NINTH EDITION

PROACTIVE POLICE MANAGEMENT

Edward A. Thibault
Lawrence M. Lynch
R. Bruce McBride
Gregory Walsh

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PREFACE

The theme of this book is that police managers must be proactive. While the term has many business connotations, for our purposes the word *proactive* means foreseeing events, situations, and potential threats before they become major issues through the use of long and short-term planning. Proactive police managers go out of their way to have open consultations and communication on crime and community issues with major stakeholders, which include members of the department who serve the community, the community that the department serves, and other agencies that interact with the department on a daily basis. There is reliance on both human beings and technology to achieve agency objectives. In all, the main management objectives are to reduce crime and to improve the quality of life in the community that the department services.

This proactive concept is not new. In the preface of the 1829 duty manual of the recently organized London Metropolitan Police, Commissioners Rowan and Mayne wrote,

> It should be understood, at the outset, that the object to be obtained is the prevention of crime. To this great end every effort of the police is to be directed. The security of person and property, the preservation of public tranquility, and all other objects of a police establishment will thus be better effected than by the detection and punishment of the offender after he has succeeded in committing the crime.
>
> Every member of the police force, as the guide for personal and professional conduct should constantly keep this in mind. Officers and police constables should endeavor by such vigilance and activity as may render it impossible for anyone to commit a crime within that portion of the town under their charge.

Thus, proactive policing is a grand and noble tradition of the first modern police force and policing throughout the ages.

Based on the authors' experience in education, policing, and management, three important considerations must be made before discussing proactive management for American policing. First, we believe that sound management is management based on a combination of theory and practice. Practice without analysis causes us to repeat the mistakes of history, so our theoretical analysis must be directed toward the practical for implementation into the day-to-day rigors of operating a police department.

Second, we reject complete adherence to the authoritarian as well as to the purely participatory styles of management. In the authoritarian model, which dominates many police organizations, important elements of planning and communications are eliminated or lost. In the full participatory model, response to emergency and life-threatening situations is hampered because too many people are involved, and decisions take too long. In crisis management, for example, one person has to be in charge of the crisis management team, with subordinates responding to this top administrator.

Third, we rely to a great extent on the consultative style of management. As will be shown, the consultative style leaves room for change and "doors open" throughout all elements of the police organization. It can be an efficient and dynamic style of management, provided that the necessary elements of a well-run law enforcement agency are met. Consultation also includes discussions with the community on law enforcement and safety problems. It is one of the key

ingredients for community-oriented and problem-oriented policing, which are being publicly advanced by police and community leaders. Proactive planning to deal with an infrastructure attack or activity by a "spree" sniper has to be done in consultation with private and public agencies and the community.

This edition of *Proactive Police Management* provides a review, analysis, and synthesis of the various approaches to police management, including traditional scientific management, the behavioral/systems approach, and the human relations approach. There is enough detail concerning basic organization and management skills that police managers and students of police management will find the text useful. At the same time, major conceptual contributions from the behavioral sciences and human relations are explored in the context of police management. Most important is the constant theme of being proactive: planning ahead, anticipating the future, and attempting to establish some control by police managers over those future events.

Community policing—which over the past decade appeared to becoming phased out due to federal funding considerations—still exists as an important concept for national policing policy. Overall, community policing echoes the relationship between police and the community before automobiles and wireless radios. In fact, the rise of social media is contributing to greater police and citizen interactions.

Much attention is also paid to evolving theories, such as the notion of giving and total quality management and reengineering, along with new applications of computer technology, such as the spatial and time analysis of crime events. This combination of new proactive management concepts and the application of new technology continues to revolutionize policing as well as other private and public services in the United States.

In the first edition, we wrote that most police departments operate on traditional organization principles as stated in O.W. Wilson's classic police administration text from the 1950s. Since the 1990s, college-educated and professionally trained managers have become concerned with twenty-first-century proactive communication advances and organizational theories that can be readily applied to their departments.

Policing today remains in the limelight in terms of ethics, the use of authority and force, the crime problem as related to increased drug use and trafficking, and repeated calls by state and national leaders for dealing with crime and terrorism problems. Correspondingly, many police managers complain that they must do more with less under the burden of reduced budgets from the current economic turndown that began in 2008. From the viewpoint of the general public, there is widespread support for police to contain crime. The events of September 11, 2001, still have had a profound background that we present the proactive style of management.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

- Chapter 1 on history perspective gives a broad overview of issues, trends, and personalities that have shaped American policing. We added President Theodore Roosevelt, who served as New York City Police Commissioner, brought many new initiatives to law enforcement, including a civil service system.
- Chapter 2 on, "Police Culture," updates the subcultural norms of secrecy, solidarity, and social isolation. A review of female executives in law enforcement has been moved to this chapter, where contemporary issues and the continued advancement of females in law enforcement are discussed.
- Chapter 3 builds on past reviews on police leadership, adding a new examination by James Grant, who found that leadership includes the notion of being a giving leader.

- Chapter 4 highlights how police success is often measured through statistics and productivity. A repeating issue in the many measurement areas is how police leaders have continued to address the vast responsibilities of a 21st Century police agency under the new post-2008 municipal budget realities.
- Chapter 5 highlights the current reality of doing more with less, and making tough priority decisions for the agency.
- Chapter 6 discusses how the ever-changing electronic media impacts policing such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Tumbler, or Vine.
- Chapter 7 presents police technology beyond communications in such areas as report writing, data bases, internal administrative documentation, dispatching and vehicle monitoring.
- Chapter 8 contains an update on staff deployment and new initiatives in patrol such as predictive policing.
- Chapter 9's presents a look at the practicalities of illegal gambling investigations, such as during large national sporting events, and a fresh look at the once popular DARE Program, and a new look at police-prosecutor relations. A new section on law enforcement's anti-terrorism efforts has been added to the chapter, as well.
- Chapter 10 now includes a discussion on police lawsuits and how damaging one successful suit can be to a police agency and municipality.
- Chapter 11 provides a fresh review of document storage and take-home vehicles.
- Chapter 12 recommends increased educational requirements for new hires in law enforcement, with the goal of having a nationwide college-educated police force. The stress of being a police officer is discussed, including the alarming suicide rate in law enforcement.
- Chapter 13 presents a review of a police study on international anti-terrorism training, and updates to virtual simulation capabilities.
- Chapter 14 recommends that police leaders conform emergency planning according to National Incident Management System (NIMS) guidelines. Contemporary events, such as the April, 2013 Boston Marathon Bombing is brought into this edition.
- Chapter 15 includes recent events in Wisconsin, when the state legislature and governor successfully rolled back many powers given to public union.
- Chapter 16 again focuses on the future of policing and current trends brought about by technology and government fiscal crisis and the continued increase in global crimes.

PROACTIVE POLICE MANAGEMENT (NINTH EDITION) HIGHLIGHTS

Proactive Police Management is widely used both as a textbook for college and university classes in police management and as a reference text for police managers in dealing with operational issues in their departments. It is also used for training police supervisors and administrators and is required reading for civil service promotional examinations. As a result, we receive a number of ideas from readers and keep abreast of new developments through our work with professional associations and interactions with police managers. National data and technological trends have been added throughout the book. While the original purpose of this textbook—providing a historical perspective of police management, and the issues that have, are, and will face policing—is still intact, it also relates that history to contemporary issues occurring right up to this textbook's going to press.

First we would like to introduce Gregory Walsh, the fourth author. Dr Walsh teaches and writes in the areas of police management, homeland security, and emergency management and joined the faculty after a 25-year career with the New York State Police. Before retiring as captain with the Bureau of Criminal Investigation, he was also responsible for counter-terrorism planning as it related to critical infrastructure.

Ironically, during the past year Bruce McBride retired from the faculty and decided to return to the law enforcement field as Commissioner of Police for the State University of New York. He now coordinates law enforcement operations for the University's 28 campuses.

Edward Thibault and Larry Lynch are enjoying their lives as "academic retirees" and remain active in a wide number of criminal justice associations. Ed was the director of the public justice program at Oswego, and Larry was director of the criminal justice program at Onondaga Community College and Chief of Police for Town of Dewitt. Thus, it comes as no surprise that this book is written through the eyes of working administrators.

In this edition, Chapter 1 on historical perspective gives a broad overview of issues, trends, and personalities that have shaped American policing. In terms of contributions to police leadership, we added President Theodore Roosevelt, who served as New York City Police Commissioner and brought many new initiatives to law enforcement, including a civil service system. A review of female executives in law enforcement has been moved to Chapter 2, where contemporary issues and the continued advancement of females in law enforcement are discussed.

Chapter 2, "Police Culture," updates the subcultural norms of secrecy, solidarity, and social isolation. It also discusses the impact on policing by black, Hispanic, and female officers. The importance of informal group structure to inter-agency and intra-agency effectiveness is reviewed.

Chapter 3 builds on past reviews on police leadership, adding a new examination by James Grant, who found that leadership includes the notion of being a giving leader.

Chapter 4 highlights how police success is often measured through statistics and productivity. A repeating issue in the many measurement areas is how police leaders have continued to address the vast responsibilities of a twenty-first century police agency under the new post-2008 municipal budget realities.

As with Chapter 4, police executives doing more with less and making tough priority decisions for the agency are the focus of Chapter 5, which reviews the basic operating principles for police organizations. Is committing limited personnel resources to traffic safety more important to the respective community than a vice unit? Ongoing evaluations of special unit activities will help a police chief balance resources with community needs.

New to Chapter 6 is how the ever-changing electronic media impacts policing. Just as parents can fall behind in their desire to monitor their children's online communications through Facebook, managers need to be aware of the ever-newer instant communications trends, such as Twitter, Instagram, Tumbler, or Vine, as well as making wise decisions on implementing some or all new media as potential investigative or community service resources.

Police technology beyond communications is presented in Chapter 7. Report writing, databases, internal administrative documentation, dispatching, and vehicle monitoring—they can all be enhanced by proactive, forward-thinking police leaders.

Patrol operations are discussed in Chapter 8. Should a police squad leader, who has eight officers available for patrol on today's evening shift, put out eight squad cars with one officer in each, four two-officers units, or maybe four one-officer units, one two-officer unit, and two

officers on foot patrol? On what would the squad leader base that decision? Decisions such as these and many more policing initiatives are discussed.

New to Chapter 9's review of the basic line functions of policing is a look at the practicalities of illegal gambling investigations, such as during large national sporting events; a fresh look at the once popular DARE program; and a new look at police–prosecutor relations. A new section on law enforcement's anti-terrorism efforts has been added to the chapter, as well.

A new discussion of police lawsuits and how damaging one successful suit can be to a police agency and municipality can be found in Chapter 10, which covers administrative and staff issues. Auxiliary functions are the topic of Chapter 11, which provides a fresh review of document storage and take-home vehicles.

Chapter 12 discusses human resources management. One of the recommendations the authors make in this new edition is to increase educational requirements for new hires in law enforcement, with the goal of having a nationwide college-educated police force. The stress of being a police officer is discussed, including the alarming suicide rate in law enforcement.

Training is presented in Chapter 13. New to this edition is a review of a police study on international anti-terrorism training, and updates to virtual simulation capabilities.

