39]

The institute held 5-day conferences each May during its 15-year existence, bringing together teams of police officers and other community leaders to discuss common problems. In peak years, more than 600 participants came from as many as 165 communities and 30 states as

well as several foreign countries. As a result of the institute's work, such programs proliferated rapidly across the nation. We believe the stated purposes of the many programs initiated during this period are still applicable today and are listed here[40]:

1. To encourage police–citizen partnership in the cause of crime prevention.
2. To foster and improve communications and mutual understanding between the police and the total community.
3. To promote interprofessional approaches to the solution of community problems and to stress the principle that the administration of justice is a total community responsibility.
4. To enhance cooperation among the police, the prosecution, the courts, and the corrections.
5. To assist the police and other community leaders to achieve an understanding of the nature and causes of complex problems in people-to-people relations and especially to improve police–minority relationships.
6. To strengthen implementation of equal protection under the law for all persons.

The NIPCR was discontinued at the end of 1969. Radelet wrote that its demise was "a commentary on the evolution of issues and social forces pertinent to the field. The purposes, assumptions, and institute design of past years may have been relevant in their time. But it became imperative now to think about police–community relations programs in different terms, with more precise purposes that could be better measured."[41]

Problems with the Professional Model

Several problems with the professional model of policing began to arise during the late 1960s.

Crime began to rise, and research suggested that conventional police methods were not effective. The 1960s was a time of explosion and turbulence. Inner-city residents rioted in several major cities; protestors denounced military involvement in Vietnam; and assassins ended the lives of President John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, and civil rights leader Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. The country was witnessing tremendous upheaval, and such incidents as the so-called police riot at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago raised many questions about the police and their function and role. Largely as a result of this turmoil, five national studies, each with a different focus, looked into police practices during the 1960s and 1970s: the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (termed the "President's Crime Commission" [1967]), the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968), the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1968), the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970), and the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973). Of particular note was the aforementioned President's Crime Commission of 1967, charged by President Lyndon Johnson to find solutions to America's internal crime problems. Among the commission's recommendations for the police were hiring more minorities as police officers to improve police–community relations, upgrading the quality of police officers through better-educated officers, and using better applicant screening and intensive preservice training.[42]

The President's Crime Commission brought policing full circle, restating several of the same principles that were laid out by Sir Robert Peel in 1829: that the police should be close to the public, that poor quality of policing contributed to social disorder, and that the police should focus on community relations.

Police administrators became more willing to challenge traditional assumptions and beliefs and to open the door to researchers and their **research findings**. That willingness to allow researchers to examine traditional methods led to the growth and development of two important policing research organizations: the Police Foundation and the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF).

Fear rose. Citizens abandoned parks, public transportation, neighborhood shopping centers, churches, and entire neighborhoods. What puzzled police and researchers was that levels of fear and crime did not always correspond: Crime levels were low in some areas, but fear was high, and vice versa. Researchers found that fear is more closely associated with disorder than with crime. Ironically, order maintenance was one of the functions that police had been downplaying over the years.

Three Selma-to-Montgomery (Alabama) marches in 1965 marked the peak of the American civil rights movement, growing out of the voting rights movement launched by African-Americans. The first march took place on March 7, 1965—"Bloody Sunday"—when 600 civil rights marchers were attacked by state and local police with batons and tear gas.

Courtesy National Park Service.

Many minority citizens did not perceive their treatment as equitable or adequate. They protested not only police mistreatment but also lack of treatment—despite attempts by most police departments to provide impartial policing to all citizens.

The antiwar and civil rights movements challenged police. The legitimacy of the police was questioned: Students resisted police, minorities rioted against them for what they represented, and the public (for the first time at this level) questioned police tactics. Moreover, minorities and women insisted that they be represented in policing if the police were to be legitimate.

Some of the myths on which the reform era was founded—that police officers use little or no discretion and that their primary duty is law enforcement—could no longer be sustained. Over and over, research underscored that the use of discretion was needed at all levels and that law enforcement composed but a small portion of police officers' activities.[43] Other research findings shook the foundations of old assumptions about policing; for example, two-person patrol cars are neither more effective nor safer than one-person cars in reducing crime or catching criminals.[44] Other "sacred cows" of policing that were debunked by research are discussed below.

Although managers had tried to professionalize policing, line officers continued to have low status. Police work continued to be routinized; petty rules governed officer behavior. Meanwhile, line officers received little guidance in the use of discretion and had little opportunity for providing input concerning their work. As a result, many departments witnessed the rise of militant unionism.

The police lost a significant portion of their financial support. Many police departments were reduced in size, demonstrating an erosion of public confidence.

Police began to acquire competition: private security and the community crime control movement. Businesses, industries, and private citizens began to seek alternative means of protecting themselves and their property, further suggesting a declining confidence in the capability of police to provide the level of services that citizens desired. Indeed, today there are more than 1.5 million private police personnel employed in the United States—two to three times more personnel than there are in all federal, state, and municipal police agencies combined.[45] The social upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s obviously changed the face of policing in America. Not to be overlooked is the impact of the courts during this period as well. A number of major landmark Supreme Court decisions curtailed the actions of police and, concurrently, expanded the rights of the accused.

Changing Wisdom: More Recent Studies of Police Work

As a result of the problems mentioned earlier and the civil unrest that occurred during the professional era of policing, research evolved a new "common wisdom" of policing. As will be shown, much of this research shook the foundation of policing and rationalized the changes in methods we offer in later chapters. We discuss what might be termed the two primary clusters of police research that illuminated where policing has been and what officers actually do.

The first cluster of research actually began in the 1950s and would ultimately involve seven empirical studies of the police: the early work of sociologist William Westley concerning the culture of policing,[46] the ambitious studies of the American Bar Foundation,[47] the field observations of Jerome Skolnick,[48] the work of Egon Bittner analyzing the police function on skid row,[49] Raymond Parnas's study of the police response to domestic disturbances,[50] James Q. Wilson's analysis of different policing styles,[51] and the studies of police–citizen contact by Albert Reiss.[52] These studies collectively provided a "new realism" about policing[53]:

- Informal arrangements for handling incidents and behavioral problems were found to be more common than was compliance with formally established procedures.
- Workload, public pressures, and interagency pressures as well as the interests and personal predilections of functionaries in the criminal justice system were found in many instances to have more influence on how the police and the rest of the criminal justice system operated than the Constitution, state statutes, or city ordinances.
- Arrest, commonly viewed as the first step in the criminal process, had come to be used by the police to achieve a whole range of objectives in addition to that of prosecuting wrongdoers (e.g., to investigate, harass, punish, or provide safekeeping).
- A great variety of informal methods outside the criminal justice system had been adopted by the police to fulfill their formal responsibilities and to dispose of the endless array of situations that the public—rightly or wrongly—expected them to handle.
- Individual police officers were found to be routinely exercising a great deal of discretion in deciding how to handle the tremendous variety of circumstances with which they were confronted.

These findings also underscored that the police had, in the past, depended too much on the criminal law in order to get their job done; that they were not autonomous but rather were accountable, through the political process, to the community; and that dealing with fear and enforcing public order are appropriate functions for the police.[54] Other early studies indicated that less than 50 percent of an officer's time was committed to CFS, and of those calls handled, over 80 percent were noncriminal incidents.[55]

The five national studies of policing practices during the riots and the Vietnam War of the 1960s and 1970s (discussed in the previous section) began a quest for new directions. Later, a second cluster of police research occurred that provided further knowledge about police methods. The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment of 1973 questioned the usefulness of random patrol in police vehicles.[56] Other studies showed that officers and detectives are limited in their abilities to successfully investigate crimes[57] and that detectives need not follow up every reported unsolved crime.[58] In short, most serious crimes were unaffected by the standard police actions designed to control them.