Proactive planning, discussed in Chapter 14, adds to the last edition's revamp of the chapter with the recommendation for police leaders to conform their agencies to National Incident Management System (NIMS) compliance. Contemporary events, such as the April 2013 Boston Marathon bombing, are brought into this edition.

Collective bargaining and police management are the topics of Chapter 15. The chapter reviews current trends in this area such as the events in Wisconsin, when the state legislature and governor successfully rolled back many powers given to public union. Chapter 16 again focuses on the future of policing and current trends brought about by technology and government fiscal crisis. Crime and police activity are becoming more globally based on the worldwide economy, terrorism, and criminal activity.

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In closing, we would like to acknowledge the hundreds of students we have taught over the past two decades. Today, many former students are police and public administrators, and their comments and questions on the topics in this book have been invaluable. We also thank the many faculty members who adopted this book and gave us critical comments.

We would like to thank the many police administrators who have used this book for administrative and educational purposes, and provided information on new training and operational developments in police services.

We also thank the training and management staff at the New York State Office of Public Safety; the police chiefs in the State University of New York System; and our friends and colleagues all over the world with the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the International Association of Campus Law Enforcement Administrators.

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In addition to thanking his new co-authors for having him join them for this new edition of *Proactive Police Management*, Greg Walsh would like to thank the many Criminal Justice students at Utica College whom he had the pleasure of having pass through his classroom, as they have taught him as many lessons as he has shared with them.

We would also like to thank the staff at Pearson for their continuing support and for publishing the ninth edition of *Proactive Police Management*.

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CHAPTER

1 Historical Perspective

KEY TERMS

bureaucracy
common culture
empowerment
human relations
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA)
local control
Metropolitan Police Act
modus operandi
Pendleton Act
proactive
scientific management

The origins of the modern police force can be traced to the creation of the Metropolitan Police in London, England, in the year 1829. The social and economic conditions created by the Industrial Revolution caused a great surge in the number of people migrating to the cities of England, and this largely uneducated and poorly trained population brought with it the chaos of poverty, unemployment, and crime. This, in turn, led to a proliferation of private and special police forces designed to serve the needs of the diverse interest groups prevalent at the time. The merchant police were hired to protect the individual store owners and shopkeepers, a parochial police force protected churchgoers and church property, and special police were hired to protect the harbor front and shipping interests on the Thames, just to mention a few.

The organization of these special groups was at best haphazard and self-serving. The people of the big cities had no organized group to serve the general interests of the total population. The home secretary at the time, Sir Robert Peel, lobbied intensively in Parliament for a professional organized police force under government control. His Act for Improving the Police In and Near the Metropolis of London, commonly known as the **Metropolitan Police Act**, was approved in 1829. Its main purpose, as outlined in the first duty manual, was to prevent crime and to protect property.

Lieutenant Colonel Charles Rowan and Richard Maynes, Esq., the authors of the first instruction manual, adapted their text from the 1803 military manual of the Irish constabulary police, entitled *Military Training and Moral Training*. The force was organized into ranks of

superintendent, inspectors, sergeants, and police constables (Reith, 1975: 135–36). Some 11,000 recruits were screened to arrive at the final 1,000 officers who made up the semimilitary structure of the forerunner of our modern police organizations.

Before we examine the historical development of police management theory, we should trace the main stages of development of the present managerial systems of law enforcement in the United States. The history can be roughly divided into six periods. As shown in Table 1-1, these periods are actually cumulative; that is, many characteristics from one era persist into subsequent periods.

TABLE 1-1 Periods of History in Police Management

Years	Period	Major Leaders and Authors	Major Contributions to Police Management
1750–1900	Industrial Revolution, traditional management model	Sir Robert Peel, Charles Rowan, Richard Maynes, John Moore, Henry Fielding, John Fielding, Theodore Roosevelt	Economic man, centralized administration, semimilitary model, ranks, strong leadership, crime prevention objective of policing
1900 to present	Scientific management	Max Weber, O.W. Wilson, Frederick Taylor, Henry Fayol, Raymond Fosdick, Elmer D. Graper, Bruce Smith, August Vollmer, V.A. Leonard, Dwight Waldo, William Parker	Modern bureaucracy, unity of command, civil service, division of labor, specialization, one-way authority, narrow span of control, omnipresent patrol officer, hierarchy
1925 to present	Human relations and participative management	Elton Mayo, Chester I. Barnard, Leonard Fuld, Frederick Herzberg, R.R. Blake, J.S. Mouton, Rensis Likert, W. Edwards Deming	Focus on personnel management, motivation techniques, morale, stress management, participatory and democratic management with team approach, communication models, TQM[a]
1945 to present	Behavioral management	Herbert Simon, Douglas Murray McGregor	PPB, organizational development, PERT, STAR[b]
1960 to present	Systems management	Patrick Murphy, James McNamara	Zero-based budgeting, interfacing of subsystems
1980 to present	Proactive police management	James Q. Wilson, George Kelling, Herman Goldstein, William Bratton, Lee Brown, Robert Trojanowicz	Emphasis on forward planning, consultative management, problem solving, high-technology information systems, data-driven departments, preventing crime, communities deciding the police agenda

[a]TQM, total quality management.

[b]PPB, programming, planning, and budgeting; PERT, program evaluation and review techniques; STAR, system training and analysis of requirements.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND TRADITIONAL MANAGEMENT, 1750–1900

One of the major management principles of the Metropolitan Police Act that appeared in the original 1829 duty manual was Principle 9 (Reith, 1975: 166), namely, *the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.* Today, this principle becomes increasingly important as police managers look toward the proactive management model and utilize more planning and research to provide a more efficient delivery of services.

The force's authorized strength of 3,295 men in 1829 was arrived at by attempting to determine, in as logical a fashion as possible, the relationship between disorder and crime in each section of London and the personnel necessary to deal with it. During its first four years of existence, this police force was not only engaged in all-night battles with rioting mobs, but was also under constant threat of being eliminated by the government. However, strong leadership coupled with an excellent command structure and a semimilitary organizational model brought order to the streets of London, along with diminished evidence of crime in general. This model, which continued to have a solid history of success in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was gradually extended to all parts of England.

Another important component of this fledgling force was the principle of **local control**. As Reith (1975: 169) points out in his history of police, "In England, each separate police force in the provinces is established under local authority which in the boroughs is the Watch Committee of the town or city council and in the counties the Standing Joint Committee of the county council, comprising justices of the peace and county councillors in equal numbers. . . . There is no central headquarters, no minister or chief of police." The British were very proud of the local control of their police forces, and this concept was exported to America. As a result, the selection of constables and the election of sheriffs in the United States have to this day been strictly controlled and zealously guarded by their respective communities. The political need for local control and the federal system of government severely curtailed the creation of countrywide or metropolitan police agencies in the United States. This reluctance to consolidate or combine forces in light of modern-day economics is a major issue for proactive police managers.

Today, Great Britain's police have traded local control for centralized administration and services, especially in the area of supervisory and command-level policies. At present, it is the policy of most constabularies to transfer a newly appointed officer to a different constabulary after an appropriate training period. The policy of not promoting police managers to take charge in their local districts eliminates a great deal of local influence and control over the police force.

In the United States, the lack of lateral entry between agencies has created a career ladder within the agency that has had the opposite effect: increased local control. The American promotional system leads to some special management problems in the areas of both training and control. The demand for local control by communities in many areas continues and the creation of special police authorities, for example, campus, transportation, and environmental, results in the overlap of jurisdictional authority and duplication of services.

With the passing of the **Pendleton Act** of 1870, many federal employees were placed under a civil service merit system governing conditions of their employment in an effort to reduce the political interference that had prevailed since the Jacksonian era. Shortly thereafter, civil service reform spread throughout the states. The new era, created by the scientific management writers and leaders after 1900, gave rise to civil service reforms in policing.

Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt, the 26th president of the United States, served as police commissioner for the City of New York from May 1895 to April 1897. Similar to other American cities at this time, New York was undergoing unprecedented growth as a result of the increased manufacturing, trade, and increased immigration from Europe. It was, however, a city of great wealth and abject poverty. City services, including police, were grossly corrupt and inefficient and under the control of a political machine known as Tammany Hall.

Historians classify Roosevelt as a good example of a class of reform-minded administrators and writers, who became known as progressives. The progressives felt that municipal services needed to be organized and responsive to public needs especially the police, who were the cornerstone for public safety. They also had a strong sense of morality and viewed unregulated alcohol sales and widespread prostitution as evil. Similar to Robert Peel, Berman (1987: 8) discusses that Roosevelt initiated a number of reforms that focused on the following:

- Adoption of military titles and traditions, such as rank titles and uniforms, to improve the image and identity of the department
- Centralized control under one command structure starting with the commissioner to address the system of fiefdoms under a politically connected precinct captain
- A system of discipline to weed out corrupt and ineffective officers and supervisors
- Hiring standards based on competitive testing and a civil service system rather than political connections
- Increased training to address job tasks and improve performance
- Reduction of nonpolice tasks, such as overseeing boarding houses

Although his tenure as commissioner was brief, he was able to accomplish many goals. Throughout his term, Roosevelt was president of the bipartisan four-member police board but it was acknowledged by the press and the public that he was the head of the department. He would go out on patrol at nights to check on officers and the workings of each precinct. At central headquarters, business practices were initiated for payroll and supplies, including the use of sealed bids for major purchase, and a system of funds for informants. Despite intense political opposition, the board under his leadership was able to remove a number of corrupt supervisors and officers, including the superintendent of police. Based on his previous experience as a Civil Service commissioner, new personnel standards were introduced, including the use of written and physical examinations.

As described by Berman (1987), by March 1897 he became very frustrated as he was unable to capture department and public support for enforcement of laws prohibiting the sale of alcohol on Sunday. His tenure as commissioner concluded in April. His organizational initiatives, however, set the blueprint for administrative and operating standards for other major police departments in the United States that continued into the twentieth century and formed the basis for the professional law enforcement model.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, 1900 TO PRESENT

In their classic textbook on public administration, Nigro and Nigro (1973: 92–96) refer to **scientific management** as the machine model, where emphasis is on efficiency, orderliness, and output. They cite Frederick Taylor as providing the four basic principles of this approach:

1. Division of labor and specialization
2. Unity of command and centralization of decision making

3. One-way authority
4. Narrow span of control

This, along with the monocratically organized bureaucracy developed by Max Weber (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of Weber's principles), became the basic conceptual structure for scientific management. As Nigro and Nigro (1973: 97) point out, the emphasis was on "rationality, predictability, impersonality, technical competence, and authoritarianism." This model fit well with the already existing semimilitary model of police organization, where the manager was definitely in charge of the organizational machinery.

In their early study of **bureaucracy**, Blau and Meyer (1971: 34) give us three stages of developing bureaucracies that are also characteristics of police organizations. First, cash salaries replace unpaid work by family members. Then a clerical component is added, and the owners are separated from management. Finally, managers are expected to have professional qualifications. This has had further implications that are distinctly nondemocratic, namely, that "bureaucratic authority . . . prevents the group itself from conferring the position of leadership upon the member of their choice" (1971: 66). If the group itself cannot pick its leaders, then a rationale has to be developed for another selection process. This is also true of the surrounding political context. One of the thrusts of scientific management is to have professional police managers replace political appointees, whereby authority is then conferred by expertise and professional standards.

Other parts of this book examine specific contributions of this approach to police management in some detail. Rather than introduce material that will be examined later in a variety of contexts, let's take two major figures steeped in this tradition and examine them as typical examples of the scientific management approach: O.W. Wilson and William H. Parker.

O.W. Wilson

Orlando Winfield Wilson served as a patrol officer under August Vollmer, chief of the Berkeley, California, Police Department, from 1921 to 1925. His career included being chief of police in Fullerton, California (1925–1928), and Wichita, Kansas (1928–1939); professor of criminology at the University of California at Berkeley (1939–1960); and then dean (1950–1960). In World War II, Colonel Wilson served as chief public safety officer in Italy, England, and Germany (1943–1947). From 1960 to 1967, he was the reform-minded chief of police in the Chicago Police Department. His book, *Police Administration*, first published in 1950, became the most influential management textbook for use by modern police managers and police management faculties in the United States.

Basically, Wilson carried on Vollmer's sound approach to police management under the main principles of encouraging the following:

1. A professional police department divorced from politics
2. Rigorous police personnel selection and training processes
3. Use of the latest technological innovations available for law enforcement (e.g., maximum use of patrol cars, radio systems, and computerized record keeping)

Interestingly, Wilson was both committed to the professionalization of policing and opposed to civil service. He felt that civil service tests and rules of seniority hampered the police chief in selecting the most qualified personnel for law enforcement and promotion to leadership positions.

Wilson organized his book around three basic administrative processes: (1) planning, (2) activating, and (3) controlling. In 1963, he wrote, "Wisely conceived plans are the keystones of administration; without them the entire venture may fail" (p. 89). He went on to explain the key part planning has in his organizational scheme. Good planning, based on the study of needs and

used as a continuing process, serves to bind an organization together, to implement the policy underlying its aims and purposes, to direct its efforts into the proper channels, and to guide in both training and performance. He saw the process of activating as one primarily of organization and leadership. Accordingly, "the essence of leadership is the ability to obtain from each member of the force the highest quality of service that he has the capacity to render" (1963: 9). Wilson stressed that this leadership was a positive force and that relying on punishments ultimately means a failure of leadership.

His third process of control related to police organizations was accountability. He opposed the creation of civilian review boards since police leadership should be accountable for all officers' actions. He was concerned with punishing officers who used excessive force. As Gazell (1974: 373) states in his excellent biographical article, Chief Wilson was "worried about what is sometimes called lawlessness in law enforcement." He considered this to be a definite police management problem that should be handled internally. As discussed by Gazel (1974), Wilson is best remembered as a main contributor to American policing through his various leadership practices and writings.

William H. Parker

Between 1927 and 1939, William Henry Parker rose from the position of a police officer to captain in the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), earned an LLB degree, and uncovered a scandal in the police promotion process that resulted in a grand jury investigation and general cleanup of the department. During World War II, working under Colonel Wilson, Parker developed the police and prison plans for the invasion of Europe and organized democratic police departments in Frankfurt and Munich (Gazell, 1976: 29).

Parker shared many of Wilson's concerns. Basically, Parker's main contribution was to the implementation of scientific management in the LAPD, one of the largest police departments in the country, during his tenure as chief from 1950 to 1968. Parker was known for his strong stand on effective law enforcement, accountability, technocratic innovations, and commitment to police professionalism. Besides the normal background investigation, Chief Parker also demanded that recruits have IQs of 110 or above, undertake a closely supervised one-year probation period, and undergo a thorough psychiatric examination. He also created an exhaustive **modus operandi** (method of procedure) file made up of over 2 million cards, one of the finest police laboratories in the world, and a planning and research division that used and still uses state-of-the-art computer technology. Gazell (1976) summed up Parker's internal changes to police organizations with many examples such as the creation of internal affairs and planning units. He also spearheaded the use of one-person patrols, the need for traffic enforcement, and the need to deal with alcoholism among police officers.

Under Parker's leadership, the LAPD became a model for the country in terms of standards of excellence for police personnel recruitment and training, sophisticated planning, and a solid image for professional law enforcement. His willingness to take on technological and some organizational innovation in the spirit of scientific management served to encourage other departments throughout the country to accept these innovations. This became especially true when the **Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA)** was willing to provide startup costs and basic capital throughout the 1970s.

Other Contributors

Other noted works on police organization based on the scientific approach appearing throughout this period were Elmer D. Graper's *American Police Administration* (1921), August Vollmer's *The Police and Modern Society* (1936), Raymond B. Fosdick's *European Police*

Systems (1915) and *American Police Systems* (1920), *Municipal Police Administration* (1943) published by the International City Managers Association, and Bruce Smith's *Police Systems in the United States* (1940). What appears in the writings of these early observers is skepticism toward municipal police operations and a willingness of police officials to blame immigrants and other public officials for crime problems. One theme that is most common, however, is the resistance to change by police officials. For example, Fosdick (1920: 306) wrote that uniformed patrol in many cities was outdated since patrol zones had not changed over the course of 20–40 years. Smith, who wrote a comprehensive review of American policing after World War II, had in 1923 addressed operational and ethical problems with the New Orleans police. When he returned in 1946, he found many of the same problems he had encountered in his first study.

Nevertheless, the contributions of these early observers collectively forge the basis for the present study and discussion on crime and policing. Wilson's classical approach, which emphasizes the traditional elements of the unity of action, division of labor, and centralization of authority, continues to serve as the benchmark for American police administration.

HUMAN RELATIONS AND PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT, 1925 TO PRESENT

Basically, this model does not exist in any one department. It has some of the personnel thrust of the scientific management model and some of the democratization of the team policing approach and its variations.

The **human relations** approach considers the police executive to be a team leader who creates a cooperative effort among line officers through the use of a management team. In Maslow's terms, the police executive is a self-actualizing individual who helps fulfill the social security, self-esteem, and autonomy needs of the personnel in his or her police organization. As found in McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y approach, the manager is responsible for motivating personnel and developing talent. This is done organizationally by having the manager create opportunities and provide guidance so that all members can realize their potential in contributing to the organization. The theme here is that management should be group centered. According to Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1975), the manager would basically operate from two premises:

1. The manager defines limits within which the group makes decisions.
2. The manager and the group jointly make decisions within limits defined by organizational constraints.

The team policing approach, in theory, views the police manager acting as a *primus inter pares* (first among equals) rather than as a traditional autocratic administrator. The human relations approach is especially germane to the participatory management model where full-service and multispecialist teams operate with strong community commitment. In other words, team policing is an adaptation of McGregor's Theory Y to the field.

When we examine the components causing stress among police officers, the twin Maslow needs of autonomy and security come into play. Basically, the police officer needs to feel that he or she has the prospect of a promotion along a reasonable career line and that his or her job is relatively stable and free from potentially capricious management. Personnel grievance and promotion matters play as large a role in producing stress on the job as does the work on the streets. With the strong perception of danger and the need for alertness to deal with the unexpected in the field, police officers have a special drive and a need for security

on the job. Participatory management, when applied correctly, may solve these problems. Traditional, autocratic scientific management often fails to deal with these human relations problems in a satisfactory manner.

Departmental participatory management models, in which mid-level and line personnel have an important say on how to address local crime problems, become an essential element of community policing, which is discussed in Chapter 8. What comes into play is the formation of a new working relationship between line officers and police administrators that reduces the traditional concept of centralized authority. Participatory management results in more individualized accountability to discipline and rewards. Allied to this is the term **empowerment**, which is commonly found in many police articles on participatory management. By definition, empowerment is a condition whereby employees have the authority to make decisions and to take action in their work areas without prior approval.

In recent years, there have been a number of organizational theory books that are modern versions of the 1930s' human relations school. Based on operations in large Japanese and Scandinavian corporations, many observers discuss the positive aspects of employee–management work teams. This includes the production of high-quality products and the creation of positive employee relations in a noncollective bargaining atmosphere. Theorists such as James March and Karl Weick have concluded that it is the informal structures that generally result in getting things done.

Popular in this vein were a series of "prescriptions" based on work by Tom Peters and coauthors (*In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best Run Companies* (1982) and *A Passion for Excellence: The Leadership Difference* (1985)) that veer away from traditional management models and recommend people-oriented, humanistic systems as the basis for future national and international competition by U.S. businesses. Key terms such as "management by wandering around," "entrepreneurship," and "client satisfaction" are related to the traditional concepts of planning, forecasting, and budgeting based on the authors' observations of successful companies.

The successful companies discussed by the Peters group are primarily in the private sector, and some from their first book do not exist today. Among the key concepts that can be applied to police management is the idea of a **common culture**, where the mission of the organization is culturally shared between management and employees. The concept of a corporate culture is much like the concept of the police culture, which has been explored thoroughly by writers on policing.

The successful companies that were studies at that time, today have dealt with the hard realities of reorganization and downsizing, which have occurred in both corporate and public sector organizations that sought to decrease levels of middle management or to combine work sites to reduce operating and personnel costs. In the private sector, many multinational corporations have "farmed out" or "outsourced" the production of certain units of work to countries or nonunion concerns with lower wage rates. If anything, this trend has resulted in the establishment of smaller business enterprises and the demise of worker loyalty to the norms and values of common culture found in large companies.

Allied with the participative management model is the concept of quality teams or project teams created by management to address a certain problem. This forms the basis of total quality management (TQM), which uses the participative approach among employees to improve products or service. These concepts are also discussed in Chapter 3. It is important to note that companies using these approaches retain, for the most part, the traditional hierarchy model.

Both management and employees are brought into this corporate culture through vigorous training, constant employee recognition, and reform of organization processes that have a negative

impact on employee performance. As discussed in Chapter 2, the police occupational subculture can be used in a positive manner to achieve organizational goals.

BEHAVIORAL MANAGEMENT, 1945 TO PRESENT, AND SYSTEMS MANAGEMENT, 1960 TO PRESENT

These approaches have had their most significant impact in the areas of fiscal organization, day-to-day budgeting, and short- and long-range planning. Although often seen as competing with the human relations approach, as both systems have evolved in the 1980s, the systems–behavioral management approach complements much of the human relations approach, having developed mechanisms for accountability as it integrated quantitative measures for both fiscal and human behavior goals.

A behavioral goal has three major components:

1. A goal stated in an empirical manner so that any ordinary person would be able to see, hear, taste, smell, or feel something
2. A criterion of success that is normally less than 100 percent
3. A context in which to measure the goal developed in empirical terms

Here are two examples:

> The patrol officer will increase the time spent on foot patrol each shift by one hour from his or her radio car. The location and time is to be based on the crime situation of the community. Time is to be logged as special foot patrol and will be exclusive of routine property and business area checks. (A realistic goal is to attempt an increase in preventive patrol, apprehension, and community relations.)
>
> The investigator shall interview on an average three to five suspects for every 40-hour tour of duty and shall document these interviews in a written report within one 8-hour tour of duty of the documented end of each interview. (This would constitute an increase in the productivity of an officer whose main duties consist of such interviews.)

Where possible, such behavioral objectives can develop into excellent tools of accountability for management. However, there is a risk of creating goals that are too detailed and involve an inordinate amount of paperwork compared with the amount needed to get the job done.