Since the 1970s, additional studies have dispelled many assumptions commonly held by police about their efficiency and effectiveness. For example, preventive patrol has been shown to be costly, producing only minimal results in the reduction of crime.[59] Rapid response to calls has been shown to be less effective at catching criminals than educating the public to call the police sooner after a crime is committed.[60] We now know that police response time is largely unrelated to the probability of making an arrest or locating a witness. The time it takes to report a crime is the major determining factor of whether an on-scene arrest takes place and whether witnesses are located.[61] Despite their best efforts, police have had little impact on preventing crime.[62]

Viewing "Sacred Cow" Methods with Caution

What did the studies mentioned previously mean for the police? Was the professional model of policing (discussed earlier) completely off base? No, in fact it can have a positive impact on a police agency's organization, efficiency, and control. However, these studies do show that the police erred in doggedly investing so much of their resources in a limited number of practices that were based on a rather naive and simplistic concept of the police role.[63] Furthermore, as we noted above, the police got caught up in the "means over ends" syndrome, measuring their success by the numbers of arrests, quickness of responses, and so on (the means) while often neglecting the outcome of their work (the ends).

As we have seen, the "We've always done it this way" mentality, still pervading policing to a large extent, may be not only an ineffective means of organizing and administering a police agency but also a costly squandering of valuable human and financial resources. For many police

agencies today operating under the traditional incident-driven style of policing, the *beat* (rather than the *neighborhood*) is, to borrow a term from research methodology, the "unit of analysis." Under this timeworn model, officers have been glued to their police radios, flitting like pinballs from one call for service to the next as rapidly as possible. Furthermore, police officers seldom leave their vehicles to address incidents except when answering a CFS. They know very little about the underlying causes of problems in the neighborhoods on their beats.

The results of employing conventional police methods have been inglorious. Problems have persisted or been allowed to go unnoticed and grow while neighborhoods deteriorated. Officers became frustrated after they repeatedly handled similar calls, with no sign of progress. Petty offenses contributed to this decline and drove stable community members away once the message went out to offenders and vandals that no one cares about the neighborhood. Yet many in the police field are unaware of or refuse to accept that the old ways are open to serious challenge.

Time for a New Approach

We believe it is clear from all we've discussed thus far that police agencies must change their daily activities, their management practices, and even their view of their work in order to confront the changes that are occurring. We maintain that given the current levels of violence and the public's fear of it, the disorder found in countless American neighborhoods, the poor police–community relations in many cities, and the rapidly changing landscape of crime and demographics in America, the police need to seriously consider whether a bureaucratic overhaul is needed to meet the demands of the future.

Police research also demonstrated the need for agencies to evaluate the effectiveness of their responses. Both quantitative and qualitative data should be used as a basis for evaluation and change. Departments need to know more about what their officers are doing. Agencies are struggling to find enough resources for performing crime trend analyses; most also do not conduct proper workload analyses to know what uncommitted time is possessed by their officers.

Research has also provided the realization that policing consists of developing the most effective means for dealing with a multitude of troublesome situations. For example, problem solving is a whole new way of thinking about policing and carries the potential to reshape the way in which police services are delivered.[64]

One of several things the police must do to accomplish their mission is to reacquaint themselves with members of the community by involving citizens in the resolution of neighborhood problems. Simply stated, police must view the public as well as other government and social services organizations as "a part of," as opposed to "apart from," their efforts. This change in conventional thinking advocates efficiency with effectiveness and quality over quantity, and it encourages collaborative problem solving and creative resolutions to crime and disorder.

THE COMMUNITY ERA

Team Policing, Foot Patrol, and Shattered Myths

In the early 1970s, it was suggested that the performance of patrol officers would improve more by using job redesign based on "motivators."[65] This suggestion later evolved into a concept known as "team policing," which sought to restructure police departments, improve police–community relations, enhance police officer morale, and facilitate change within the police organization. Its primary element was a decentralized neighborhood focus to the delivery of police services. Officers were to be generalists, trained to investigate crimes and basically attend to all of the problems in their area, with a team of officers being assigned to a particular neighborhood and responsible for all police services in that area.

In the end, however, team policing failed for several reasons. Most of the experiments were poorly planned and hastily implemented, resulting in street officers not understanding what they were supposed to do. Many mid-management personnel felt threatened by team policing; as a result, some sabotaged the experiment. Furthermore, team policing did not represent a completely different view of policing. As Samuel Walker observed, "It was essentially a different *organizational approach* to traditional policing: responding to calls for service, deterring crime through patrol, and apprehending criminals" (emphasis in original).[66]

There were other developments for the police during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Foot patrol became more popular, and many jurisdictions (such as Newark, New Jersey; Boston, Massachusetts; and Flint, Michigan) even demanded it. In Newark, an evaluation found that foot patrol was readily perceived by residents and that it produced a significant increase in the level of satisfaction with police

service, led to a significant reduction of perceived crime problems, and resulted in a significant increase in the perceived level of safety of the neighborhood.[67] Flint researchers reported that the crime rate in the target areas declined slightly; CFS in these areas dropped by 43 percent. Furthermore, citizens indicated satisfaction with the program, suggesting that it had improved relations with the police.[68]

These findings and others discussed below shattered several long-held myths about measures of police effectiveness. In addition, research conducted during the 1970s suggested that *information* could help police improve their ability to deal with crime. These studies, along with those of foot patrol and fear reduction, created new opportunities for the police to understand the increasing concerns of citizens' groups about disorder (e.g., gangs, prostitutes) and to work with citizens to do something about it. Police discovered that when they asked citizens about their priorities, citizens appreciated their asking and often provided useful information.

The Community Patrol Officer Program (CPOP), instituted by the New York City Police Department in 1984, was similar in many respects to the Flint foot patrol program. Officers involved in this program were responsible for getting to know the residents, merchants, and service providers in their beat area; identifying the principal crime and order maintenance problems confronting the people within their beat; and devising strategies for dealing with the identified problems.[69]

Early Beginnings of the Problem-Oriented Policing Model

Simultaneously, Herman Goldstein's problem-oriented approach to policing was being tested in Madison, Wisconsin; Baltimore County, Maryland; and Newport News, Virginia. These studies found that police officers enjoy operating with a holistic approach to their work, have the capacity to do problem solving successfully, and can work with citizens and other agencies to solve problems. Also, citizens seemed to appreciate working with police. Moreover, this approach was a rethinking of earlier strategies of handling CFS: Officers were given more autonomy and trained to analyze the underlying causes of problems and to find creative solutions. These findings were similar to those of the foot patrol experiments and fear reduction efforts.

Problem-oriented policing requires not only new police strategies but a new organizational approach as well. There is a renewed emphasis on community collaboration for many police tasks. Crime control remains an important function, but equal emphasis is given to *prevention*. Police officers return to their wide use of discretion under this model and move away from routinization and standardization in addressing their tasks. This discretion pushes operational and tactical decision making to the lower levels of the organization.

Participative management is greatly increased, and fewer levels of authority are required to administer the organization; middle management layers are reduced. Concurrently, many cities have developed what are, in effect, "demarketing" programs, attempting to rescind programs (such as the area of rapid response to CFS and to 911 calls except for dire emergencies) that had been actively sold earlier.

Community problem solving has helped to explain what went wrong with team policing in the 1960s and 1970s. It was a strategy that innovators mistakenly approached as a tactic. Team policing also competed with traditional policing in the same departments, and they were incompatible with

As part of their community policing and problem-solving efforts, many agencies use bicycle patrols to focus on crime prevention and greater interaction with the community.

Kevin Lamarque/Reuters Pictures.

one another. A police department might have a small team policing unit or conduct a team policing experiment, but the traditional professional model of policing was still "business as usual."

The classical theory of police organization that continues to dominate many agencies is likewise alien to the community problem-solving strategy. The new strategy will not accommodate the classical theory of traditional policing; the latter denies too much of the real nature of police work, continues old methods of supervision and administration, and creates too much cynicism in officers attempting to do creative problem solving.

Box 1–2 displays the three key elements of problem-oriented policing: community partnerships (discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 2), problem solving (see Chapter 5), and organizational transformation (Chapter 8)—as we envision its contemporary fundamental structure. This is a very important framework for you to comprehend because, in addition to framing and explaining the construction of problem-oriented policing, it essentially underlies and guides all other chapters that are contained in this book.