Proponents of the systems–behavioral approach developed a number of systems for accountability, forward planning, and fiscal organization:

1. Management by objectives (MBO)
2. Program evaluation and review techniques (PERT)
3. Programming, planning, and budgeting (PPB)
4. Organizational development (OD)
5. Zero-based budgeting (ZBB)

The various approaches will be reviewed in the appropriate chapters.

Community Policing, Problem-Solving Policing, and Intelligence-Led Policing

Community policing, which involves the community in police decision making on general policy affecting the community and crime, continues to be a widely used approach in theory. It incorporates problem-solving policing, which attempts to solve specific crime problems in the community. Along with these two approaches is what has been called the "broken windows" approach, which attempts to improve a neighborhood in terms of trash pickup, clean streets,

good lighting, and so on. These approaches were funded with millions of dollars and are used throughout the nation. A new approach is intelligence-led policing, which focuses on the criminal and crime analysis. These approaches are described in the patrol chapter (Chapter 8) and incorporate many of the elements of proactive policing.

PROACTIVE POLICE MANAGEMENT, 1980 TO PRESENT

The **proactive** approach is the focus of this book. Various aspects of this approach are discussed throughout the chapters and reviewed in detail. However, the most significant elements can be outlined here:

1. Objective of policing is crime prevention
2. Strong commitment to community involvement
3. Modern bureaucracy, range of control techniques
4. Full-service department with multispecialist teams
5. Full use of modern communication models (both technological/computer and human relations techniques)
6. Modern budgeting and accounting systems in full use
7. Great emphasis on forward emergency and crisis management planning
8. Consultative management approach (all elements of organization consulted; management team makes final decisions and organizes the implementation of policy decisions)
9. Data-driven department with optimal use of modern technology
10. Emphasis on art of the possible and operational utility of management approaches

Scholars who advocate this approach in their work with community policing include James Q. Wilson, Robert Trojanowicz, George Kelling, and Herman Goldstein. Police managers who serve as recognized leaders in the proactive approach are Lee Brown, former head of the Houston and New York City police departments and former head of the Police Foundation; David Couper, former chief of the Madison, Wisconsin, Police Department; Steven Bishop, former chief of Kansas City; and William Bratton, Chief of the Los Angeles Police Department.

William Bratton

William Bratton started as a patrol officer in the Boston, Massachusetts, Police Department, and attained the rank of superintendent in 1980, the highest ranking position. He was awarded the Boston Police Department's highest medal for valor, which he earned by facing down a bank robber and rescuing a hostage in 1975.

From 1990 to 1992, he served as chief of the New York City Transit Police. He was instrumental in merging the Transit Police and New York City's Housing Police with the New York City Police Department (NYPD). In 1993, he was elected president of the Police Executive Research Forum and was commissioner of the Boston Police (1993–1994). As New York City police commissioner from 1994 to 1996, he was responsible for reengineering the NYPD by decentralizing responsibility to New York City's 76 precinct commanders and institutionalizing Compstat. (See Chapter 7 for a description of Compstat.)

Doing this resulted in crime dropping dramatically in New York City while the quality of life improved. In the past, he indicated, the department was too reactive, too centralized. He discovered that random patrol did not scare criminals. His major goals were to reduce fear in the neighborhoods and to prevent crime from happening. In the previous 20 years, "the Department

had focused on arrest numbers." Using reengineering, a corporation model, he created 12 task forces to shake up the department to deal with overall crime reduction, which should be the major product of any police department.

He also took the concept of "broken windows" to heart and states how pleased he was with increasing the quality of life and disorder control. He embraced community policing and problem solving as major efforts in dealing with the community in individual precincts. He sends a clear message for one of the major goals of community policing: "Police can return to the role for which we were invented: preventing crime. . . . Police can control behavior with crime prevention" (Anonymous, 2000: 2). According to Bratton, the NYPD must work in partnership with the community through precinct councils and precinct commanders (Bratton and Knobler, 1998).

The crime-patrol planning model Compstat was his major success when he was commissioner of the NYPD. Compstat is based on four major principles:

1. Timely, accurate intelligence: He emphasized that old information did not work; only up-to-date information worked.
2. Rapid response: He gives an example of target hardening a site to stop terrorists from blowing it up, in other words, crime prevention.
3. Effective tactics: To stop drug dealers, for example, the focus should be on a place where there have been a great number of shootings.
4. Relentless follow-up: Review programs and strategies and keep them updated.

Under Commissioner Howard Safire, who took over from Bratton, the system that Bratton had put in place has, for the most part, been working very well. From 1996 to 1998, the crime rates continued their dramatic downward trend. Commissioner Bratton used these concepts in Los Angeles, where he was appointed in 2002. Today he also serves as consultant and media spokesperson on national and global police issues. In December 2012 he was once again appointed as Commissoner for New York City.

Lee P. Brown

Lee Brown began his career in 1960 as a patrol officer in San Jose, California. He was sheriff of Mulnomah County, Oregon; commissioner of public safety in Atlanta; chief of the Houston Police Department, 1982–1990; New York City police commissioner, 1990–1992; and director of national drug policy, 1993–1995. He held a cabinet position in the federal government and became the first African American mayor of Houston in 1998.

The son of farmworkers, Lee Brown earned a bachelor's degree from Fresno State University, a master's degree from San Jose State University, and a PhD from the University of California at Berkeley in 1970. He was a professor at Texas Southern University and Rice University.

> While he was chief of the Houston Police Department, Brown initiated one of the early models of community policing, which he called neighborhood-oriented policing (NOP). He wanted to involve citizens directly with the police. He wanted to change the police officer from an enforcer of neighborhood beats to an officer who would become involved with problem solving with the community (Oettmeier and Brown, 1988).

The beats were redesigned to conform to neighborhoods, and beat officers were permanently assigned to specific neighborhoods. Some investigation was decentralized. Police supervisors and managers were encouraged to support beat officers in solving neighborhood problems. The deterrence of crime became the criteria for evaluating the beat officer. This meant that there should be less crime, traffic accidents, and calls for service because the beat officers were solving problems.

In New York City, Commissioner Brown continued with his philosophy of community policing, initiating problem-oriented policing (POP). He claims that his earlier work with community policing with NYPD set the stage for the success of Compstat and the crime-attack planning model.

Raymond W. Kelly

Raymond Kelly is the first person to serve twice as police commissioner of New York City: 37th commissioner, 1992–1994, and 41st commissioner, 2002 to present. Based on the experiences of the World Trade Center bombings, the department has focused on terrorism from a city and worldwide perspective. Over 1,000 detectives are specifically assigned for counterterrorism and NYPD personnel are stationed in major cities around the world. During the 2004 Madrid terrorist bombings and 2005 London bombings, NYPD detectives arrived there within a day. In 2007, under Commissioner Kelly's leadership, NYPD issued a report on homegrown terrorism that showed the various steps in radicalizing a person into a terrorist.

Commissioner Kelly holds several degrees, including a Master of Laws degree from New York University and a Master in Business Administration from the Kennedy School at Harvard. He graduated first in his class from the NYPD Police Academy in 1960. By 1990 he was promoted to deputy commissioner under Lee Brown. As the 37th commissioner, he emphasized crime reduction and quality-of-life issues such as eliminating "squeegee men" annoying drivers and improving the quality of life in neighborhoods, which became a hallmark of community policing. Upon the election of Rudolf Giuliani in 1994, William Bratton became commissioner, replacing Kelly.

After his first stint as commissioner, he served in a number of federal and international capacities. From 1996 to 1998, as U.S. Undersecretary for Enforcement at Treasury, his duties included supervising the U.S. Customs; the Secret Service; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Fire Arms; and other federal police services. He also served as the director of the International Police Monitors in Haiti and was commissioner for Customs for the United States from 1998 to 2001. He also retired as colonel from the Marine Corps Reserves after 30 years of service, including service in the Vietnam War.

Kelly was reappointed Commissioner by Mayor Blumburg. During his second tenure, there were a number of controversies including the use of aggressive arrest and use of force tactics at the Republican National Convention in 2004. At this time, he is a vocal proponent on the use of "stop and frisk" by officers as a means of controlling street crime and illegal gun use. In New York State, police officers can stop a person and then conduct a pat-down of the person if there is probable cause to believe that the person might be carrying a weapon. This practice is widely condemned by many civil rights and community groups as it is viewed as being disproportionately used against persons of color. For the mayoral elections of November 2013, Kelly stepped down and was replaced by William Bratton, who had also served as commissioner before Kelly.

Conclusion

The history of police management is an evolving field of study. Every theoretical approach offers something of operational and theoretical use to the modern police executive. The secret of success is to select and synthesize the approaches that will work for a particular department, given its specific problems and political context. The proactive approach is meant to be flexible and utilitarian yet adheres to principles that will give coherence to police management as it responds in the world of the twenty-first century. The proactive model, of course, incorporates many of the previous schools

of theory presented, including community-oriented policing (COP), POP, and TQM, which are being applied to police operations today.

Police management evolved from the rather rigid (semimilitary) organizational model of the late nineteenth century to a more flexible approach that emphasizes human relations skills. Proactive police managers who have been professionally trained and college educated synthesize contributions from all periods of police management.

From the traditional model, these managers develop a finely honed sense of bureaucratic organization. The organization itself has to be created, and this means the creation of a hierarchical organization. The scientific management period focused on goals and the placing of these goals in organizational context. O.W. Wilson and William H. Parker adapted the basic bureaucratic model from Max Weber to make Weber's model functional in today's communication-sophisticated society. The approach depends on having a central organization along with the ability to respond rapidly to ordinary as well as unusual crises.

Although the human relations approach tended to overemphasize the importance of democratic management, its emphasis on the vital importance of human relations and personnel skills contributed significantly to modern police administration. One finding from this movement is the recognition of the need for training in human relations skills for both middle managers and supervising personnel. Besides having a good sense of leadership and organization, sergeants and lieutenants must be able to persuade police officers to do their jobs with the utmost efficiency. Sergeants especially are important to the morale and the optimal use of personnel.

Our modern manager grounds himself or herself in behavioral reality by utilizing the contribution of the behavioral management movement. After becoming firmly grounded in achievable practical behavioral objectives, the police organization can adopt the proactive police community management model of anticipation and the forward planning needed in all aspects of police management: personnel, fiscal, community, and operations.

Questions for Review

1. Discuss the basic principles of the following managerial models: traditional, scientific, human relations, behavioral, systems, and proactive.
2. Explain the significance of the following individuals to police management: Sir Robert Peel, Frederick Taylor, Theodore Roosevelt, O.W. Wilson, William H. Parker, William Bratton, Lee Brown, and Raymond Kelly.
3. Discuss the contributions of the English police system to the American system of policing.
4. Explain why the American system of policing has evolved into the existing complex structure of overlapping authorities and jurisdictions.

Class Project

History provides a useful means to understand the current state of a community or organization. Review the history of a local or state police department and list the major benchmarks of the department's development. Departments in large cities have formal department histories that are found in books or journals and are often available on the Internet. In some cases, interviewing the senior officer of a local department provides an interesting oral history.

Web Works

There are a number of Web sites that have information on police operations and management. Many students first look up Google; while a good first step, Google often has a number of sites with undocumented opinions and data. What follows are the main Web sites for the U.S. Department of Justice. Most federal agencies can also be

found by typing in their abbreviations followed by ".gov," such as fbi.gov for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Many departments and organizations also participate on Facebook and Twitter.

The main site for the Department of Justice is usdoj.gov, which gives you access to other DOJ Web sites:

Bureau of Justice Assistance	ojp.usdoj.gov/bja
Bureau of Justice Statistics	ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs
Enforcement Education	ojp.usdoj.gov/opclee
Federal Bureau of Investigation	fbi.gov
National Criminal Justice Reference Service	ncjrs.org
National Institute of Justice	ojp.usdoj.gov/nij
National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center	nlectc.org
Office of Community Oriented Police Services	cops.usdoj.gov
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Programs	ojjdp.ncjrs.org
Office of Police Corps and Law	ojp.usdoj.gov/opclee

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CHAPTER

2 Police Culture

KEY TERMS

argot
blue minority
coop
culture
cynicism
esoteric knowledge
gemeinschaft
gesellschaft
Guardians
hook
horse
informal structure
main man
meat eater
National Association of Women Law Enforcement Executives (NAWLEE)
peer group
police personality types
Postulates of Invisibility
rabbi
role entrapment
secrecy
social isolation
solidarity
subculture
tin
Uncle Tom

Police management operates within the context of one of the strongest vocational subcultures existing in American society. In this chapter, we have two objectives. First, we are going to look at the police subculture and examine its effect on day-to-day business and on police managers. Then we will consider the informal organization that exists in all police departments and that all managers must reckon with. The informal organization can be used to increase effectiveness and efficiency, or it can be turned to managerial sabotage.

THE CONCEPT: POLICE SUBCULTURE

Culture means many things to many people, but common components that come into play in the context of this textbook include morals, customs, and norms.

The police, although part of the American culture, form a distinctive **subculture** because of characteristics of their particular vocation: law enforcement.

A subculture is "a group that shares in the overall culture of the society but also has its own distinctive values, norms, and lifestyle" (Robertson, 1987: 76). Police subculture has its own set of cultural norms. Robertson defines *norms* as "shared rules or guidelines that proscribe the behavior appropriate in a given situation" (1987: 62). These norms create a lifestyle for a police officer both on and off the job. The traditional major norms of the police subculture are **secrecy**, **solidarity**, and **social isolation** that define the subculture.

Secrecy

Police deal with people's valuable reputations, which can be destroyed by routine police investigations. A school official might be the target of an investigation in which a young woman was raped in a van. Any public knowledge of the investigation can destroy the official's reputation, even if the investigation is proved to have been unfounded. Many months can go into a drug investigation. Talking about the investigation, even to a spouse, means jeopardizing lives. In his book on police culture, Crank (2004: 276) writes that the code of secrecy is an important element in police organizations. "Those who violate the principles of secrecy may encounter ostracism, loss of friends and a shortage of back up in dangerous street encounters," he stated.

Solidarity

The officer is part of a police family. The children are police children. The spouse is a police wife or a police husband. Police officers stick together. They protect the brother and sister officer from a hostile public and from their own brass. The operating norm is "You are never alone."

Social Isolation

The perception of a hostile public is part of what makes police officers feel alone (Shernock, 1988). Officers carry a gun and arrest people. They know they can trust a cop but never an outsider. Every day, officers deal with the underclass in society—people who steal, drunks and drug dealers, people who sell dope to children, and child molesters who prey on the weak and innocent. Police officers are doing "dirty work." This is work that deals with an undesirable population. Officers in the public eye can take on the stigma of that population. So the officer's friends and family are other cops and people in the "business."

This is a theme that runs through most contemporary texts on police. For example, in *Contemporary Municipal Policing*, McCamey et al. (2003: 167–68) write, "Thus police officers tend to socialize with other police officers . . . their identities as police officers sometimes make them socially unacceptable even when off-duty. . . . Thus, officers tend to divide the world between 'us' and 'them,' the former consisting of other police officers, the latter encompassing most everybody else." Kappler et al. (2005: 236) write about the police worldview, which they note is also an occupational "self-perception that is internalized." They write that the world is often viewed as those who are police officers and those who are not. Many police officers are unaware of the cultural norms that affect their daily lives. Still, all officers have to take these norms into account—for example, the role of secrecy, the norms of police unity and loyalty, and the perception of danger and suspicion that pervades this subculture.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POLICE SUBCULTURE

A. B. Hollingshead has given us the basic definition of a vocational subculture and its major characteristics (Arnold, 1970: 22): "a group of specialists recognized by society, as well as by themselves, who possess an identifiable complex of common culture, values, communication devices (argot or other symbols), techniques, and appropriate behavior patterns." Two forces in American society have a monopoly on the use of legal force: (1) the armed forces concerning outside threats and (2) the law enforcement community concerning internal social control. The police department is a human service agency that specializes in the use of legitimate force and is recognized as such by law. The police themselves make a great distinction between those who have a "tin" and those who are civilians. Those who have a piece of **tin**—that is, a police badge—are sworn police officers and have the right to carry a gun.

Argot

Police officers in every region of the nation have developed an **argot** (specialized vocabulary of a profession) that is generally not shared by outsiders. This stems, in part, from the nature of normal communication between officers. Police officers spend considerable time riding in patrol cars or patrolling on foot with portable radios and cell phones. They are also continually involved with their state's penal law and department operating codes. Much of police argot revolves around (1) citations to the penal law, (2) words and phrases that are coded and phrased so that they can be heard without ambiguity over a radio, and (3) criminal and street jargon laced liberally with obscenities.

Examples of argot from the major police forces have become well known. In the New York City Police Department (NYPD), officers may have a **rabbi** (a highly placed police official) who can help them out if they get caught cooping (sleeping on duty). In other departments, the rabbi might be called a **hook** or a **horse**. Argot from the black community also creeps in, such as when a rabbi becomes a **main man**.

Esoteric Knowledge

Hollingshead's second major characteristic of a vocational subculture is an excellent description of what researchers refer to as the transition from the police academy recruit to police officer, which he calls "the acquisition by initiates of the body of **esoteric knowledge** and appropriate behavior patterns before the novices are accepted by the initiated" (Arnold, 1970: 22). Today the recruit police academy spends hundreds of hours teaching such subjects as firearms, law, unarmed combat, preservation of a crime scene, and basic investigation techniques. Today, increasing time is being spent on human relations, family crisis intervention, and other human service subjects, such as child and drug abuse. The objective of the police academy, over and above teaching basic knowledge and skills, is to instill into the recruit an acceptance of the police role model. This means an acceptance of both the formal and informal codes and discipline making up a police officer.

Cynicism

In his classic work *Behind the Shield*, Arthur Niederhoffer (1969: 104) showed the stages of **cynicism** as the police recruit moves from the idealistic role models of the police academy to the street. The first stage, *pseudo-cynicism*, occurs at the training school/recruit level and is an attitude that "barely conceals the idealism and commitment beneath the surface." The second stage, *romantic cynicism*, comes within the first five years of an officer's career. The third stage, *aggressive cynicism*, is evident

at the 10-year mark, when "resentment and hostility become obvious." At this stage, Niederhoffer talks about a subculture of cynicism. The end of the police officer's career is what Niederhoffer calls *resigned cynicism*, when an officer accepts the flaws of the system. Forty years later, Van Brocklin (2009) advanced Niederhoffer's conclusions by looking at the medical consequences of sustained cynicism, calling it the *death of the spirit*. Interestingly, Van Brocklin also reflects on the positive side of cynicism, in that the perpetual distrust of the public that tends to develop in a police officer could also be a tool that helps that officer survive dangerous encounters.

Crank (2004: 275–76) summed up this approach in what he called **Postulates of Invisibility**:

1. Do not give up another cop. Regardless of the case . . . never provide information to the public or superior officers.
2. Watch out for your partner first and then for the rest of the shift . . . inform a fellow officer if he or she is being investigated by internal affairs.
3. If you get caught off base, do not implicate anybody else . . . do not involve other cops who might also be punished.
4. Hold up your end of the work. Malingering draws attention to everyone on the shift.
5. Do not suck up to the bosses for special favors.

Internal Sanctions

Hollingshead's final point on the characteristics of a vocational subculture focuses on the internal social control that helps describe how a police department's informal structure actually works (Arnold, 1970: 22): "Appropriate sanctions [are] applied by the membership to control members in their relations with one another and with the larger society and to control nonmembers in their relations with members." **Peer group** pressure concerning loyalty to the police profession is enormous and overwhelming. William Westley (1970), an earlier researcher in the sociology of the police, showed that the police in Gary, Indiana, would even be willing to perjure themselves to protect a brother officer. Although the research was done in the 1950s, the conclusions hold for today's police culture. As a vocational subculture, police officers must depend on one another especially in dangerous situations, Terrill, Paoline, and Manning (2003) revisited this subject with a multiagency analysis of the coercive nature of police culture. Interestingly, they found police officers fit into several different attitudinal areas, rather than just one standard "culture," with respective agency leadership playing a significant role in that culture.

Solidarity

As has been shown, there is a great deal of pressure for conformity among police officers. Reiser (1974: 138) considers peer influence to be "one of the most profound pressures operating in police organizations." He shows how it functions: "It bolsters and supports the individual officer's esteem and confidence, which then allows him to tolerate higher levels of anger, hostility and abuse from external sources." Reiser, who served as department psychologist for the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), has pointed out an important factor concerning peer pressure: It can be a positive force in the life of the individual police officer. One of the most profound statements that any police officer can make is that he or she is never alone once having become a sworn officer. On the job, the call for "officer in trouble" will mean that officers in and outside the immediate vicinity will normally drop what they are doing and rush to that officer's aid. Even officers who are off duty will feel compelled to come to that officer's aid, even from a distance. Reiser stresses

the cost of this group support (1974: 138): the "loss of autonomy in the areas of values and attitudes." It seems that group values become shared while there is a great deal of rationalization created to support conformity to the police group.

The importance of common sense was further discussed by Sever (2008), including the imposing role that culture and police subculture play on decision making and the development of what is considered to be common sense in policing.

The most frequent example of this feeling of unity, besides the officer-in-trouble call and the need for backup in potentially dangerous situations, is probably seen in the area of professional courtesy. Professional courtesy is normally not discussed in textbooks and articles, but it is practiced every day in police forces. When civilians are stopped for a traffic infraction, they expect a traffic citation. When police officers are stopped, they do not expect a traffic ticket; they expect to be let go because of professional courtesy. When professional courtesy does not occur, it is a story carried from jurisdiction to jurisdiction and can lead to a feud between police officers in two different jurisdictions.

When a police officer has an automobile breakdown, he or she does not necessarily call a garage mechanic but may, in fact, call the nearest police department or highway patrol. Help from the local officers may range from driving the officer to a good garage that will give special service and rates to police to having the police mechanic fix the private auto while the stranded officer has coffee with the other officers. With the evolution of policing accountability and higher ethical standards, however, such practices as these are growing increasingly unacceptable, resulting in internal investigations and sanctions. Wambaugh addressed this long overdue cultural change in policing in his novel, *Hollywood Station* (2006), which finds the police officers in the story often afraid to make decisions for fear of the *Monday morning quarterbacking* of those decisions by supervisors, internal affairs, the media, and the public.