BOX 1–2
A Framework for Community Policing: Elements and Principles

Community Partnerships	Problem Solving	Organizational Transformation
Collaborative partnerships between the law enforcement agency and the individuals and organizations they serve, and anyone with a stake in the community. 1. Agency has multi-disciplinary partnerships with community partners, including other government agencies, nonprofit and community groups, businesses, the media, and individuals. 2. Existing partnerships bring appropriate resources and level of commitment to community policing activities. 3. Level of interaction between the law enforcement agency and community partners.	The process and effect of problem solving should be assessed at each stage of the problem-solving process. 1. General problem-solving approach 2. Problem-solving processes: • Scanning • Analysis • Response • Assessment 3. General skill in problem solving	1. Leadership and administration • Policies and procedures • Management approach • Information management • Planning/program evaluation • Resources and finances 2. Human resources • Recruiting, selection, training • Performance evaluation/promotion • Honors and awards • Discipline • Labor relation 3. Field operations • Call prioritization • Alternative reporting • Beat boundaries • Permanent shifts • Reduced specialization 4. External relations • Community, media, businesses, local government service providers

Source: Adapted from Gayle Fisher-Stewart, *Community Policing Explained: A Guide for Local Governments* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, and the International City/County Management Association, July 2007), p. 5, http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/files/ric/Publications/cp_explained.pdf.

Why the Emergence of Problem-Oriented Policing?

Although we will discuss problem-oriented policing in greater detail and from different perspectives in the following chapters, below is a summary of the factors that set the stage for its emergence:

- Narrowing of the police mission to crime fighting.
- Increased cultural diversity in our society and heightened concern with police violation of minority civil rights.
- Detachment of patrol officers in patrol vehicles and of administration from officer and community input.
- Increased violence in our society.
- Downturn in the economy and, subsequently, a "do more with less" philosophy regarding the police.
- Increased dependence on high-technology equipment rather than contact with the public.
- Emphasis on organizational change, including decentralization and greater officer discretion.
- Desire for greater personalization of government services.
- Burgeoning attempts by the police to adequately reach the community through crime prevention, team policing, and police–community relations.

Most of these elements contain a common theme: the isolation of the police from the public. In sum, the police got caught up in the "means over ends" syndrome, wherein they measured their success by the numbers of arrests, quickness of responses, and so on. They often neglected the outcome of their work—the ends. For many decades, this isolation often resulted in an "us versus them" mentality on the part of both the police and the citizenry. The notion of community policing therefore "rose like a phoenix from the ashes of burned cities, embattled campuses, and crime-riddled neighborhoods."[70]

Well Entrenched: Three Generations of Community Policing and Problem Solving

Problem-oriented policing is the established paradigm of contemporary policing, both at home and abroad; it enjoys a large degree of public acceptance[71] and receives widespread attention by academicians who have published a growing number of journal articles and doctoral dissertations on the topic.[72] Furthermore, it has now moved through three generations or eras, according to Willard Oliver: innovation, diffusion, and institutionalization[73]:

1. The first generation of community policing and problem solving, *innovation*, spans from 1979 through 1986, beginning with the seminal work of Herman Goldstein concerning needed improvement of policing,[74] coupled with the "broken windows" theory by James Wilson and George Kelling.[75] Early concepts of community policing during this generation were often called "experiments," "test sites," and "demonstration projects," and were often restricted to larger metropolitan cities. The style of policing that was employed was predominately narrow in focus (e.g., foot patrols, problem-solving methods, and community substations). These small-scale test sites provided a source of innovative ideas for others to consider.
2. The second generation, *diffusion*, spans from 1987 through 1994. The concepts and philosophy of community policing and problem solving spread rapidly among police agencies through a variety of communication means within the policing subculture. Adoption of the strategy was fast becoming a reality during this generation, as evidenced by the fact that in 1985 slightly more than 300 police agencies had adopted some form of community policing,[76] whereas by 1994 it had spread to more than 8,000 agencies.[77] The practice of community policing during this generation was still generally limited to large- and medium-size cities, and the style of policing during this generation was much broader than the first, being more involved with neighborhood and quality-of-life issues. The strategies normally targeted drug use and fear of crime issues while improving police–community relationships. Much more emphasis was placed on evaluating outcomes through the use of appropriate research methodologies.

3. The third generation, *institutionalization*, spans from 1995 to the present and has seen widespread implementation of community policing and problem solving across the United States:

   Note that today, according to a 2015 report by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, about 7 in 10 local police departments (including about 9 in 10 departments serving a population of 25,000 or more) have a mission statement that includes a community policing component, and overall, departments with a problem-solving partnership employed 63% of all local police officers.[78] This generation has seen problem-oriented policing become deeply entrenched within the political process and has been featuring federal grant money through the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994.

EMERGING STRATEGIES FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Although we will discuss them more in Chapter 7 as tools for problem solving, here we briefly describe four relatively recently conceived, third-generation police strategies for assisting the problem-oriented policing effort. Certainly there is some overlap in the definitions of the three approaches, but they are today major concepts in the day-to-day practice of policing and are extremely useful for crime analysis in the SARA problem-solving process (discussed in Chapter 5).

CompStat (for "comparative or computer statistics") is a relatively new crime management tool used in the problem-solving process and is designed for the collection and feedback of information on crime and related quality-of-life issues. CompStat requires police managers to generate weekly or monthly crime activity reports, to provide up-to-date information that is then compared at citywide, patrol, and precinct levels.

Smart policing is an emerging paradigm in American policing. It emphasizes the use of data and analytics as well as improved crime analysis, performance measurement, and evaluation research. Smart policing does not prescribe any particular policing model or approach, but stresses the importance of in-depth problem analysis and definition to guide their later efforts; therefore, an impressive array of strategies and tactics have been developed and implemented by local SP sites. For example, while some sites focused primarily on hotspot and place-based policing strategies, others focus primarily on offender-based approaches (e.g., focused deterrence through identification of prolific offenders and strategic application of suppression and social support strategies).

Intelligence-led policing operates on the assumption that a relatively small number of people are responsible for a comparatively large percentage of crimes; it is believed that officers will have the best effect on crime by focusing on the most prevalent offenses occurring in their jurisdiction. Intelligence is simply *information*; furthermore, "information plus analysis equals intelligence," and without analysis, there is no intelligence. Intelligence is what is produced after collected data are evaluated and analyzed by a trained intelligence professional.

Finally, *predictive policing* integrates crime analysis, crime-fighting technology, intelligence-led policing, and more to inform forward thinking crime prevention strategies and tactics. As an example, the police have always known that robberies surge near check-cashing businesses and that crime spikes on hot days and plummets during the rain, but officers' minds can store and remember only so much data. So when the police monitor crime data and query a computer system for historical and real-time patterns, they can predict, more systematically, over a bigger area, and across shifts and time spans, where crimes are likely to occur.

As noted above, these three concepts are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Community policing and problem solving has obviously become the culture of many police organizations, affecting and permeating their hiring processes, recruit academies, in-service training, promotional examinations, and strategic plans. COPPS is also having an impact in the form of community-oriented government and in the criminal justice system.

Having discussed the three primary eras of policing, we show them in Table 1–1.

Next, we discuss the overall effect and contributions of the federal Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) on problem-oriented policing employment, training, literature, and other resources, as it recently celebrated its twentieth birthday.

TABLE 1–1 The Three Eras of Policing

	Political Era (1840s to 1930s)	Reform Era (1930s to 1980s)	Community Era (1980s to Present)
Authorization	Politics and law	Law and professionalism	Community support (political), law, and professionalism
Function	Broad social services	Crime control	Broad provision of services
Organizational design	Decentralized	Centralized and classical	Decentralized using task forces and matrices
Relationship to community	Intimate	Professional and remote	Intimate
Tactics and technology	Foot patrol	Preventive patrol and rapid response to calls	Foot patrol, problem solving, and public relations
Outcome	Citizen and political satisfaction	Crime control	Quality of life and citizen satisfaction

Source: Adapted from George L. Kelling and Mark H. Moore, *The Evolving Strategies of Policing* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice Perspectives on Policing, November 1988).