THE ULTIMATE SYMBOL OF SOLIDARITY: THE POLICE FUNERAL This is based on "Good-by in a Sea of Blue" (Lord et al., 2004: 353–63) and refers to officers killed in the line of duty. "Being a cop is solidarity personified. A cop killing rolls through a sea of blue like a tidal wave," they state.

In a funeral given to an officer, police officers gather from jurisdictions across America, standing together rank on rank with a black ribbon over the top of their badge. They are there, in person, to honor their blood comrade, a fallen officer, with the most powerful religious and national symbols in the country in a rigidly formal ceremony. They are there to show, in a public ceremony, every person in America the might and power of law enforcement, the thin blue line: Bagpipes and drums play "Amazing Grace" and "Taps" while the officer is surrounded by hundreds of flags; there is a 21-gun salute; wreaths bear the badge number of the fallen officer; police motorcycles escort the coffin; and major roads are closed.

Social Isolation

Most researchers concerned with police culture agree that police are isolated from the rest of American society (Clark, 1965; Skolnick, 1966; Tauber, 1967; Westley, 1970; Savitz, 1971). A typical response to the question: "What do you do for a living?" in a social gathering often evokes this "hazy" response if you are the only police officer in a social gathering.

When asked at a party what he or she does, the police officer often says that he is a government worker. When pressed, the officer may walk away. Why does this happen? As many officers have said, "If I tell them that I am a cop, they'll want to give me a hard time about some traffic ticket they got. Next will come some bull concerning police corruption and then they'll hold me personally responsible for some court letting some killer loose on the street. What do you want

me to do, spoil all the parties I go to that have civilians there, spoil these parties for myself and my wife? It's really better if you stick to your own." And stick to their own, they do. There are police bars, police picnics, and police poker parties. From these and other social activities dominated by fellow officers and their family, police officers create a feeling that each one of them is part of the **blue minority**. This social isolation has made many police officers consider themselves a persecuted minority. Stan Shernock surveyed 11 police departments and concluded, "As a result of police perception of public hostility toward them, police officers have assumed many of the characteristics of a minority group" (1988: 184). Shernock showed, as Westley did in the 1950s, that police socialize almost exclusively with police. Since Westley did his research, there have been no changes in the fundamental police norms of secrecy, solidarity, and social isolation, despite law enforcement's many advances. Wasilewski and Olson (2010) wrote that not only does police isolation impact negatively on the officer, largely due to the imbalance of the day-to-day experiences unique to the profession, but that same isolation also has a bearing on the community and ultimately the police mission. Even with significant advances in the educational levels of police officers of all ranks, minority hiring, and fast-paced technological advances, the police are still a blue minority with slow-to-change subcultural norms.

Perception of Violence and Psychological Distance

There is a positive functional aspect to this social isolation, and that is the need for psychological distance between the police officer and many of his or her clients.

When a teacher becomes too involved emotionally with students, the job becomes untenable because he or she is not able to make objective judgments. The same thing can happen to a police officer. Police are not always dealing with citizens of goodwill who are unafraid, calm, and friendly. Sometimes they have to deal with drunken drivers who throw up on their uniforms and urinate in the backseat of their patrol car.

Picture yourself going into a low-income neighborhood on what is called "mother's day," the day when welfare checks arrive in the mail. Here is an actual incident. Two officers answered the call for a domestic dispute. Using good police procedure, they separated the shouting husband and wife, one to the living room and one to the kitchen. The wife was shouting to the officers that her husband tried to beat her up. Her language was obscene, as was her husband's. Both had been drinking alcohol.

The officers returned to the living room and positioned themselves between the husband and wife to try to calm them down. The wife took out a small-caliber handgun and managed to fire a shot at her husband. She was disarmed and taken to police headquarters, but both officers never forgot that incident.

In another case, one of the authors of this book was responding to a domestic dispute call. He approached the front door of the house and promptly encountered a loaded shotgun being thrust into his body. The homeowner explained that he didn't want the officer on his property. After a good deal of talk, the shotgun was withdrawn, and the fight was dealt with. But the author will never forget the incident.

Dr. John Stratton, former director of psychological services for the Los Angeles County sheriff's office, shows what happens to officers who are involved in traumatic events, such as killing another human being. Roughly one-third develop major problems that affect their family, and they may leave the profession because of the trauma; about one-third have moderate problems, such as waking up screaming at night, but they recover; and about one-third have minimal problems (Stratton, 1984).

A number of police officers have put the situation this way: "You are at the scene of a fatal auto accident on a busy high-speed highway. Spread before you is a young person with a limb cut off, blood flowing across the highway, and guts spilled out. This person is dead, and there is an auto blocking traffic. You don't have time to gag; you have to save lives, you have to make sure there is a call for help, take care of any other injured, and direct traffic so that there are no more bodies spilled out on the highway." This is not a normal experience for a civilian, but it is a normal one for a police officer. You need to have objectivity and distance if you are to be able to go home at night, love your spouse, and hug your children.

Vincent E. Henry (2004), one of the creators of Compstat at NYPD, published a very intense and personal book titled *Death Work*, about officers dealing with death and the dead bodies of people who had their lives cut short. The death of children who had lived in poverty and deplorable conditions was especially stressful. He shows how police solidarity is alive and well and is an important cultural norm of support for police officers.

> It takes time for new recruits to be accepted into police culture. At the same time, it can be devastating to confront your first murder, death from drugs, and so on. Henry noted that it takes time for relationships to develop amongst officers. Rookies often do not receive the full benefit of an established relationship with other officers, such as when one officer at a traumatic scene looks after the emotional needs of another.

Henry quotes officers about depression and despair, considering threats to their own mortality.

He gives us a feeling for the detectives in the Crime Scene Unit who witness death more frequently than any other NYPD unit. "They are possessed of a strong professional identity, a sense of connection to other unit members, [and] a powerful sense of personal and professional integrity . . . " (Henry, 2004: 201).

When a recruit joins the force, he or she can lose friends. The next person you arrest may be an old friend. The question is, "How are you going to keep your professional integrity and live with yourself?" The answer, more often than not, is to have few civilian friends. This is what it means to be a police officer and part of an isolated vocational subculture in America.

INFORMAL GROUP STRUCTURES IN POLICE ORGANIZATIONS

Every organization has a formal and an **informal structure**. The formal structure involves the organization chart and lines of authority (e.g., police chief, deputy chief, inspectors, captains, lieutenants, sergeants, and police officers). Although official business is conducted by the formal organization, the informal structure often determines which decisions will be made and the manner in which these decisions will be carried out.

In policing, it is not just critical to establish intra-agency informal structure and lines of communication, but inter-agency, as well. Criminals and emergencies do not stay within designated police jurisdictional boundaries, so policing can't either. A good police leader knows that it is important to establish healthy working relationships with other agency personnel and leaders when the sea is calm, so that working together in times of need can be done more effectively. Roberts and Roberts (2006) conducted an extensive study on how police agency personnel interact informally, such as in sharing research on an issue faced by multiple agencies. Agency size and geographical nearness were found to play a significant role in inter-agency contacts.

Effective informal intra- and inter-agency structures are a reality that every manager has to be able to deal with if he or she is going to have a smooth, efficient police organization with high morale. This is the role of the social groups within the informal structure and the effect of these

groups on the formal structure and the police manager's ability to manage. Light and Keller (1975: 184) give us a widely accepted definition of social groups: "A number of people who define themselves as members of a group; who expect certain behavior from members that they do not expect from outsiders; and who others (members and nonmembers) define as belonging to the group." Typical social groups that exist in and influence police in a police department include fraternal orders composed of officers; officers who play golf, racquetball, or cards together; and ethnic and extended kinship groups.

The Hawthorne Study

In the early 1920s and 1930s, under the leadership of Elton Mayo, the Harvard Business School conducted a series of research projects at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939). Many observers refer to this as the beginning of the human relations approach to management. The key to this approach was the discovery of the informal organization and its communication system.

Management in one part of the Hawthorne plant tried to speed up the production of parts for telephone switches by placing the workers on a piece-rate system. Production did not change, even though the workers could have easily increased production. Researchers discovered informal work norms within the workers' group that placed social penalties on (1) "rate busters" who exceeded the work norm, (2) "chiselers" who did not fulfill the work norm, and (3) "squealers" who might have informed management of this system. This research on the informal structure has been replicated in many organizations both public and private, with much the same results.

The Work Community

We shall now look at a variety of groups within the police organization, such as informal cliques, ethnic and racial groups, and fraternal societies. All these make up what Drucker (1974: 281–84) calls the *work community*.

> According to Drucker, management is interested in making necessary decisions in relation to the mission of its business. He also states that management should not be making incidental decisions related to the work community and that these decisions can clog the organization's decision-making machinery. Decisions on such items as vacation schedule and cafeteria and recreation facilities should be decentralized and left to the work community. Although these decisions may not be of high priority, they are important and can be a means of fostering leadership opportunities for the worker. This is not a participatory democracy, for management organizes the working teams.

This is an approach that we recommend for modern, reality-based police managers. The officer on the street and his or her immediate supervisor have a great deal of responsibility. Peter Drucker's recommendation enables a police management even today to tie this commitment to discretion and responsibility to quality work. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 8, this concept was reinvented in the 1990s for "quality circles" and work teams for community-oriented and problem-oriented policing. However, this requires a precise knowledge of the law enforcement work community and the informal norms and social groups that govern much of this community.

Social scientists, business psychologists, and personnel managers have been studying this informal group structure for many years. A basic concept that they use is that of the primary group as it operates in the secondary or formal organization. This concept must be understood to use it to analyze police organization and how it really operates on a daily basis.

The Effect of the Primary Group on Police Bureaucracy

In the primary group, communication is normally

Deep and extensive

Face-to-face

Intimate

Relaying a sense of belonging

A response to a whole person rather than to a fragmented social role

In addition, the primary group assumes many of the characteristics of what Max Weber calls a **gemeinschaft** group, where there is a high degree of cohesion and the group is often perceived as an enlarged kinship (e.g., when male officers speak of their partners as if they were talking about their spouses).

As enlarged on in Chapter 4, which examines bureaucracy, secondary organizations are normally

- Impersonal
- Formal

Communications are also impersonal and formal, and relations are based on specialized roles. This is what Max Weber calls **gesellschaft**, and that is the modern corporate bureaucracy that is found at the core of many police structures.

Primary groups include the family, personal friends, neighborhood social groups, and people who play friendly card games on a regular basis. Examples of secondary organizations are civil service, organized religion, local government, and military groups.

These secondary organizations normally operate as classical bureaucracies with hierarchical sets of offices and chains of command. As Niederhoffer (1969: 11) states, "Large urban police departments are bureaucracies. Members of the force lose their bearings in the labyrinth of hierarchy, specialization, competitive examinations, red tape, promotions based on seniority and impersonality."

Members of the public discover that they have encountered a bureaucracy in such instances as obtaining an accident report or attempting to find out the status of a case in which they were a witness or a complainant. They are dealt with courteously but impersonally, and the correct form must always be filled out. Although officers in smaller agencies tend to be generalists, offering the entire range of police services, bureaucracy occurs in the smaller setting for the same reason as in the larger urban department.