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FEDERAL COPS OFFICE: AN OVERVIEW

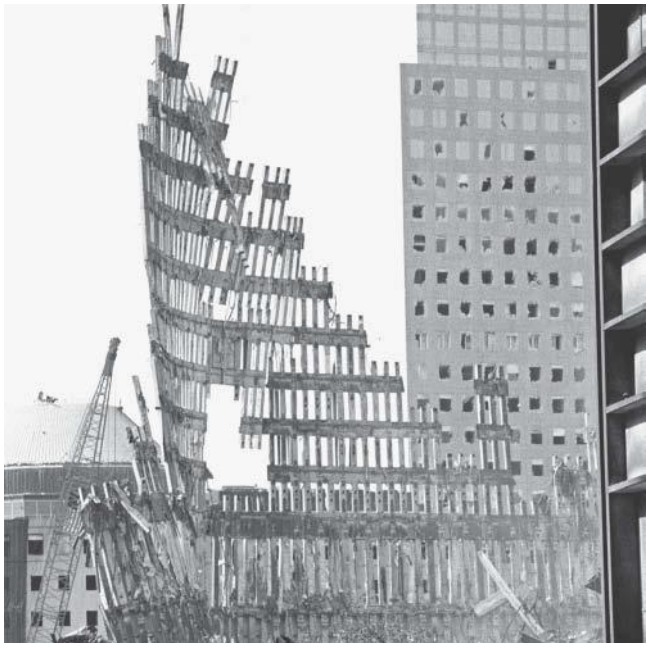
Certainly problem-oriented policing would not have progressed to the position and prominence it occupies in U.S. policing were it not for substantial assistance from the federal government—specifically, from the Department of Justice's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, or COPS. In September 2014, the COPS Office celebrated 20 years of providing grant funds to assist law enforcement agencies to better keep their communities safe through community policing. Following are some of the highlights of this two-decade effort:

- With an initial objective of putting 100,000 additional officers on the street, COPS took a multifaceted approach and awarded funds under the following primary grant programs:
  - In 1994, the Accelerated Hiring, Education, and Deployment (AHEAD) and Funding Accelerated for Smaller Towns (FAST) programs awarded more than $894 million for hiring more than 12,900 community policing officers.
  - In June 1995, the Universal Hiring Program (UHP) expanded funding efforts to include transit, campus, park, and other police forces serving special jurisdictions. UHP ultimately resulted in awards totaling more than $4 billion for more than 55,000 officer positions between 1995 and 2008. During this time, the Making Officer Redeployment Effective (MORE) program awarded nearly $1.3 billion between 1995 and 2002 to thousands of police departments and sheriffs' agencies for technologies and equipment and to hire civilians for administrative and support duties.
- In sum, during its initial 20 years, the COPS Office had:
  - invested more than $14 billion in hiring, training, and technology funding.
  - distributed more than two million publications concerning training, white papers, and resource materials.
  - funded more than 125,000 officers for more than 13,000 police agencies.
  - trained more than 700,000 officers on community policing and problem solving.[79]

PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING AND HOMELAND SECURITY

New Threats and New Measures

Unquestionably, historians of the future will maintain that terrorist acts of the early twenty-first century changed forever the nature of policing efforts in the area of **homeland security** in the United States. Words are almost inadequate to describe how the events of September 11, 2001, forever modified and heightened the fears and concerns of all Americans—and the police—with regard to domestic security and the methods necessary for securing the general public.



Dozens of acts of attacks on American soil have demonstrated this nation's vulnerability. But perhaps none was more shocking than that occurring in September 2001 when hijacked jetliners crashed into the World Trade Center complex in New York City and the Pentagon in Virginia.
Terraxplorer/Getty Images.

Police have several means to address domestic terrorism. First, and perhaps the most fruitful, is military support of law enforcement. The Posse Comitatus Act of 1878 prohibits using the military to generally execute the laws; the military may be called on, however, to provide personnel and equipment for certain special support activities, such as domestic terrorism events involving weapons of mass destruction.[80]

To further combat terrorism, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was formed in 2002.[81]

Role of Problem-Oriented Policing

What can problem-oriented policing contribute to the goal of maintaining our nation's defense? As an overarching answer to that question, 9-11 taught all Americans that we—the police and citizens—must work together to ensure our collective safety; the responsibility of responding to terrorist threats falls directly on the shoulders of state and local law enforcement and their government and community partners. Furthermore, the philosophy underlying police problem solving can be directed toward trying to prevent terrorist activities before they occur. A task force report put it thusly:

> Most of the real frontlines of homeland security are outside of Washington, D.C. Likely terrorists are encountered, and the targets they might attack are protected, by local officials—a cop hearing a complaint from a landlord, an airport official who hears about a plane some pilot trainee left on the runway, an FBI agent puzzled by an odd flight school student, or an emergency room resident trying to treat patients stricken by an unusual illness.[82]

Beat officers are also a vital part of our safety. They know their neighborhoods, provide community policing, track identity theft and fraud, and develop trusted local sources. As one policy analyst put it, "They are in the best position to 'collect' the dots that federal agencies need to 'connect' to forecast the next attack."[83]

Terrorism is obviously a local issue, and homeland security and problem-oriented policing have much in common. Homeland security requires a shift in the culture of law enforcement agencies that involves the creation of external partnerships, citizen involvement, problem solving, and transformation of the organization. Problem-oriented policing serves as a solid

framework for the development of an effective prevention strategy for homeland security by local law enforcement agencies.[84]

Certainly crime-mapping systems, data collection and analysis protocols, and other kinds of problem-solving technologies that are discussed in Chapter 7 may be used as platforms for gathering intelligence to assess terrorism vulnerability and to implement preparedness plans. As examples, agencies that use geographic information systems (GIS) to conduct crime mapping and analysis can also use GIS to conduct terrorism target mapping and analysis; agencies that use their Web site to disseminate crime prevention information can use it to disseminate homeland security information. Certainly CompStat, smart policing, intelligence-led policing, and predictive policing, discussed above, can also assist in these endeavors.

We also believe it is important for the police to establish and maintain partnerships and lines of communication with immigrant communities, although there may be cultural, language, and other barriers to overcome. These groups may be in the best position to provide information that could lead to the prevention of a terror attack because they often possess information that is unknown outside of what are often insular communities.

In sum, factors associated with the problem-solving philosophy and the implementation of homeland security strategies are highly correlated. Problem solving also involves intergovernmental and interagency collaborations with state and federal agencies that are essential for the collection and exchange of intelligence and the sharing of resources in the event of an attack.[85]

A NOTE ON COMING FULL CIRCLE, BACK TO THE COMMUNITY. . .

This chapter overview of the evolution of policing has emphasized its English origins, coming to the United States, and its three eras; included are some of the individuals, events, and national commissions that were instrumental in taking policing through those eras. It has also shown how the history of policing may be said to have come full circle to its roots, wherein it was intended to operate with the consent and assistance of the public. Policing is now attempting to throw off the shackles of tradition and become more community oriented.

This historical overview also reveals that many of today's policing issues and problems (most or all of which are discussed in subsequent chapters) actually began surfacing many centuries ago: graft and corruption, negative community relations, police use of force, public unrest and rioting, general police accountability, the struggle to establish the proper roles and functions of the police, the police subculture, and the tendency to withdraw from the public, cling to tradition, and be inbred. As we will see in later chapters, the community era is thriving in today's police world.

Exhibit 1–1 Global Perspective: Legacies of the Past, Struggles of Today in Three African States

Three African states' police forces—all former British colonies—are combatting the legacies of their past and contemporary legislative weaknesses that militate against successful community policing and problem solving. Each nation's police force was created out of a need to stifle dissent and maintain colonial rule, and thus was established with single-party governmental authoritarianism that would later impact the independence of police forces and their ability to be accepted by the public.