It is in this impersonal setting that primary groups grow and have a profound influence on organizational life. To feel that he or she is a total human being, the police officer needs roots in the security of a primary group setting within the organization. Primary groups provide the following for individual members:

- Personal development
- Sense of security
- Sense of well-being
- Sense of being accepted for one's self
- Sense of sustaining one's identity and defining that identity

Primary groups are powerful, supportive mechanisms maintaining a sense of personal identity and security for the individual. They become of major significance for the police

manager who recognizes the importance of informal police groups in sustaining morale. The role of primary groups in the police bureaucracy may be to

- Support or undermine the formal police organization
- Form a powerful informal police structure
- Have a mediating function, binding the individual to the larger police organization
- Have a major role in creating social stability in the police organization and in society in general

Generally, these primary groups form around a community of shared experience and proximity. The members of the same police academy class or those who work in the same squad may become members of the same social group. Those who grew up in the same neighborhoods form groups. In larger departments, Irish, Italian, German, Jewish, and African American social groups may pressure management in many subtle and not-so-subtle ways to have their policies promoted or their group protected or enhanced. The NYPD, for example, has the Emerald Society (Irish), the Columbus Society (Italian), and an influential organization of African American police officers.

Besides shared experiences, there is often a core of officers who plan group activities and encourage new officers to join. Finally, there are often family ties within and without the group. In relation to the secondary police organization, we must examine the group's informal ties to top management. Is the chief or deputy chief a former member of the group? Does the chief have a relative or close friend in the group? Answers to these kinds of questions often determine who will get an assignment, who will get a promotion, and whose policy will be adopted by the department. This kind of information is simply not available in an organization chart. These organizations may also determine productivity. Officers do not want their colleagues to be rate busters, chiselers, or squealers to management.

In one case, a state trooper assigned to traffic duty on a major Interstate highway decided to be a rate buster. He issued three times the number of traffic citations that other officers were issuing at that same duty station. Many of the other officers talked to him, but he replied that he would not change and that he thought that his high rate of citations was just part of doing the job. After a few months, most of his fellow officers would not talk to him. His superiors praised him officially for his work but indicated informally that he might have overdone it as a rate buster. Everyone at the station was relieved when he was transferred.

POLICE PEER NORMS

Secrecy, solidarity, and social isolation are the major police norms. They are fiercely strong and have been documented time and again (Niederhoffer, 1969; Westley, 1970; Blumberg and Niederhoffer, 1985; Balkin, 1988; Shernock, 1988; Peak, 1993). Shernock's report on 11 police departments (1988: 185) showed that secrecy "maintained group identity and supports solidarity." He added a curious footnote: When he asked if the police officers would turn in another officer for illegal behavior, "as many respondents pointed out to the researcher, they possibly 'should' but 'would not' take the aforementioned actions against fellow officers" (1988: 193).

Discussing internal police norms in his book *Walking the Beat*, Radano (1968: 13) presented a discussion of the coop, which was a hiding place to rest while on patrol.

What is obvious from the rest of his discussion is that the **coop** is an out-of-sight place for officers shirking their duties and that the officers who know about the coop are under considerable pressure not to inform management of its existence. On coming into the coop, the rookie realizes that he is becoming accepted as a member of the line officer police group.

Savitz (1971) documents Westley's finding of strong interpersonal police loyalty in the face of citizen hostility and as a self-protection society of line officers against the brass.

In his book, *Walking with the Devil: The Police Code of Conduct*, Quinn (2005) makes a good point in that almost all police officers are ethically sound, and wouldn't even contemplate illicit behavior, but for some reason, many would tolerate other officers breaking the rules without reporting them. This is The Code of Silence, which Quinn describes as, "the singularly most powerful influence on police behavior in the world" (p. 4).

Police Corruption and Internal Norms

Another source of information about internal police norms and pressure involves police corruption and police abuses. Some of the classic reports and studies are from the Wickersham Commission (National Commission, 1931); Smith's *The Tarnished Badge* (1965); the report on that famous organized crime town in Pennsylvania, Wincanton (Gardiner, 1965); Chevigny's "ride-around" view of police abuses, *Police Power* (1969); Stark's study based on newspaper clippings, *Police Riots* (1972); the well-known Knapp Commission report (1972), which came about as a result of an NYPD officer courageously breaking the *Code of Silence*, reporting systemic corruption at multiple levels within the agency in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Details of the officer's experiences were later depicted in the movie *Serpico*, starring Al Pacino in the title role (Maas, 1973). The issue of police corruption in four large U.S. cities were further studied by Sherman in the LEAA report, *Controlling Police Corruption* (1978), and his book *Police Corruption* (1978).

A 2013 study thoroughly addressed decades of police corruption in Chicago (Hagedorn et al., 2013). In it, the authors reviewed 50 years' worth of incidents of police corruption in the city, and similar to Quinn in the previous section, found that police officers are reluctant to turn in other officers. The study found that increases in gang violence are related to increased police corruption, and that strong leadership is critical to breaking the *Code of Silence* (2013).

The basic approach of these varied studies is to examine (1) how police officers corrupt other police officers, (2) the sources of temptation, and (3) whether the payoffs are regular (e.g., the pad) or a one-time affair. The studies include advice to management on how to break up internal cliques and bring about more central control. However, there is very little discussion of the effect of primary group cliques on the formal structure. Sherman focuses on breaking the linkages between local politics and police corruption. He proposes various strategies that police managers can use to control their staff. Sherman's conclusions are as follows (1978: 1):

1. Premonitory strategies (aimed at ongoing corruption) for corruption control can reduce the level of organization of police corruption.
2. Postmonitory strategies (aimed at past corruption) for corruption control do not seem to be as effective as premonitory strategies.
3. The same strategies for corruption control can be employed in a police department of any size, although the tactics may differ.

Corruption cannot exist without the active cooperation of top police officials and major figures in the political hierarchy. In the past decade, many major cities have experienced a corruption scandal, the new variable being narcotics. Still, Sherman's model, based on management control of investigations and employee drug testing, remains a viable strategy.

Corruption, Cliques, Meat Eaters, and Grass Eaters

One of the early research articles on police corruption that investigates primary group cliques in the police structure is that of Stoddard's "The Informal 'Code' of Police Deviance: A Group Approach to 'Blue-Coat Crime'" (1968: 246). Stoddard indicated that it was the cliques dominated by older officers that first corrupted the recruits. The Knapp Commission report (1972: 3–4) revealed widespread corruption through the street concept of either "grasseaters" or "meateaters." A grass eater was an officer who accepted gratuities in the form of money or services if it fell his or her way. For example, a tow truck operator might tip the officer a fee for having the company respond to a traffic accident to tow vehicles. On the other hand, a **meat eater** was an officer who went out of his way to make money such as offering protection for gamblers or prostitutes or coming up with schemes to shake down dealers and sell drug taken into evidence.

Positive Police Ethics

In his article on police ethics in Britain and the European Union, Peter Neyroud (2003: 584) states the following principles:

- Police respect citizens' personal rights and autonomy through morally respectable laws.
- Police officers help people without harming others.
- The middle way brings mutual respect between citizens and police.
- There is police trusteeship over police powers and care for the community.
- Honesty is a key value of police integrity.

Although police should always protect the community from those who wish to harm it by stealing and violence, there is another side of policing where police are seen to be a positive force in the community. Virtuous officers helping in police-sponsored youth ball games, police-sponsored youth camping, ride-along programs, and even Officer Friendly (who is truly a friend to the citizen) are examples of positive policing that needs to again be emphasized and honored throughout the land. Officers save lives in car accidents, deliver babies in emergency conditions, and have virtue.

POLICE TYPOLOGIES

Another approach to the study of internal groups has been the "typology of ideal types" study. The theory of ideal types, introduced into social science by Max Weber, says that models of reality can be created as an extreme form of that reality and used to clarify the relationships embodied in that reality.

Wilson's (1968) styles of policing described as watchman, legalistic, and service, are perhaps the most widely known among police administrators. Wilson created these typologies after observing the way law enforcement services were delivered in several cities in New York State, which included Albany, Newburgh, and Nassau County in the Long Island area. Applying these "styles" to a homeless person causing a disturbance, the watchman officer might take the person into custody or simply warn the person to leave town or else. The legalistic officer, on the other hand, would arrest because the law was broken while the service officer would take the person to a shelter.

Has the legalistic style of policing ever existed in reality? The usual answer is no, not as the style of a police agency or the style of an individual officer. However, some agencies prefer this type of policing, even though the other styles may also exist in a legalistic police agency. The same

CASE STUDY

The Wincanton (Reading, PA) Protection System

The following account is taken from the task force report on organized crime (National Advisory Commission, 1976), which is a well-documented government report on how organized crime took over a criminal justice system. Even though the corruption reported here occurred more than 30 years ago, this study is considered to be the classic on corruption and organized crime.

Wincanton, which was a pseudonym for Reading, PA, was an industrial city with a population of about 60,000, located in western Pennsylvania. The primary author of the study, John Gardner, describes the relationship between the police, politicians, and local gangsters, the most notorious being Irv Stern, who controlled the city's gambling activity after World War II.

Two basic principles were involved in the Wincanton protection system: (1) pay top personnel as much as necessary to keep them happy (and quiet) and (2) pay something to as many others as possible to implicate them in the system and to keep them from talking. The range of payoffs thus went from a weekly salary for some public officials to a Christmas turkey for the patrolman on the beat. Records from the numbers bank listed payment totaling $2,400 each week to some local elected officials, state legislators, the police chief, a captain in charge of detectives, and other people mysteriously labeled "county" and "state." While the list of people to be paid remained fairly constant, the amounts paid varied according to the gambling activities in operation at the time; payoff figures dropped sharply when the FBI put the dice game out of business. When the dice game was running, one official was receiving $750 per week, the chief $100, and a few captains, lieutenants, and detectives lesser amounts.

While the number of officials receiving regular "salary" payoffs was quite restricted (only 15 names were on the payroll found at the number bank), many other officials were paid off in different ways. (Some men were also silenced without charge. Low-ranking policemen, for example, kept quiet after they learned that officers who reported gambling or prostitution were ignored or transferred to the midnight shift; they didn't have to be paid.) Stern was a major (if undisclosed) contributor during political campaigns—sometimes giving money to all candidates, not caring who won, sometimes supporting a "regular" to defeat a possible reformer, sometimes paying a candidate not to oppose a preferred man. Since there were few legitimate sources of large contributions for Democratic candidates, Stern's money was frequently regarded as essential for victory, for the costs of buying radio and television ads and paying poll watchers were high. When popular sentiment was running strongly in favor of reform, however, even Stern's contributions could not guarantee victory. Bob Walasek, later to become as corrupt as any Wincanton mayor, ran as a reform candidate in the Democratic primary and defeated Stern-financed incumbent Gene Donnelly. Never a man to bear grudges, Stern financed Walasek in the general election that year and put him on the "payroll" when he took office.

is true of individual officers. What this and other typologies do is enable the researcher and the student of police management and police culture to use the ideal typology as a tool to analyze police departments and police groups. We will see this tool in use when we look at styles of leadership and management.

Hundreds of typologies have been produced for the study of police management and police culture. There are professional cops, street cops, by-the-book cops, bad cops, good cops, and

many others. These studies look at whole departments, styles of leadership and management, and types of police officers. Police managers need to deal with all kinds of police personalities. They would do well to look over some of these typologies to see if any relationship can be found between these social constructs and police behavior.

Consider, for example, a chief with a service orientation who takes over a legalistic-style department. He sends standard operating orders to the officers telling them they should spend time talking to citizens, delivering babies, teaching courses at the local schools, serving as guest speakers, and *also* apprehending criminals. The new chief will find tight-and-fast resistance because the prevailing style gives priority to enforcing the law and apprehending criminals.

Chiefs who do not understand the difference between their style of policing and the one prevailing in the department will fail. Police managers need to understand and consider police styles every day if their orders are to be effective.

The dramaturgical approach of sociologist Erving Goffman creates psychological typologies of **police personality types**, also called over the years, styles of policing or predispositions. These typologies create different social roles in the police subculture that are related to specific attitudes and behaviors. Just as the occupational roles of a teacher or a business manager come with a pattern of predispositions affecting behavior, so do different social roles encompassed by the police officer. In her article concerning styles of policing and police discretionary behavior, Brooks (2005: 94) writes, "Predispositions supply the officer with a repertoire of possible behaviors, and from this collection, the officer selects an appropriate response to a specific situation."

One of the latest of these typologies, called "Attitudinal Dimensions of Police Culture," shows a typology of five personality types (Paoline, 2004: 205–236):

1. ***Tough cops.*** These are cynical officers who believe that the public is hostile and police supervisors unsupportive. They perform their law enforcement duties aggressively and selectively.
2. ***Clean-beat crime fighters.*** These officers express cynicism and are upset with supervisors who do not support them. They want to fight all crime, including minor crime, and believe in the individual rights of citizens.
3. ***Avoiders.*** These officers are of another cynical type and are somewhat hostile, but not while on patrol. They are basically serving time, waiting for retirement.
4. ***Problem solvers.*** These officers are not aggressive in patrolling tactics and use selective enforcement, avoiding arresting citizens. According to the two authors, problem solvers (unlike the first three types) want to help citizens. The officers are supposed to hold favorable attitudes toward community policing and order maintenance.
5. ***Professionals.*** These officers hold the most favorable attitudes toward innovation and change, supervisors, citizens, and procedural guidelines. Of all the types, they have the broadest role orientation. They do not support aggressive patrolling and selective enforcement.

Paoline (2004: 208) also states that more minorities, college-educated officers, and female officers, along with community policing, "may have eroded the monolithic police culture."

As long as these different types of officers generally abide by the police culture norms of secrecy, social isolation, and solidarity, there is little or no incompatibility with the pervasive police culture. Also, as Laura Brooks (2005: 98) points out, "While there exists intuitive support for the connection between police attitudes and behavior, little empirical research has been conducted to examine the issue and the few studies that address this have reported disappointing results." She cited Crank (2003) and Worden (1989) for the disappointing results. The most important variables predicting police behavior in the field are lower economic class and race

CASE STUDY

Canal City Police Department

The Canal City Police Department is a traditional, hierarchical department in a small city on the East Coast. The middle-sized department reflects the social and political makeup of the municipality, which is dominated by one ethnic group. The informal relationships that have developed over the years have created a number of strong cliques based on kinship and a variety of interests.

One ethnic group dominates the police hierarchy so much that other officers complain about how these officers stick together. The perception of the other officers is that the officers from this ethnic group do favors for one another, including preferential treatment for promotions, shift assignments, and attendance at special training programs outside the city. This is quite similar to the behavior of the Irish in Boston and the Scandinavians and Germans in parts of the Midwest. Unlike the New York City Police Department, where a number of ethnic groups compete with one another, in Canal City there exists only one ethnic group and the others are unorganized. In Canal City, the "rabbi" who helps officers up the promotion ladder is from this ethnic group. Kinship permeates the ethnic cliques. Favors are performed by uncles, cousins, and godfathers of higher rank for relatives in the lower ranks.

Naturally, in this traditional, autocratic department, the chief and his cronies form the most powerful clique; moreover, the chief retains power and influence, not just through the normal means of command rank, but also through a communication network operated by his clique. Officers who attempt to go against the chief are inevitably discovered by members of this clique, which extends to the lower ranks. When a malcontent officer is identified, the information is conveyed to the chief, and the officer is disciplined.

A unique clause in the union contract allows command officers to participate fully in all union activities. Not surprisingly, the agenda of the Police Benevolent Association's meetings contain few criticisms of the chief or of members of his clique. Thus, control is exerted downward through the ever-watchful eyes of the chief's clique, even when he cannot be present.

One shift, shift C, has been a thorn in the side of this autocratic chief. The mainly younger, college-educated officers in this shift have been known to pull pranks that make the chief angry. Once, while the chief was trying to transmit a radio message, members of the shift keyed their microphones in to the chief's frequency, causing considerable interruption. The culprits were invited to report to the chief's office. In the tradition of the fierce loyalty that police officers have for each other, no one reported and no one told the chief anything. Every man in the shift was ordered to one tour of foot patrol each month, and patrol partners were changed from day to day.

This was a punishment directly attacking the informal organization of the shift. Over the years, partners come together who like and trust each other. In Canal City, partners are often said to be "married" to each other.

Rotating the tours of duty broke up the partnerships and disrupted much of the informal organization of the shift. In sociological terms, this was probably the worst type of punishment the chief could devise in terms of the morale of his young officers.

Within shift C, the following cliques were identified:

> ***The elite clique.*** Three experienced and powerful men who are close to the chief and enjoy his protection. One is a patrolman, one is a lieutenant, and one is a captain. All have over 20 years of seniority.
>
> ***The young ambitious.*** These six with young families are aggressive officers in terms of making arrests and doing "real" police work. They privately voice their opposition to the chief's dictatorial policies and fervently hope that he retires soon. In addition, they feel that some members of

the shift are lazy and corrupt, and they have little use for these officers.

Pistol clubbers. These three married officers belong to the department's pistol club and take part in statewide competitions. The club provides a common meeting place away from the police station for socializing and sharing gossip and criminal information. The pistol club has the blessings of the chief.

Social drinkers. These five officers go drinking together, sharing both police and private gossip. They all have at least seven years of experience and are known to socialize with their families.

The shift also has sportsmen, golfers, and officers attending college. However, these are the main cliques. What makes this shift stand out from the rest is that cliques are formed mainly on the grounds of interests, not ethnic and kinship ties. Every officer knows that when you are dealing with one of these officers, you are also dealing with his clique and the relationship between his clique and your clique.

At times, the entire shift gets together at their favorite police bar to drink and play cards. After the evening shift, 4:00 P.M. to midnight, there are frequent and rather rowdy get-togethers at local bars and in private homes. This has become known in Wambaugh's terminology as "choir practice."

The officers are deeply imbedded in their various social and professional groups, which define power relationships in the department. They also make a fairly large department with strong hierarchical relationships more humane and give the individual officer a sense of personal worth and security.

At present, traditional ethnic cliques dominate the department and support an authoritarian chief. If the young ambitious clique manages to form an alliance with a number of the stronger kinship groups, the chief may have problems, and a new power relationship may be forged in the Canal City Police Department.

This is a real department in which participant observation research has been done. However, considering the explosive nature of the power relationships discussed, the authors have decided not to reveal additional geographic details.

demeanor, as well as whether the victim wishes to have an arrest made. Brooks and many others have pointed out that officer characteristics have little effect on police behavior while situational variables have a stronger effect.

MINORITY GROUP STRUCTURES

The early research on minority law enforcement officers has generally been directed toward the experiences of African Americans and their encounters in predominately white organizations. More recent research has emerged on the experiences of women and other groups.

African American Officers

From December 1964 to October 1965, Nicholas Alex interviewed 41 African American New York City police officers, using a series of open-ended questions. The result was the first book on black police, *Black in Blue* (1969). Alex discovered that black police officers were often accepted as brother police officers but were often excluded from white officers' social activities when off duty (p. 87).

Alex also shows ethnic rivalry in terms of blacks being excluded from the detective division (1969: 111). At the time of this writing, most upper-level management positions were held by Irish bosses. There are some data here, but this is basically a descriptive study with little analysis, except in terms of general racial discrimination.

A 1973 article by Bannon and Wilt on African American police officers based on a number of interviews with Detroit police of various ranks found that African American cops were more often referred to simply as good or bad cops by white police officers. African American police officers did not want to lower the standards to bring more African Americans into the police agency since they felt this would lower their own status in the eyes of their fellow police officers. Here you see a closer identification with the prevailing police culture.

However, many of the same problems persisted. Blacks felt that opportunities for promotion had improved over the years. However, they were still disturbed that "assignment to preferred jobs often occurred on a friendship basis, rather than strictly on a qualification basis" (Bannon and Wilt, 1973: 27). The basis of group friendships and its analysis was not carried forward. The social exclusion of black police officers persisted. As one black Detroit police officer stated, "I have observed a certain amount of discrimination in that white officers tend to keep to themselves and exclude blacks from their groups not only socially but even in everyday relations at station houses" (Bannon and Wilt, 1973: 28). No group activities of blacks were documented.

In a follow-up study to Alex's work, Leinen (1984) discussed racial discrimination in the NYPD from the Civil Rights era to the beginning of the 1980s. Until the 1960s, black officers were assigned only to black neighborhoods and were neither promoted nor assigned to special units. Disciplinary actions against black officers were inequitable when compared to those against white officers. In the past two decades, many improvements have been made in these procedures. Based on a series of interviews with black patrol officers, detectives, and supervisors, Leinen found that institutional discrimination had largely disappeared. He felt this was due to the legal, social, and political events of the civil rights era, along with the efforts of black officer associations like the **Guardians**. Leinen (1984: 255–56) reported that there were some white officers who continued to deny blacks and other nonwhite officers opportunity and mobility in the NYPD. This problem, he maintained, was compounded by the senior positions held by these racist white officers. Although blacks and other minorities have made strides in the department, there was still the obstacle of the racist senior officer to contend with.

A study by McBride (1986) on the recruitment and training process for three medium-sized police departments in New York State found that African Americans were generally accepted by their white colleagues based on the officer's ability to do the job. Based on a series of face-to-face interviews, the study found some instances of discriminatory treatment toward black officers during employment selection and police training.

African American recruits indicated that they had encountered difficulties during field training because of both personality clashes and the treatment of African American citizens by their field training officers. The same recruits indicated they had little difficulty in dealing with the areas to which they were assigned after field training, regardless of the racial makeup of the suspects and victims in the area. They felt that the few cries of "**Uncle Tom**" came from citizens who had a bad attitude toward police in general.

The number of African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians on the force and in officer ranks has continued to grow over the years as a result of affirmative action programs as well as more progressive attitudes. Even as the research becomes more sophisticated, it is still evident that blacks and other minority officers are generally treated equally on the job by white police officers but continue to be generally isolated from the social activities of white officers.

Weitzer (2000) looked at the issue of black versus white officers from a unique perspective—the customer or citizen. He interviewed citizens of Washington, D.C., to assess their opinions on officer behavior, including whether or not they felt that there was a difference in community interaction between black and white officers. Bolton and Feagan, in their book,