The Sierra Leone Police (SLP) must cope with high crime rates in urban slums. Corruption is prevalent in the SLP, fostered by poor compensation and working conditions for police officers, which in turn leads to routine bribery. The SLP have no strategic plan for crime prevention, and the small size of the force makes basic police functions lacking. Furthermore, the SLP is highly politicized, with well-connected officers able to act with impunity. Major crimes—terrorism, cybercrime, human trafficking, and the drug trade—serve to reinforce the public's view of the SLP as corrupt and ineffective. Therefore, current police–public relations do not support effective community policing.

The Tanzania Police Force (TPF) is aided by the people's militia, which also has powers of arrest. The latter lacks adequate training, and its members often violate constitutional rights of citizens and engage in corruption. The police, meanwhile, are accountable through parliamentary

oversight and national human rights and ethics commissions. The TPF has poor investigation techniques, lacking capability in forensics and evidence handling. Resources are generally inadequate, with the resulting low morale in the force giving rise to corruption, abuse of powers, and fabrication of cases against the innocent. General police training, salaries, and working conditions for police are also inadequate, and the lack of effective crime records and negative public perceptions of the police stifle problem-oriented policing.

The Zambia Police Service (ZPS) likewise has public image problems: more than half of the public is dissatisfied with their performance, while 80 percent rate the police as only "somewhat effective." Much of this perception is due to a shortage of officers and perceived corruption in the ZPS. However, the ZPS has made notable progress in training and sensitizing officers about the needs of lower-class and vulnerable populations. Minimum qualifications for recruits have been increased, and the training curriculum revised to include human rights law. Accountability mechanisms include parliamentary oversight and investigations of corruption, arbitrary arrests, and other unprofessional behavior.

Taken together, these three African states provide a primer on how *not* to implement community policing and problem solving, due to the legacy of the past. In sum, challenges for these three venues include politicization (with abuse of the police to advance personal agendas and oversight bodies being partisan), lack of resources (forces are understaffed and thus the quality of police work suffers), personnel (recruits are not well trained, and training does not address human rights), widespread lack of trust in the police, and corruption (poor pay and conditions lead officers to take bribes, while oversight is inadequate).[86]

Summary

This chapter has shown the evolution of policing in America, up through and including its contemporary community era and its emphasis on homeland defense. Problems with some of the old methods, as well as the willingness of police leaders to rethink their basic role and develop new strategies, led us to community- and problem-oriented policing. It is much more than simply "a return to the basics" but is instead a retooling of the basics, coming full circle.

The incorporation of past wisdom and the use of new tools, methods, and strategies via problem solving offer the most promise for detecting and preventing crime, addressing crime and disorder, and improving relations with the public. These partnerships are essential for addressing the "broken windows" phenomenon[87] (an influential theory asserting that once the process of physical decay begins, its effects multiply until some corrective action is taken). The lesson, Wilson and Kelling argued, was that we should redirect our thinking toward improving police handling of "little" problems. In short, the police need to be thinking like what might be termed "street-level criminologists," examining the underlying causes of crime rather than functioning like bureaucrats. This theme will be echoed at various points throughout the book.

Key Terms and Concepts

CompStat
Homeland security
Intelligence-led policing
Metropolitan Police Act
Peel's Principles
Police–community relations
Political era
Predictive policing
Problem-oriented policing
Professional era
Reform of policing
Research findings
Smart policing
Wickersham Commission

Items for Review

1. Describe the British contributions to American policing.
2. Explain when and where modern-day policing first came to America and what its primary challenges were.
3. List and briefly explain the three eras of policing, focusing on their primary differences and foci.
4. Explain what is meant by the new "common wisdom" of policing, and discuss the major research findings of the latter half of the 1900s regarding policing methods.
5. Describe the three generations of community- and problem-oriented solving.

Learn by Doing

As indicated in the Preface, the "Scenarios and Activities: 'Learning by Doing'" section here and at the end of all the other chapters of the book comports with the early 1900s teaching of famed educator John Dewey, who advocated the "learning by doing" approach to education, or problem-based learning. It also comports with the popular learning method espoused by Benjamin Bloom in 1956, known as "Bloom's Taxonomy," in which he called for "higher-order thinking skills"—critical and creative thinking that involves analysis, synthesis, and evaluation.[88] The following scenarios and activities will shift your attention from textbook-centered instruction and move the emphasis to student-centered projects. By being placed in these hypothetical situations, you can thus learn and apply some of the concepts covered in this chapter, develop skills in communication and self-management, at times become a problem solver, and learn about or address current community issues.

1. You have a friend who is a police officer and is instructing a class on problem-oriented policing at the Regional Police Academy. She knows of your academic background and asks that you assist this instruction, focusing on the differences between policing's *political*, *professional* (or reform), and *community* eras. What will be the content of this assignment?
2. Given heightened concerns about terrorism due to the increasing development of nuclear capabilities in the Middle East and elsewhere, your criminal justice honor society plans to conduct a noon forum on campus concerning the role of problem-oriented policing in homeland security. What will be your main points?
3. Your criminal justice professor has assigned a group project in which you are to describe "the benefits of smart policing in the twenty-first century." Set forth what will be your major points, focusing on its philosophy, methods, and tools.

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2

Community Partnerships:
Building Accord in a Time of Discord

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

As a result of reading this chapter, the student will understand:

- How and why the police must adopt a "New Professionalism"
- What constitutes a healthy community, and how citizens and police can collaboratively contribute to a sense of social well-being and address fear of crime
- How and why community policing evolved, and what it is and is not
- The purposes and arguments for and against use of civilian review boards for police oversight
- How courts and corrections agencies are practicing community justice

TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

1. Studies show that most citizens desire having police officers who are more "warrior" than "guardian."
2. The term social capital is used to denote a community's social networks and relationships, with people bonding and establishing bridges.
3. At minimum, a police department can be said to be actively engaged in community policing by building storefront police substations, adding foot or bicycle patrols, and having a specialized unit of neighborhood police officers.
4. Even before the widely publicized police shootings occurring in the mid-2010s, citizen review boards existed in more than 2,000 communities to evaluate such police actions.
5. Civilian review boards would bring the police and community together, but many police officers believe that citizens are simply unqualified to judge a police officer's actions.
6. Courts and corrections agencies, like the police, have begun initiating formal programs for connecting with the community.

Answers can be found on page 278.

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1, we established that policing has evolved through three eras and is currently in its community era. But what defines a "community," and how do the police go about engaging and addressing problems within a changing community having all types of crime? How can the police deal with the fear of crime? And how does the overarching problem of the economy relate to those efforts?

Clearly, working with the community is key—the *sine qua non*—in community policing. This chapter discusses why that is so, beginning with a look at new directions many police

agencies and personnel are undertaking in order to focus on being more professional. Next is a discussion of some of the elements that compose a healthy community, to include cohesion, social capital, addressing fear of crime, and volunteerism. Then we look at how the economy has affected policing, and discuss the centerpiece of this chapter: how all of these aforementioned topics relate to the community policing strategy, what it is and is not, and how it differs from traditional policing practices. In this same vein, we look at the use of beat meetings and citizens' police academies for bringing police and communities together, as well as what are felt to be pros and cons of citizen review boards that exist to oversee the police. Finally, we examine community justice, and how courts and corrections agencies are also partnering with citizens and how units of government are reaching out with community service centers and e-government activities. Exhibits 2–1 to 2–8 discuss related activities. The chapter concludes with a summary, a listing of key terms and concepts, some items for review, and several "learn by doing" scenarios and activities that provide opportunities for you to apply your knowledge of this chapter's content.

Note that several weighty police–community issues and problems are discussed in later chapters as well.

Figure 2–1 graphically depicts the kinds of collaborative partnerships between the law enforcement agency and the individuals and organizations they serve that are necessary for developing solutions to problems and increase trust in police.

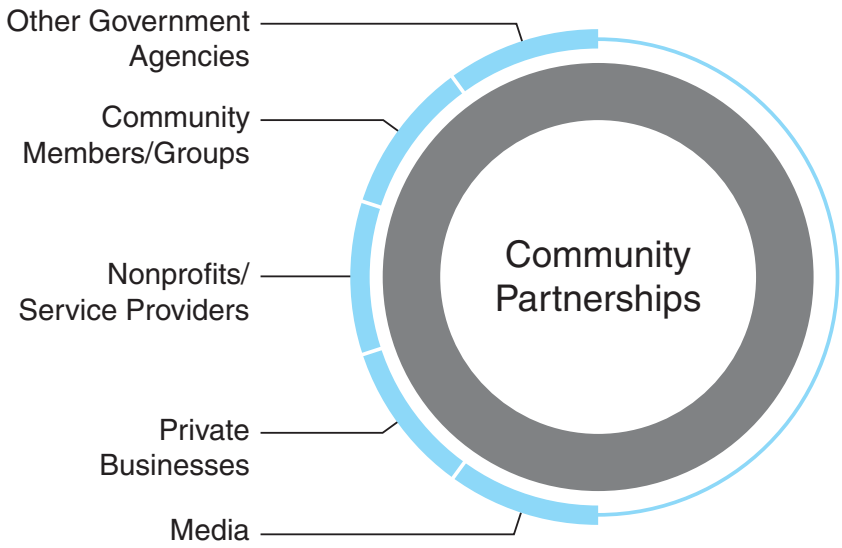

FIGURE 2–1 Collaborative partnerships between the law enforcement agency and the individuals and organizations they serve help to develop solutions to problems and increase trust in police.

FIRST THINGS FIRST: BEING A PROFESSIONAL

A "New Professionalism"

The many drawbacks of policing that existed during the professional era were discussed in Chapter 1. Suffice it to say that citizens had little influence in crime control, and police were reactive, accomplished little in the way of long-term problem solving, and were the "thin blue line." Citizens were no longer encouraged to go to "their" neighborhood police officers or districts, and officers passed by and drove patrol cars randomly through streets while their productivity was judged by the number of arrests they made or the number of miles they drove during a shift. The crime rate became the primary indicator of police effectiveness.

Today, however, police organizations across the United States are striving for what might be termed a New Professionalism,[1] one that includes stricter *accountability* in terms of

their effectiveness and conduct, while also increasing their *legitimacy* in the eyes of those they serve, and to encourage continuous *innovation* in police practices. These three goals suggest a fourth element as well: a *national coherence*. Next we discuss these four principles in greater detail.

1. A commitment to *accountability* means having an obligation to account for police actions—not only internally but also to civilian review boards (discussed later in this chapter), city councils and county commissioners, state legislatures, and courts. Also, there is a greater accountability for dealing with crime (in later chapters, we discuss such methods as CompStat, intelligence-led policing, predictive policing, and smart policing). Police agencies might also conduct public surveys in order to learn about crime and disorder and fear of crime. It is also hoped that the New Professionalism will bring reduction in the use of force as police departments become more proficient in analyzing events leading up to use-of-force incidents to determine if the officers were justified in using such tactics.
2. A commitment to *legitimacy* includes a determination to engage in police activities with the consent, cooperation, and support of the community. There must be public support for enforcing the law and a belief that such is being done judiciously and with community approval and engagement. The New Professionalism emphasizes professional integrity and public trust. Traditionally, police often measured their legitimacy in terms of the number of civilian complaints that were lodged against them. This measure is highly problematic, because relatively few people actually make a formal complaint, and those who do complain are often persistent offenders who use the complaint process in an attempt to deter police from stopping them in the future. For these and other reasons, complaints do not serve as a credible measure of public dissatisfaction.
3. A commitment to *innovation* means actively experimenting with new ideas and changing policies and procedures accordingly. Such agencies look for practices that work as they attempt to both prevent crimes and solve problems. Knowledge—its creation, dissemination, and practical application—is essential to genuine professionalism. Police must measure their outcomes, encourage independent evaluations of their policies and tactics, and design experiments that rigorously test new ideas. In sum, police departments need to become learning organizations.
4. *National coherence* means that agencies exemplifying the New Professionalism participate in national conversations about professional policing. They are training their officers, supervisors, and leaders in successful practices and theories. Such organizations as the Police Foundation, the Police Executive Research Forum, the federal Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Office, the Office on Violence Against Women, the Office of Justice Programs, the Major Cities Chiefs Association, and other professional associations have helped by nurturing national conversations among practitioners and researchers.[2]

Citizen surveys provide police departments with vital information about their performance and citizens' concerns.
Ronald W. Glensor.

"Guardians" or "Warriors"?

Note that later (in Chapter 3) we discuss policing in a diverse society, the historical and contemporary chasm between police and minorities, and the question of whether or not the police have become too militarized. Here, we merely note that much of that discussion revolves around how the police are now too often being seen as "soldiers" or "**warriors**." Certainly, the recent killings and violence by police involving African-American men such as Laquan McDonald (Chicago), Walter Scott (Charleston, South Carolina), Tamir Rice (Cleveland, Ohio), Eric Garner (New York City), Michael Brown (Ferguson, Missouri), and others have caused many people to ask whether or not there exists within the police culture a "warrior mindset."[3] The "Black Lives Matter" movement was created to campaign against violence toward black people, organize protests in the aftermath of the deaths of black people in killings by law enforcement officers, and address the broader issues of racial profiling, police brutality, and racial inequality.[4] Exhibit 2–1 discusses how policing has changed in the recent climate—with many officers now uncertain about how to do their jobs; the effects and proposed reforms post-Ferguson are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

We will discuss the need for a new type of police professionalism, legitimacy, and the **guardian** mindset more in Chapter 8, which concerns how to change agency culture.

Exhibit 2–1 A "Transformational Time" in Policing

Many police officers are now increasingly worried that their next activity on the street might quickly become the next YouTube sensation, depicting yet another highly charged encounter between them and citizens. Many of them observe that, where they once were given respectful nods by the public, now they often receive hostile stares instead and have become strangers in their own neighborhoods. Some city police departments have found themselves "under siege" due to civil unrest, and mayors and police chiefs have lost their jobs. Some police chiefs feel they have also been abandoned by the federal government, which launched more than 20 investigations of police operations from 2009 to 2015. Providence, Rhode Island, Police Chief Hugh Clements maintains that there is a "delicate balance" in this "transformational time" in policing. Chiefs and sheriffs fear that all officers are being judged for the actions of a few, and that the end of police–public discord may not end any time soon.[5]

SIGNS OF A HEALTHY COMMUNITY

Community Cohesion

While there is no agreed-upon definition of **community cohesion**, there is general consensus that it includes the following elements: (1) people in the community share common values, respect each other, and have a common identity; and (2) people in the community share goals and responsibilities and are willing to work with others. Empowerment is the result of community cohesion; it refers to the ability of neighborhood residents to work together to decide what is best for the community, and to transform these decisions into action and desired outcomes.[6] Community cohesion and empowerment are processes rather than outcomes; that is, they entail an ongoing effort by people in the community to work together to achieve shared goals. Fostering a strong **sense of community** is one of the principles of community policing, and it follows that key roles for the police include identifying and addressing issues of neighborhood crime and disorder in order to prevent victimization and fear of crime. This entry discusses how the police and other governmental leaders can empower citizens so that they may have a stake in and provide formal assistance with crime and disorder reduction.[7]

Social Capital

Two of the most fundamental and indispensable qualities of a thriving community are public safety and social order. Police cannot hope to be successful in addressing neighborhood crime

and disorder without partnering with the community's members; this is the nexus of "community" and "policing," and it requires high levels of trust and engagement.

Having members of a community who are bonded together, looking out for one another, and willing to engage in collective action when threatened is key to the peaceful coexistence if not the very survival of an orderly society. This is known as **social capital**, and it relates to community policing.

Social capital concerns social networks and relationships, bonding people and establishing bridges between them. It includes fostering goodwill toward each other (social cohesion) and is fundamentally about how people interact with each other. Social capital can concern people who are in close proximity to one another—neighbors—who share rootedness, and involves their social, psychological, and even economic dependence on one another. It also can refer to the institutions, relationships, and norms that help to shape social interactions.

Social capital exists in two contexts or domains: local and public. The local level of social capital is the most basic and concerns individual citizens who have trust and reciprocity with one another. It involves people's informal assumption of responsibility to take care of one another as well as to enforce informal rules of conduct.[8]

Addressing the Fear of Crime

Obviously, a police–community alliance cannot achieve success if citizens are scared away from their streets, parks, and neighborhoods. Gallup surveys have typically indicated over the years that, while there is less crime in America, there is more fear of crime. And while most of the kind of crime that worries people—mugging, vandalism, and robbery—occurs in residential areas, many commercial districts are hurt because some believe that downtowns and neighborhood shopping districts are risky places to walk. Whether it is an older person who feels nervous about walking home, parents who feel anxious about sending their child to the store, or a storeowner who becomes uneasy every time a customer enters their shop, fear of crime can have a devastating effect on our quality of life.[9]

Violent crime rates across the nation sank by more than half in the 1990s. While this is truly a remarkable social phenomenon, Pew Research Center also found that, for the first time in its polling experience, more Americans (52 percent) said that protecting gun rights is more important than controlling gun ownership (46 percent). This is the opposite of most findings of the past 20 years, and reflects that protection is now the top reason gun owners offer for choosing to own a firearm (in the past, it was hunting).[10] It seems, therefore, that we have become a country that remains fearful of crime, is increasingly supportive of "gun rights," and is increasingly persuaded that having a gun in the house provides more safety.[11]

What can the police do about this situation? First, research suggests that when the police partner more generally with the public, levels of citizen fear will decline, and that problem-oriented policing is an effective approach for reducing crime, disorder, and fear. What this

Although juvenile arrests have generally declined since the mid-1990s, concern about youth crime and violence continues.
Monkey Business Images/Shutterstock.

Exhibit 2–2 Violent Crimes and House Visits in Reno, Nevada

In late 2015, after three shootings occurred in a single neighborhood in one month's time, Reno, Nevada, police officers and government leaders immediately undertook outreach measures to address concerns of the affected area. Knocking on nearly 50 homeowners' doors in a single day as part of a formal Neighborhood Contact Team initiative (which is routinely activated when there is a major incident or a crime hot spot), the team gave residents information about community resources that combat poverty and crime, reassured residents that they can feel safe in their homes, and, as one officer put it, helped to "humanize the badge." Several officers high-fived children, hugged residents, and handed out fliers and business cards, while informing residents that they would be returning with food in the near future for needy families. The residents were asked to offer any ideas about ways to combat crime and poverty in the area, informed of an app that could be used for reporting crimes via a Secret Witness program, and given referrals to agencies that would help with mental illness and drug abuse problems. A survey instrument was also disseminated for police to learn how they could better serve the area. One important need that was identified for the area was having more activities for kids, and ways in which parents could become more engaged in their children's lives.

Source: Adapted from Jenny Kane, "Shootings Prompt Friendly House Visits from Police," *Reno Gazette Journal* (January 1, 2016):1A, 6A.

generally means is that, as police increasingly practice community-oriented policing and problem solving attending to crime "hot spots" and using techniques and technologies discussed in later chapters, crime, disorder, and the fear of crime will all be reduced.[12]

Volunteerism

Never in the history of policing—and especially since the aforementioned Great Recession in the United States and budgets were slashed—has there been more of a need to actively involve citizens in police operations. This may be done through a variety of means. For example, volunteers may be widely used. Citizen patrols and crime prevention initiatives are welcomed and encouraged. Area commanders meet often with members of the public to solicit input and feedback. Many internal committees include public participation. Policy decisions typically involve opportunities for input from citizens, and the department has both formal and informal mechanisms for this purpose. Promotional boards include citizens. The department seeks to educate the general public about police work in various ways, including publications, Web sites, public access television, and town hall meetings. The department accepts and even encourages citizen review of its performance.

The International Association of Chiefs of Police maintains a comprehensive Web site that is devoted to describing all types of citizen **volunteerism** programs, at http://www.theiacp.org/VIPSResources. Exhibit 2–3 shows three such examples.

Volunteers provide valuable assistance to police and are used for a variety of tasks, such as traffic control and enforcement, looking for missing persons, code enforcement, and victim services.
Don B. Stevenson/Alamy Stock Photo.

Exhibit 2–3 Volunteering in Police Services (VIPS): Some Examples

Following are three examples of how the police can utilize volunteers:

- The Bellevue, Washington, Police Department uses a volunteer program coordinator to outline the volunteers' responsibilities, describe any special skills or abilities the volunteers should have, and set the hours the volunteer will work. The volunteer program coordinator then finds the best available volunteer for the assignment. Volunteers in the program have served as archive managers, case assistants, bicycle registration and recovery specialists, fire lane parking enforcers, community project administrators, quartermasters, and chaplains, to name just a few.
- Volunteers assigned to the patrol division in Vacaville, California, issue citations for all nonmoving violations, direct traffic, service police vehicles, relieve school crossing guards, assist with searches for missing persons, report unlicensed businesses, and help enforce municipal codes involving neighborhood blight and reporting violations of all kinds. Volunteers also assist in the records section (releasing crash records, running citations for traffic court, providing customer service at the front counter), the property and evidence section (purging unneeded evidence, updating computer records), the K-9 unit (putting on the protective wear and standing in for the bad guy during training exercises), and the investigations division (coordinating the crime prevention program).
- The Hazelwood, Missouri, Police Department's Volunteer Services Unit first requires volunteers to have completed the **citizens' police academy;** they are then eligible to participate in the Citizen Observer Patrol, in which volunteers patrol designated areas of the city, in a marked car or on foot, watching for and reporting suspect activity, looking for disabled automobiles, injured persons, fires, and broken windows and open doors at homes and businesses, watching for teenagers who appear to be involved in mischief, and so on. Volunteers receive quarterly in-service training on such topics as traffic direction, radio procedures, first aid, and CPR.

Source: Adapted from Volunteers in Police Service, "VIPS Focus," pp. 1–3, http://www.policevolunteers.org/pdf/2007%20Award.pdf.

EFFECTS OF THE ECONOMY ON POLICING

Policing has long been an occupation that is considered one of job security, even in times of economic recession. However, such has not been the case since the Great Recession of 2007–2009.

A 2012 study conducted by the Police Executive Forum revealed that 51 percent of police departments had their budgets cut since the recession began.[13] To address budget cuts, many police departments had to lay off officers, make other personnel cuts, or leave various jobs unfilled. Others explored the idea of combining or regionalizing police service. Given that medical costs are the largest service costs for most local government jails, it is unsurprising that cities sought to save money on these expenses. Some counties began treating patients inside of the jails instead of transferring them to external facilities, switching from name-brand medications to generic ones, and privatized the medical services that they provide in their jails in attempting to save money.[14] Some counties that operate jails sought to reduce the use of traditional incarceration by expanding the use of house arrest for pretrial detainees, those who are arrested for committing low-level, nonviolent offenses, serving their sentences at home and monitored by an electronic ankle bracelet.

Finally, many local governments expanded their uses of technologies, particularly in policing, to increase efficiency. Such technologies as traffic cameras, public surveillance systems, GPS systems, and license plate scanners serve to expand the reach of policing. These technologies also assist with (and are required for) identifying specific "hot spot" areas to predict specific times and places where crime is most likely to occur.[15]

There are two schools of thought concerning the long-term effect, if any, that the recent economic recession will have on **community policing** and problem solving (discussed below).

The homeless, inebriates, and panhandlers—many of whom have been sorely affected by the economy—can add to peoples' fear of crime as much as actual crimes do.
Dmytro Zinkevych/Shutterstock.

Some authors believe that the recent economic downturn spells long-term trouble for problem-solving efforts, because they rely so heavily on taking care of the low-level crimes—the underlying notion being that if minor offenses pervade a community, there will come to pass a proliferation of additional and violent crimes, or the so-called "broken windows" theory. They wonder whether the resources that are required to address and process these minor offenses—including the needs and costs of police (some of it overtime pay), prosecutors, jails, social services, and other related entities—can continue in times of economic turmoil and when public safety budgets have been hit hard. Contributing to this argument is the fact that, in order to address budget cuts, many police departments have laid off officers, made other personnel cuts, or left various jobs unfilled.[16]

The importance of community policing in the face of both tough economic conditions and the dynamic global threat environment cannot be overemphasized. While some agencies have perceived a need to shut down community policing programs or eliminate community policing officers, that is not the right approach to take. Community policing has taught us that the building of relationships and the solving of problems are more important, not less, in challenging times such as these.

There are practical reasons for expanding community policing in these challenging economic times. The most important of these is that police must rely on residents and business purveyors to share information about crime and disorder in order to engage in effective problem solving to maintain public order and curtail crime. While some would argue that we can no longer afford the "luxury" of community policing, it is clear that the vast majority of law enforcement executives embrace the realization that we cannot afford to dispense with the ideals and practices of community policing.

WHERE ALL THESE ROADS HAVE LED: COMMUNITY POLICING

An Oft-Misunderstood Concept: What It *Is*

> Community policing, recognizing that police rarely can solve public safety problems alone, encourages interactive partnerships with relevant stakeholders. These partnerships can accomplish the two interrelated goals of developing solutions to problems through collaborative problem solving and improving public trust. The public should play a role in prioritizing and addressing public safety problems.
>
> —U.S. Department of Justice,
> Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

As stated by Tom Casady, the Lincoln, Nebraska, Director of Public Safety, community policing is perhaps the most misunderstood and frequently abused theme in police management. While it has become fashionable for police agencies to initiate community policing, there is often confusion about what it actually means.[17] Therefore, it is essential that readers of this book first understand what this term means and what it does not.

First and foremost, community policing is not a temporary program or project. Rather, community policing is a philosophy and practice that permeates the entire police agency, with employees working cooperatively with individuals, groups, and both public and private organizations to identify and resolve issues of crime and disorder. As the federal Office of Community Oriented Services indicated, above, community-based police agencies recognize the fact that the police cannot effectively deal with such issues alone, and must partner with others who share a mutual responsibility for resolving problems. Community policing stresses crime prevention as well as early identification and timely intervention of crime issues before they become unwieldy problems.

Community policing—as opposed to traditional policing, which relied heavily on the use of arrests for addressing crime—has as its foundation a belief that policing is much more than law enforcement and making arrests. Indeed, many studies have shown that actually dealing with crime consumes only 10–20 percent of the police workload; in sum, "chasing bad guys" only has short-term benefit and is only one small part of the job. Community policing officers must understand that resolving a problem with unruly people drinking at a public park, working to reduce truancy at a middle school, marshaling resources to improve lighting in a mobile home park, and removing abandoned vehicles from streets may also represent valid and valuable police work and affect the livability of a neighborhood. Following are some areas in which community policing stands apart from traditional policing in its approach to the job:[18]

- ***Geographic responsibility.*** Officers identify with their area of assignment, rather than the work shift or functional division. Commanders are assigned to geographical areas and given wide latitude to deploy their personnel and resources within that area. Officers commonly know many of the people who live and work in this area, and are intimately familiar with the area's geography, businesses, schools, and churches. Officers seek out detailed information about police incidents that have occurred in their area of assignment during their off-duty time.
- ***Long-term assignment.*** Officers can expect to work in the same geographical area for many years. Officers' preferences for areas are considered in making assignments. Rotation of geographical assignments is rare. The organization values the expertise and familiarity that comes with long-term assignment to the same area.
- ***Decentralized decision making.*** Most operational decisions are decentralized so that field officers are given broad discretion to manage their own uncommitted time. Operational policies serve as general guidelines for professional practice more than detailed rules and regulations. First-line supervisors are heavily involved in decisions that are ordinarily reserved for command ranks in traditional police departments.
- ***Participative management.*** The department employs numerous methods to involve employees at all levels in decision making. Staff meetings, committees, task forces, quality circles, and similar groups are impaneled so as to obtain input from frontline employees as a part of any policy decision. Supervisors view their role primarily in providing support to field personnel by teaching, coaching, obtaining resources, solving problems, and "running interference."
- ***Generalist officers.*** Officers are expected to handle a huge variety of police incidents, and to follow through such incidents from beginning to end. Even when specialists are used, their role is to work cooperatively with field officers, rather than assume responsibility for cases or incidents from field officers.
- ***Police leadership on community issues.*** Police officers and managers are deeply involved in community affairs, often speaking out on issues of community concern. Elected officials consult with police managers and supervisors, and police representation is seen on committees and community organizations.
- ***Proactive policing.*** The police agency makes blocks of time available for police officers to address identified problems. A range of tactics other than responding to individual incidents are used, such as targeted saturation patrol, bicycle and foot patrol, undercover/plain clothes/decoy/surveillance operations, educational presentations, coordination of efforts with other government or human service agencies, support to volunteer efforts, initiation of legislative proposals, and so forth. Rather than merely responding to calls for service, the department engages in problem-oriented policing (discussed in Chapters 5–7),

identifying emergent problems, gathering data, bringing together stakeholders, and implementing specific strategies targeting the problem.

- ***Recognition and professional development.*** For the above efforts, officers receive frequent recognition for initiative, innovation, and planning. The department acknowledges and rewards problem-oriented policing projects, and officers receive the respect and admiration of their colleagues as well.

Also per Casady, other means of determining whether or not community policing is being properly embraced by a local agency would include:

1. Observing the daily work of officers (if they are devoting a significant amount of available time getting out of their patrol cars and going into businesses, schools, PTA meetings, recreation centers; being involved in community affairs/cultural events, school events, meetings of service clubs, and so on).
2. Community members knowing a few officers by name, and officers knowing a large number of citizens on their beats and having an intimate knowledge of their area.
3. Officers being relaxed and not robotic when engaged in community discussions, and being involved in tackling significant community issues.
4. The police agency deploying a process for addressing citizen grievances, relating well with the news media, and cultivating positive relationships with elected officials.[19]

What It Is *Not*

Despite the claims of some people, community policing is not soft on crime. Rather, it can significantly improve the ability of the police to discover criminal conduct, clear offenses, and make arrests. Improved communication with citizens and more intimate knowledge of the beat enhances the officers' crime-fighting capability. Moreover, though some of these may be used as specific strategies, community policing is *not* accomplished by merely:

- adding school resource officers, storefront police substations, foot or bicycle patrols;
- writing a grant;
- creating a pilot program in a single area of town;
- adding a specialized unit of neighborhood police officers; and
- launching a citizens' police academy.[20]

When an agency claims to have implemented community policing as of a certain date, that is also a good indication that it has not fully and adequately embraced the practice. Furthermore, the public should not attempt to determine whether or not its local police are engaged in community policing solely on the basis of the agency's press release, organizational chart, or an annual report. Rather, community policing is a process that evolves, develops, takes root, and grows, until it is an integral part of the philosophy and practice of both the agency and the community. It is a change from a style of policing that emphasizes a shift in crime control and "crook catching" to a style of policing that emphasizes citizen interaction and participation in problem solving.[21]

Community policing goes beyond simply doing the above things, redefining the role of the officer on the street, creating a cultural transformation of the entire department (discussed in Chapter 8), decentralizing the organizational structure, and fomenting changes in recruiting, training, awards systems, evaluations, promotions, and so forth (see Table 2–1 and Figure 2–2).

A Definition

It is difficult to find a concise definition of community policing; typically, what one finds as a "definition" is a lengthy listing of its elements and strategies. However, the federal Office of Community Oriented Policing Services offers the following:

> Community policing is a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies, which support the systematic use of partnerships and problem solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues, such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime.[22]